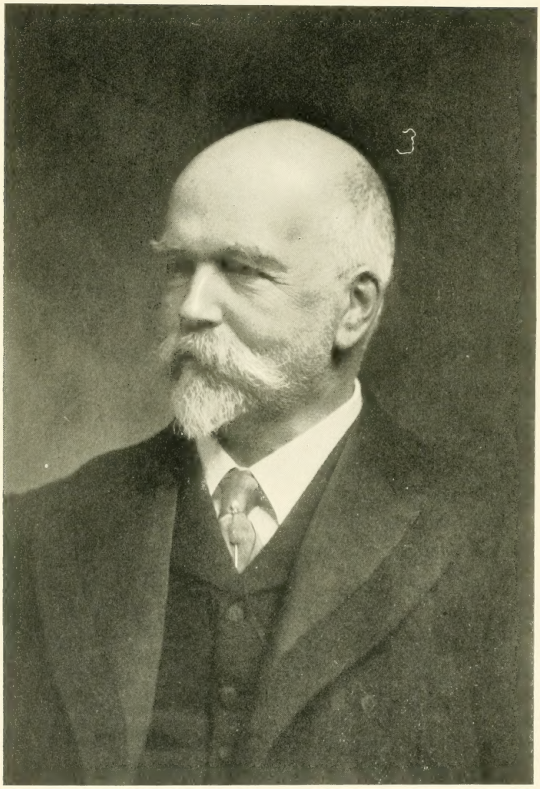


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OF THE

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONGREGATIONAL COUNCIL

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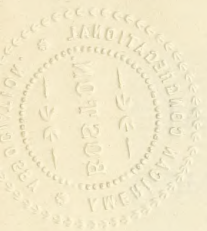
UNITED FREE CHURCH ASSEMBLY HALL, EDINBURGH

June 30—July 9, 1908

EDITED BY

REV. JOHN BROWN, B.A., D.D.

LONDON:
CONGREGATIONAL UNION OF ENGLAND AND WALES
MEMORIAL HALL
1908



PREFACE

The present volume furnishes a complete Report of the Proceedings of the Third International Council of Congregationalists, held in the city of Edinburgh, from June 30th to July 9th, 1908. The first of these Councils was held in London in 1891, and the second in Boston, U.S.A., in 1899. Of all three we may fairly say they have justified the wisdom and foresight of those of our leaders, both in Britain and America who, more than twenty years ago, suggested that great and important ends would be served by Œcumenical Conventions of those who held to the Congregational Idea in Church Polity. In an age of searching enquiry and rapid transition of thought, they believed that the interchange of ideas and a comparison of the results of experience among serious and earnest-minded Christian men could not but be helpful to the furtherance of the Kingdom of God among us.

The impression created by the Edinburgh Council has confirmed and deepened that produced by the two previous Councils. It was an open arena where the stirring thought and earnest purpose of Congregationalists the wide world over, found frank and unfettered expression. Three hundred and fifty delegates, representative of a vastly wider community, came together from Britain, from the United States and Canada, from South Africa, from Australasia, also from the Continent of Europe and from lands as remote as China and Japan. They met in brotherly fellowship around the Table of the Lord; they discussed great questions theological, ecclesiastical, critical and social; they renewed old friendships and created new ones, and so in many ways, by mutual converse and inspiring thought, strengthened each other in the faith and service of the Great Master whom they acknowledged as Lord and Head.

As a matter of detail it may be further mentioned that the papers contained in this volume have been, as far as practicable, submitted in proof to the revision of their various writers. The extemporaneous addresses were reported in shorthand, and the final Index prepared by Mr. B. Dennison, of the *British Congregationalist;* while the preparation of the volume for the press was, by the Provisional Committee, placed under my own immediate editorial care. It is sent forth now with the fervent hope that its publication may yet further assist those great ends for which the Council was convened.

JOHN BROWN.

HAMPSTEAD,

November, 1908.

The blocks of the group and of nearly all the portraits are from photographs specially taken by Mr. A. Swan Watson, View Park Studio, Edinburgh. The block of the Rev. J. M. Gibbon is from a photograph by Mr. G. Ridsdale Cleare, Lower Clapton Road, London, N.E.



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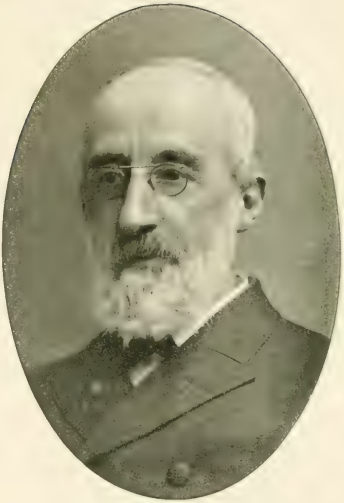
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Barber, Mr. Harry	London.
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Davies, Rev. W.	Tewkesbury.
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London.



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London.



REV. R. WARDLAW THOMPSON, D.D.,
London.



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Nott, Rev. R.	Ebley.
Oakley, Rev. H. H.	Sheffield.
Pearson, Rev. Samuel	Tynemouth.
Philipps, Rev. D.	Newport (Salop).
Platt, Rev. S. Lawton	Derby.
Powell, Rev. E. P., M.A.	Wellingborough.
Powicke, Rev. F. J., Ph.D.	Hatherlow.
Pryce, Rev. B. Vaughan, M.A., LL.B.	Bristol.
Reason, Rev. Will, M.A.	London.
Ritchie, Rev. D. L.	Nottingham.
Rowland, Rev. Alfred, B.A., LL.B., D.D.	London.
Russell, Rev. F. A.	London.
Saxton, Rev. E. J.	Brighouse.
Selbie, Rev. W. B., M.A.	Cambridge.
Shepheard, Mr. A. J., L.C.C.	London.
Simes, Mr. F. A. W., J.P.	Worcester.
Smith, Rev. Norman H., M.A.	Oxford.
Snell, Rev. Bernard J., M.A., B.Sc.	London.
Snow, Mr. A. D., J.P.	St. Leonards-on-Sea.
Spicer, Sir Albert, Bt., M.P.	London.
Stancliff, Mr. Charles	London.
Stevenson, Rev. J. G.	Brighton.
Tatton, Rev. D.	Bushey.
Thomas, Rev. D. J.	Carmarthen.
Thomas, Mr. Josiah, J.P.	Liverpool.
Thompson, Rev. R. Wardlaw, D.D.	London.
Todd, Rev. E.	Birmingham.
Toms, Mr. C. W., J.P.	Putney.
Turner-Smith, Rev. J.	Bath.
Veitch, Rev. R., M.A.	Leicester.
Wells, Rev. Richard J.	London.

White, Rev. James	Potterspury.
Williamson, Rev. J., M.A.	Cardiff.
Williamson, Rev. H. Ross	Trowbridge.
Willis, Rev. Thomas	Manchester.
Wilson, Rev. J. P.	Blackburn.
Wood, Mr. T. McKinnon, LL.D., M.P., D.L.	London.
Yonge, Rev. John	Warrington.
Young, Rev. David, B.A.	Whitley Bay.

SCOTLAND

Adamson, Rev. W., D.D.	Glasgow.
Adamson, Rev. W. F., M.A.	Galashiels.
Anderson, Rev. K. C., D.D.	Dundee.
Bell, Rev. G.	Hamilton.
Bell, Mr. William	Dundee.
Blair, Rev. W.	Helensburgh.
Brown, Rev. Alexander	Aberdeen.
Gardner, Rev. Alfred	Dundee.
Gladstone, Rev. G.	Glasgow.
Hamilton, Rev. W.	Dundee.
Hodgson, Rev. J. M., D.Sc., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Hutchison, Mr. W., M.A., LL.B.	Glasgow.
Leith, Mr. John, J.P.	Aberdeen.
Macpherson, Mr. J., J.P.	Edinburgh.
McHardy, Rev. G., D.D.	Kirkcaldy.
McKinlay, Rev. R., M.A.	New Pitsligo.
McNair, Rev. A., M.A.	Kilmarnock.
Milne, Rev. G. C.	Aberdeen.
Orr, Mr. John, J.P.	Glasgow.
Parnaby, Rev. H., M.A.	Edinburgh.
Price, Mr. C. E., M.P.	Edinburgh.
Richardson, Rev. Charles, M.A.	Glasgow.
Ross, Rev. James, D.D.	Glasgow.
Russell, Dr. A. W.	Glasgow.
Shepherd, Rev. Ambrose, D.D.	Glasgow.
Simpson, Rev. A. F., M.A.	Portobello.
Smith, Mr. G. K., J.P.	Dundee.
Strachan, Rev. J., M.A.	Dumfries.
Templeton, Rev. T., M.A.	Dundee.
Walker, Rev. W. L.	Glasgow.

IRELAND

Eason, Rev. B. M., M.A.	Londonderry.
MacLachlan, Rev. G. L.	Sligo.
Pollock, Rev. Alex., M.A.	Belfast.
Sheldon, Mr. Chas., M.A., D.Lit.	Belfast.
Swirles, Mr. R. S.	Dublin.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Anderson, Rev. Asher, D.D.	Boston, Mass.
Anderson, Mr. J. L.	Everett, Mass.
Atkins, Rev. G. Glenn, D.D.	Detroit, Mich.
Baker, Mr. A. S.	Evansville, Wis.
Bartlett, Rev. William A., D.D.	Chicago, Ill.

Barton, Rev. James L., D.D.	Brookline, Mass.
Barton, Rev. William E., D.D.	Oak Park, Ill.
Bennett, Mr. R. J.	Chicago, Ill.
Bentall, Rev. Alfred	Northport, Mich.
Berle, Rev. Adolph A., D.D.	Salem, Mass.
Bigelow, Rev. Warren D.	Guildford, Conn.
Bradford, Rev. Amory H., D.D.	Montclair, N.J.
Bradley, Hon. J. E.	Randolph, Mass.
Bradley, Rev. E. E.	Lincoln, Mass.
Brewer, Rev. Frank S.	Palmer, Mass.
Brodie, Rev. A. M.	Watertown, New York.
Brown, Rev. Charles R., D.D.	Oakland, Cal.
Burgess, Rev. G. H.	Warsaw, New York.
Butcher, Rev. S. G.	New Orleans, La.
Byers, Mr. Joseph	Newton, Mass.
Cadmus, Rev. W. E.	Peoria, Ill.
Campbell, Mr. Andrew	Detroit, Mich.
Chalmers, Rev. Andrew B.	Worcester, Mass.
Chalmers, Rev. Thomas	Manchester, N.H.
Chalmers, Mr. W. W.	Toledo, Ohio.
Christie, Rev. G. W.	Taunton, Mass.
Curtis, Mr. Frederick S.	Brookfield Center, Conn.
Daniels, Rev. Charles H., D.D.	South Framlingham, Mass.
Darling, Rev. M. W.	Glencoe, Ill.
Dascomb, Rev. H. N.	Grinnell, Ia.
Davis, Rev. W. V. W., D.D.	Pittsfield, Mass.
De Mott, Rev. G. C.	Bath, Me.
Denio, Rev. F. B., D.D.	Bangor, Me.
Dorland, Rev. C. P.	Long Beach, Cal.
Dougherty, Rev. James G.	Kansas City, Kan.
Douglass, Rev. T. O., D.D.	Grinnell, Iowa.
Dudley, Mr. Guilford	Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
Dunning, Rev. A. E., D.D.	Brookline, Mass.
Dutton, Rev. Charles H.	Watertown, N.Y.
Dyer, Rev. Frank	Chicago.
Eaton, Rev. Edward D., D.D.	Beloit, Wis.
Elderkin, Rev. Noble S.	Ogden, Utah.
Emerson, Mr. H. P.	Boston, Mass.
Evans, Mr. W. D.	Hampton, Ia.
Fisher, Rev. C. W.	Epping, N.H.
Fitch, Rev. Frank S., D.D.	Buffalo, N.Y.
Foster, Rev. F. H., D.D.	Olivet, Mich.
Fox, Rev. D. F.	Chicago, Ill.
Francis, Rev. A. J.	Chicago, Ill.
Goodspeed, Rev. F. L., D.D.	Springfield, Mass.
Gordon, Rev. George A., D.D.	Boston, Mass.
Hallock, Rev. L. H., D.D.	Minneapolis, Minn.
Hallock, Mrs.	Minneapolis, Minn.
Hanson, Mr. C. P.	Chicago.
Harper, Rev. T. H.	Oklahoma.
Hawkins, Rev. Chauncey J.	Jamaica Plain, Boston.
Hays, Mr. William R. H.	Osborne, Kan.
Herring, Rev. Hubert C., D.D.	New York, N.Y.
Hesselgrave, Rev. C. E.	Chatham, N.J.
Hiatt, Rev. Caspar W., D.D.	Cleveland, Ohio.

Hodgson, Rev. F. W.	Des Moines, Ia.
Hood, Rev. E. Lyman	Atlanta, Ga.
Hopkins, Rev. W. H.	Denver, Colorado.
Hopkinson, Mr. Thos.	Fall River, Mass.
Huckel, Rev. Oliver, D.D.	Baltimore, Md.
Hull, Mr. Charles A.	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Huntington, Rev. C. W., D.D.	Toledo, Ohio.
Hyslop, Rev. James	St. Johns, Mich.
Jefferies, Rev. John	Nebraska City, Neb.
Jenkins, Rev. James A.	Cleveland, Ohio.
Kimball, Rev. H. W.	South Weymouth, Mass.
King, Rev. E. Alonzo	Sandusky, Ohio.
Kofoid, Prof. C. A.	Oakland, Cal.
Lewis, Rev. Alexander, Ph. D.	Kansas City, Mo.
Lockwood, Rev. G. R.	Glenolden, Pa.
Lyman, Rev. Albert J., D.D.	Brooklyn, N.Y.
Lynch, Rev. Frederic	New York, N.Y.
MacAyeal, Rev. Howard A.	Akron, Ohio.
McCully, Rev. C. G.	Calais, Me.
MacInnes, Rev. J. S.	Seatonville, Ill.
MacMillan, Hon. T. C.	Chicago, Ill.
McMillen, Rev. W. F.	Chicago, Ill.
Maynard, Rev. W. C.	Newton, Mass.
Merrick, Rev. Frank W., D.D.	West Roxbury, Mass.
Meserve, Rev. I. C., D.D.	San Francisco, Cal.
Meserve, Rev. Marshall W.	San Francisco, Cal.
Metcalf, Rev. Arthur	Des Moines, Ia.
Miles, Rev. Harry R.	Brattleboro, Vt.
Millard, Rev. W. B.	Geneseo, Ill.
Mills, Rev. Charles S., D.D.	St. Louis, Mo.
Miner, Rev. H. A.	Madison, Wis.
Miner, Mr. G. R.	Boston, Mass.
Moffatt, Rev. T. Aird	Newark, N.J.
Moody, Rev. C. B., D.D.	Bristol, Conn.
Moore, Rev. E. C., D.D.	Cambridge, Mass.
Moore, Mr. J. H.	Chicago, Ill.
Morgan, Mr. C. C.	Nashua, N.H.
Moxom, Rev. P. S., D.D.	Springfield, Mass.
Mudie, Rev. Howard, B.D.	Portland, Me.
Murdoch, Mr. Albert	Boston, Mass.
Myers, Rev. N. J.	Belding, Mich.
Nash, Rev. Charles S., D.D.	Berkeley, Cal.
Page, Rev. H.	Hardwick, Mass.
Partridge, Mr. G. F.	Jamaica Plain, Boston.
Patton, Mr. W. R.	Oak Park, Ill.
Perry, Hon. John H.	Southport, Conn.
Pettibone, Mr. F. P.	Chicago, Ill.
Phillips, Rev. E. W.	Whitman, Mass.
Pierce, Rev. Albert F., D.D.	Campello, Mass.
Pierce, Rev. Jason N.	New Haven, Conn.
Potter, Rev. R. Harmon, D.D.	Hartford, Conn.
Ranney, Rev. W. W.	Hartford, Conn.
Richards, Rev. Thomas C.	Warren, Mass.
Ruegg, Mr. Samuel G.	Stockbridge, Wis.
Sanderson, Rev. E. F.	Providence, R.I.

Scott, Rev. Hugh M., D.D.	Chicago, Ill.
Seay, Mr. C. M.	Texas.
Simpkin, Rev. P. A.	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Slocum, Rev. William F., D.D., LL.D.	Colorado Springs, Colo.
Smith, Rev. Samuel G., D.D.	St. Paul, Minn.
Smith, Rev. W. Spooner	Worcester, Mass.
Soule, Rev. Sherrod	Naugatuck, Conn.
Southgate, Rev. C. M.	Boston, Mass.
Stacey, Mr. Arthur P.	Minneapolis, Minn.
Steiner, Prof. E. A.	Grinnell, Ia.
Stowell, Mr. C. B.	Hudson, Mich.
Struthers, Rev. A. L.	Alfred, Maine.
Sweet, Rev. W. I.	Everett, Mass.
Thomas, Rev. Morrison J.	Newark, Ohio.
Thorpe, Rev. W.	Wallingford, Vermont.
Titchworth, Rev. Judson, D.D.	Milwaukee, Wis.
Twichell, Rev. Joseph H.	Hartford, Conn.
Voorhees, Rev. J. Spencer	Adams, Mass.
Walker, Rev. Williston, Ph.D., D.D.	New Haven, Conn.
Warren, Rev. W. H., D.D.	Detroit, Michigan.
Watt, Rev. J. Craig	Maxbass, N.D.
Weeden, Rev. Charles F.	Lynn, Mass.
Whittemore, Mr. W. F.	Boston, Mass.
Willard, Rev. W. W.	Aurora, Ill.
Williams, Mr. W. T.	Ohio.
Wood, Mr. Frank	Boston, Mass.

AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALASIAN UNION

Griffith, Rev. A. J., M.A.	Brisbane, Queensland.
Littlemore, Rev. George	Strathfield, N.S.W.

NEW SOUTH WALES

Arnold, Mr. Edward	Sydney.
Binns, Rev. Frederick	Sydney.
Buchan, Rev. James, M.A.	Pyrmont, Sydney.
Fordyce, Rev. John, M.A., D.D.	late of Sydney.
Miller, Mr. Thomas	Sydney.

QUEENSLAND

Cole, Mr. T.	Brisbane.
Cole, Mrs.	Brisbane.
Griffith, Rev. A. J., M.A.	Brisbane.
Harriss, Miss K.	Brisbane.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

Kidman, Mrs. S.	Kapunda.
Lenton, Rev. S.	Adelaide.
Will, Miss Edith	Kapunda.

TASMANIA

Binns, Rev. Frederick	Sydney, N.S.W.

VICTORIA

Halsey, Mr. W.	Melbourne.
Jones, Rev. J. W.	Melbourne.
Luke, Mr. Thomas	Kew, Melbourne.
McBean, Mr. J.	Melbourne.

WEST AUSTRALIA

Knight, Rev. E. F.	Subiaco, Perth.

BRITISH GUIANA

Glasgow, Rev. T. B.	Demerara.
Glasgow, Mrs.	Demerara.

CANADA

Black, Mr. C. R.	Montreal.
Black, Mrs.	Montreal.
Copp, Mr. Harold	Toronto.
Cushing, Mr. Charles, B.C.L.	Montreal.
Day, Rev. Frank J., M.A., B.D.	Montreal.
Day, Mrs.	Montreal.
Eames, Rev John, M.A.	London, England.
Gerrie, Rev. J. P., B.A.	Stratfort, Ontario.
Hill, Rev. E. Munson, M.A., D.D.	Montreal.
O'Hara, Mr. Henry	Toronto.
Pedley, Rev. Hugh, B.A.	Montreal, Quebec.
Pedley, Rev. J. W., B.A.	Toronto.
Read, Rev. G. Ellery	Sherbrooke, Quebec.
Smith, Mr. J.	Toronto.
Villiers, Rev. J. C.	Kingston, Ontario.
Wilson, Mr. G. H.	Toronto.

INDIA

Abbott, Rev. Justin E., D.D.	Bombay.
Slater, Rev. T. E.	late of Bangalore.

JAMAICA

Watson, Rev. James	Mandeville.
Watson, Mrs.	Mandeville.

NEWFOUNDLAND

Thackeray, Rev. J.	St. John's.

NEW ZEALAND

Lindsay, Mr. A.	Wellington.
Postles, Mr. J.	Auckland.
Wilkins, Rev. John	Auckland.

SOUTH AFRICA

Anderson, Mr. Ebin T., R.M.	Beaufort West.
Anderson, Mrs.	Beaufort West.
Bignell, Rev. Percy E.	Heidelberg.
Bignell, Mrs.	Heidelberg.
Cadoux, Rev. A. T., B.A.	Sea View, Natal.

Dower, Rev. William	Port Elizabeth.
Dower, Mrs.	Port Elizabeth.
Layton, Rev. J. Gould	Burghersdorp.
Layton, Mrs.	Burghersdorp.
Richardson, Rev. John	Bellair, Natal.

BELGIUM

Adams, Rev. J.	Antwerp.

CHINA

Davenport, Mr. C. J., F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.	Shanghai.
Hart, Mr. S. Lavington, M.A., D.Sc.	Tientsin.

EGYPT

Knadjian, Rev. M. H.	Cairo.
Knadjian, Mrs.	Cairo.

GERMANY

Blenkin, Rev. A. G.	Hamburg.
Kaiser, Rev. F.	Bonn.

JAPAN

Cary, Rev. Otis, D.D.	Kyoto.
Cary, Mrs. Otis	Kyoto.
Dunning, Rev. M. D.	Doshisha, Kyoto.
Ebina, Rev. Danjo	Tokyo.

MADAGASCAR

Sibree, Rev. James	Antananarivo.

SPAIN

Gulick, Rev. W. H.	Madrid.

SWEDEN

Orest, Rev. C. O.	Stockholm.
Westling, Rev. M.	Stockholm.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Dods, Rev. Principal Marcus, D.D.	Edinburgh.
Forrest, Rev. D. W., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Kelman, Rev. Dr. J.	Edinburgh.
Kennedy, Rev. Prof. A. R. S., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Lees, Very Rev. Dr. Cameron	Edinburgh.
MacGregor, Rev. Dr.	Edinburgh.
MacGregor, Rev. Dr. W. M.	Edinburgh.
Macintosh, Rev. Prof., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Martin, Rev. Prof. A., D.D.	Edinburgh.
McEwan, Rev. Prof., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Paterson, Rev. Prof., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Paterson, Rev. Prof. J. A., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Patrick, Rev. Prof. J., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Simpson, Rev. Prof. J. J., D.Sc.	Edinburgh.
Stevens, Rev. George	Edinburgh.
Taylor, Rev. Prof. M. C., D.D.	Edinburgh.
Whyte, Rev. Dr. Alex.	Edinburgh.
Wylie, Rev. Prof.	Edinburgh.

OFFICERS OF THE COUNCIL

President

Sir Albert Spicer, Baronet, m.p., London.

Vice-Presidents

Hon. T. C. MacMillan, Chicago.
Mr. Charles A. Hull, New York.
Mr. A. W. Benedict, St. Louis.
Sir J. Compton-Rickett, d.l., m.p., London.
Mr. Alfred J. Shepheard, l.c.c., London.
Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, d.d., London.
Mr. A. W. Russell, m.d., Glasgow.
Rev. John Fordyce, d.d., Australia.
Mr. H. O'Hara, Canada.
Rev. W. Dower, South Africa.

Secretaries

Rev. R. J. Wells, London.
Rev. Asher Anderson, d.d., New York.
Rev. A. J. Griffith, m.a., Brisbane.
Rev. C. Richardson, m.a., Glasgow.

Provisional Committee as appointed at Boston in 1899

AMERICA

Rev. Frederick A. Noble, d.d.
Rev. Henry A. Hazen, d.d.
Mr. Arthur H. Wellman.
Rev. Amory H. Bradford, d.d.
Mr. Charles A. Hopkins.

AUSTRALIA

Rev. Llewellyn D. Bevan, ll.b., d.d.

CANADA

Rev. Joseph H. George, d.d., ph.d.
Rev. John P. Gerrie, b.a.

AFRICA

Mr. Henry Beard.

GREAT BRITAIN

(As finally constituted, with consultative members, to arrange for the Edinburgh Council)

Mr. Alfred J. Shepheard, L.C.C.
Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D.
Rev. P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D.
Sir Albert Spicer, Baronet, M.P.
Rev. C. Richardson, M.A.
Rev. Richard J. Wells.

Consultative Members

Rev. A. E. Garvie, M.A., B.D., D.D.
Rev. H. Parnaby, M.A.
Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D.
Rev. D. L. Ritchie.

Business Committee elected at Edinburgh, July 1, 1908

BRITISH ISLES

Mr. A. J. Shepheard, L.C.C.
Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A.
Rev. P. T. Forsyth, M.A., D.D.
Dr. A. W. Russell.

UNITED STATES

Mr. W. R. Patton.
Rev. P. S. Moxom, D.D.
Mr. William R. H. Hays.
Rev. L. H. Hallock, D.D.

AUSTRALIA

Rev. Jas. Buchan, M.A.
Rev. J. W. Jones.

CANADA

Mr. C. Cushing.
Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A.

LOCAL COMMITTEES

Executive

Rev. J. M. Hodgson, M.A., D.D., *Chairman.*

Rev. H. Parnaby, M.A., *Secretary.*

Mr. F. S. Cownie, S.S.C., *Treasurer.*

Rev. R. Rae.
Rev. G. McHardy, M.A., D.D.
Rev. W. M. Barwell, M.A.
Mr. J. Macpherson, J.P.
Mr. G. Wolff, J.P.
Mr. J. K. Smith.
Mr. J. Stewart, J.P.

Hospitality

Rev. H. Parnaby, M.A., *Convener and Secretary.*

Rev. W. M. Barwell, M.A.
Rev. T. G. Taylor, M.A.
Mr. J. Masson, M.A., LL.D.
Mr. Jas. Somerville.
Rev. Jas. Kelly.

Finance

Mr. F. S. Cownie, S.S.C., *Convener.*

Mr. J. Stewart, J.P.
Mr. R. Somerville, J.P.
Mr. S. M. Buchan
Mr. Henry Brown.
Lord Dean of Guild Wilson.
Rev. Henry Parnaby, M.A.
Mr. Alex. Mackenzie, J.P.

VICE-PRESIDENTS

AMERICA AND THE COLONIES



THE HON. T. C. MACMILLAN, Chicago.

MR. HENRY O'HARA, Toronto.

REV. W. DOWER, Port Elizabeth.

MR. CHARLES A. HULL, Brooklyn.

REV. JOHN FORDYCE D.D., Sydney.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

THIRD INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

OF

CONGREGATIONAL CHURCHES

Tuesday, June 30, 1908

PROCEEDINGS

THE OPENING SESSION

Constituting the Council

Sir Albert Spicer, Bart., M.P., of London, chairman of the Provisional Committee, took the chair at 2.30, and the Council was formally constituted.

The proceedings opened with the singing of the hymn

> Come, Holy Ghost, and through each heart,
> In Thy full flood of glory pour;
> Who, with the Son and Father, art
> One Godhead blessed for evermore.

The Rev. J. W. Jones, of Melbourne, Australia, read a selection of scripture passages, and the Rev. W. W. Ranney, of Hartford, Conn., U.S., and the Rev. T. J. Hosken, of Ipswich, offered prayer.

Hymn "Lord, Thou hast been our dwelling place, in every generation."

Election of Secretaries

The Rev. C. S. Nash, D.D.: I have pleasure in nominating that the following gentlemen be secretaries of the third International Congregational Council:

The Rev. R. J. Wells, London; the Rev. Asher Anderson, D.D., New York; the Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., Brisbane; the Rev. C. Richardson, M.A., Glasgow.

This was seconded from the body of the hall, and carried unanimously.

The Roll Call

The roll of members of the Council was then called. The names were called by the Rev. R. J. Wells, for the United Kingdom; by the Rev. Asher Anderson, D.D., for the United States; by the Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., for Australia; and again by the Rev. R. J. Wells, for the British Colonies, Austria,

China, Egypt, Germany, Japan, Madagascar, Russia, Spain and Sweden.

Election of President

The Rev. John Fordyce, M.A., D.D., of Sydney, moved the appointment of Sir Albert Spicer, Bart., M.P., as President of the Council.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Fordyce

I have the honour to propose as our President, Sir Albert Spicer, of London. I am sure no words are needed from me to set forth the worth of the gentleman whose name I have mentioned. He is known to all Congregationalists in the British Isles, and I am quite sure that if we were to take a vote out in Australia or Australasia, as to the President, there could be but one voice of admiration and acclamation of the name I have mentioned; and in the homeland, as you know who live there, no name is more honoured than the name of Sir Albert Spicer. He comes of a family that has been known to Congregationalism for long years. He belongs to a circle of the same name, and this circle has done great things for Congregationalism, and for the Kingdom of God in this land. He has been honoured by His Majesty, and no man more deserves the honour. He belongs to the Council of the nation, and holds there a distinct place. If I were not speaking in his presence, I should like to say more, but I have said enough to make it clear that I am talking about a very distinguished name, and I desire simply to propose that Sir Albert Spicer, M.P., be our President.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Anderson

The Rev. Dr. Asher Anderson, D.D., of New York, seconded. He said it seemed to him perfectly proper that they should receive such a hearty suggestion with approval, and he heartily seconded the nomination.

The motion was adopted by the assembly by a standing vote.

The President's Response

Sir Albert Spicer briefly responded. He said:—

Dr. Fordyce, Dr. Anderson, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I would only say at this stage how deeply I feel the confidence that you have shown in the proposition which has just been made to you, and for the extremely kind words which have been uttered by my friend, Dr. Fordyce. I can only say that I respond to your invitation, and will do my best in the position, the honourable position to which you have elected me.

Election of Vice-Presidents

Dr. Asher Anderson proposed the following three representatives of the United States, as Vice-Presidents of the Council :—

The Hon. T. C. MacMillan, Chicago · Mr. Charles A. Hull, New York ; Mr. A. W. Benedict, St. Louis.

The Rev. R. J. Wells further proposed the following seven names, representing Great Britain and the Colonies, as Vice-Presidents :—

Sir J. Compton-Rickett, M.P., D.L., London ; Mr. A. J. Shepheard, L.C.C., London ; the Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, D.D., London ; Mr. A. W. Russell, M.D., Glasgow ; the Rev. J. Fordyce, D.D., Australia ; Mr. H. O'Hara, Canada ; the Rev. W. Dower, South Africa.

Both motions were unanimously carried.

The Daily Order

The following arrangements were unanimously agreed to :—

Morning Session to commence at 9.30. Afternoon Session to commence at 2.30. Evening Session as printed in the programme.

Secretary's Report

The Rev. R. J. Wells read the following report :—

Brethren and Delegates of the world-wide Congregational Order,—We rejoice in your safe arrival from many lands near and far. Some of us have been labouring long for this day. We hope great things from this Third International Congregational Council, and we anticipate for all who share in the coming sessions a broadening of spiritual horizons, a quickening of faith, an upbreaking of the deeper springs of life, and last but not least that keener perception born of the touch of God's own hand—

> If we in souls descried,
> Whatever form might hide—
> Own brother and own sister everywhere.

It is fitting at the outset that those entrusted with the arrangements of this Council by that held in Boston in 1899 should give an account of their stewardship, and this, as the Secretary of the Provisional Committee, I render in the briefest terms.

Before the Second International Congregational Council rose it appointed a Provisional Committee of fifteen, entrusting to it among other things the decision as to the time and place of the next meeting and the consequential arrangements. The Committee at its first meeting decided to hold the Third International Congregational Council in Edinburgh in the months of June and July 1908. No more appropriate place could have been selected. The First Council naturally gathered in the Motherland ; there was a fitness in the Second Council visiting the

most historic centre of the land whose birth and tradition are so closely interwoven with the lives of men and women who have held our faith and suffered not a few things for their loyalty to the principles they professed. To-day we gather in Edinburgh, and fitly so. The Scot we are told is the best coloniser, certain it is he is ubiquitous, and wherever he goes he carries his proverbial grit, his level-headedness, his religious fervour, and now we have come to the country which has produced such Empire-building material, the land of rock and heather, the home of the Covenanters, to a city of rich historic and literary reminiscence, where we cannot fail to be blessed, and where we pray by God's grace we may leave a wealth of benediction that shall fructify and be seen throughout the whole church of Christ in Scotland.

Later it was agreed that the number of the Third Council should be 400, apportioned as follows:—United States of America, 150, British Isles, 150; the rest of the world, 100.

The Programme of the Council has been arranged by the British Section in fraternal correspondence with the Congregational Board of America and the Unions of Canada and Australasia. The British Section, to strengthen its hands for this no light task, called in as consultative members Dr. Garvie, Rev J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., Principal Ritchie, and Messrs. J. Leith and the late Alex. Baines.

At an early meeting of the committee we were called to mourn the death of Dr. Mackennal of Bowdon, a leader possessed in a high degree of the rare gift of statesmanship, and one of the most cultured and lovable of men; his place has been filled by the election of Dr. P. T. Forsyth, Principal of Hackney College.

The committee decided to recommend the appointment of Vice-Presidents representing the following National Associations:—The United States of America, three; British Isles, four; Canada, one; Australasia, one; South Africa, one. The names as severally nominated will be placed before you.

A Report on the future of the council was presented by a special committee and adopted at Boston; the fifth section of that report reads as follows:—"That the Provisional Committee appointed by this council is hereby instructed to consider the question of a constitution for the councils, and, if it see fit, to present a draft at the next council." In pursuance of this the committee, or more precisely the British Section, has ventured to briefly draft a constitution for the council, and one which somewhat modifies the other sections of the report as agreed to at Boston. This draft constitution will come up for consideration on the agenda of this meeting.

The changes in the *personnel* of this Council as against that which met at Boston are many. Among the most honoured names of those who were then present we miss to-day those of Dr. Robert Bruce, Principal Cave, Principal Andrew Fairbairn, and Dr. Mackennal. Of these death has garnered Dr. Mackennal and Principal Cave. Dr. Robert Bruce, full of years, lies to-day upon a bed of weakness, awaiting the call from his beloved Master; we miss his genial presence, and our hearts bear him in affectionate remembrance. Principal Fairbairn, burdened with many years of strenuous service, weighted with many responsibilities, desirous of harbouring his strength for the tasks to which he is already committed, is unable to be with us. We are conscious of the loss that is ours. Mindful of his rich endowments, we

venture to think that if health and age and freedom from other engagements had permitted, no other name would have been submitted for the Presidency of this Council. We regret his absence, and as he is about to retire from the Principalship of Mansfield College we would assure him of our brotherly affection and honour, and of our earnest prayer that for many years to come he may be spared to enjoy his well-won rest, and to speak to us from time to time both with voice and pen.

We meet to-day as men who are loyal to the essential verities of the evangelical faith, men and women who are not blind to the constant breaking forth of fresh light from the old yet ever new Word of God; we meet, too, as men loyal to the congregational polity, and meeting thus we pray not only that God would abundantly bless and inspire us through the channels of the coming sessions, but we desire by our fraternal communion and by the increasing usefulness of this council as an instrument of righteousness to give heart and inspiration to all the churches of our order the world over. We would enter on our deliberations mindful of Emerson's exhortation—"Sufficient to to-day are the duties of to-day. Don't waste your life in doubts and fears; spend yourself on the work before you, well assured that the right performance of this hour's duties will be the best preparation for the hours or ages that follow it."

Proposed Constitution for future Councils

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT

Before we go to the next business, perhaps I may be allowed to say, as one of the members of the Provisional Committee, that was appointed in Boston, that in considering this constitution which will be brought before you in a minute or two, I ask your special attention to No. 6. At Boston, a Provisional Committee was formed of certain names. Death has removed several of those names, until we have found ourselves reduced to three. We think, therefore, that it would be a much better plan, if, instead of giving names of the Provisional Committee, we should leave delegates to appoint their own representatives from time to time. Otherwise, it leaves the reduced Provisional Committee in a very delicate and difficult position. I will now ask Mr. Wells to read the proposed constitution, and then we propose to put it before you clause by clause.

The Rev. R. J. Wells then read the proposed constitution, a copy of which was in the hands of each delegate.

The various clauses were then discussed in detail, and after several amendments to various sections had been proposed and considered, the whole matter was adjourned to a future session.

At 4.30 the Council adjourned.

RECEPTION BY THE LORD PROVOST

At 4 o'clock, Lord Provost Gibson, the Magistrates and the Council gave a reception in the Scottish National Portrait

gallery. Some 600 guests were present, and a number of the leading members of the city joined in welcoming them. An orchestra in one of the upper galleries provided some excellent music, while refreshments were served in one of the lower rooms.

The Lord Provost, in a few appropriate words, welcomed the guests to the city, and commented on the representative character of the assembly and on the diversity of nationalities who had sent delegates to the Council.

EVENING SESSION

THE PRESIDENT'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS. WORDS OF WELCOME FROM ECCLESIASTICAL LEADERS

The President, Sir Albert Spicer, Bart., M.P., took the chair at 7 o'clock, After the singing of the hymn "Our God, our help in ages past," prayer was offered by the Rev. Thomas Willis, of Manchester.

The President then delivered his inaugural address.

The President's Address

In occupying the position to which you have called me to-day, on the occasion of our Third International Congregational Council, I cannot forget the distinguished men who have preceded me in this position. Our first president, the late Dr. R. W. Dale, was not only a great preacher, but a great Theologian, and one of England's great men; the second, President Angell, the head of a great American University, and one who had rendered distinguished service to his country as a trusted Diplomatist. Now you have chosen one who is only a Layman—one who has simply tried during his forty-three years' connection with Congregationalism to do, to the best of his ability, the work that from time to time has been entrusted to him.

He is, at the same time, very grateful for the training that service in an active Congregational Church gives its members—a training, I make bold to say, that forms a preparation for work for the wider spheres of both Home and Foreign Missionary enterprise, and, in addition, is helpful in commerce and public work.

In gathering once again we shall, I am sure, join in hearty gratitude to those unnamed friends who, in 1888, during the celebration of the Jubilee Meetings of the Victorian Congregational Union, suggested the idea of these International Councils. We who have had the privilege of taking part in the earlier councils of 1891 and 1899 appreciate only too well their influence and their helpfulness. The meeting together of representatives of our churches from different parts of the world, linked by ties of a denominational brotherhood, has been a happy experience in itself, and has led to friendships which have been not only helpful, but inspiring.

I am sure I voice the opinion of all present to-day when I express the hope that this Third Council may be even more useful than any that have preceded it, in stimulating our common work for the benefit of our fellow-men and for the glory of God.

Before I come to the immediate topics of my address, will you allow

me to express this opinion, that I do not think we have yet learned to use sufficiently the advantages that these periodic councils make possible. Since 1899, I feel, though reading a good many journals, I know very little of what has been going on in connection with Congregationalism in the other countries beyond the seas. May I throw out the suggestion, that whilst gathered together, we ask the various Congregational Unions and Associations who are authorized to send delegates to our Council, to select representative men in different selected areas that they may send to some appointed convener from time to time, say once a year, for collection and redistribution, brief accounts of the developments in the Congregational Church life and history of their respective areas. Surely there would be much to stimulate and encourage in the various experiences of each country, and much to learn!

As one who has seen something of the United States and the British Empire beyond the seas, I have been struck with the difference in the surroundings and opportunities of work in these newer countries as compared with our work in the old land, which is carried on in the midst of the overshadowing influence of a great State Church. The men and women who, in earlier or later times, have migrated to these newer worlds, were the stronger representatives of the class from which they came, and proved their strength by having the courage to pull up their roots from the old country, and risk the ventures of a start in a new world. Many changes are bound to result from these new circumstances. Speaking generally, Congregationalism, with its absence, up to the present, of strong central organizations, does not appear to lend itself rapidly to the founding of new churches, but where they are formed they seem to contain within their ranks quite a large proportion of those who, in their different districts, occupy prominent positions and influence the life of those districts for good. Through an Intelligence Department, which I am suggesting, we should learn something of the various methods adopted, not only for carrying on existing work, but for encouraging one another in forward movements. What we seem to want is, that in each country there should be a few selected representatives on the watch tower of observation, who should be enabled, by arrangement, to keep us all informed of the spirit and the movements in our churches.

In choosing the topic for a brief address this morning, I have remembered that you have elected a layman, one who makes no claim to oratorical or literary distinction. All he can say for himself is that, during his somewhat long connection with our Congregational Churches, he has honestly tried to give of his best work to the interests of the denomination of which he is a member, and to which he is attached, not only by family connection, but by conviction.

I wish to give, in the first place, some impressions of what has been going on in our churches, as reflected in the meetings of our unions since our council at Boston, and then to call your attention to a few of the matters that I think require our serious consideration.

Naturally, I speak from English experience, though I suspect that the state of things prevailing in this country is not widely different from that which our brethren of like faith have to meet in other countries. The difficulties we have to face are only in varying degree your difficulties also. On the domestic side of our work we have carried through a reconstitution of our Congregational Union. Under this new constitution we have brought into closer line the work of our

County Unions and our Central Union. We hope thereby to render far more efficient aid to the work of our churches and our organizations throughout the country.

The nineteenth century, with its steam and electricity, has changed the face of England. The railways have annihilated space, but the social modifications are of first importance. The decline of the agricultural population has left the country places sparsely populated and mostly poor. At the same time people have been driven into the towns, where the huge aggregations of population make a unified civic life almost impossible. The modern city is unbalanced: it has poverty areas and wealth areas. This state of things has made the work of Congregationalism much more difficult. To-day the village church and the church in the poor district of the town cannot, in many cases, support themselves in an efficient way, and yet too often they try to continue their existence as if they could. More co-operation must be the order of the day, and possibly not only the poorer churches, but all our churches may have to ask themselves whether, for the general good, they should not be prepared to give up something of their independency.

We hope our reconstituted Union will enable us to help more adequately in the right way both the village church and the down-town church.

Again, under this new constitution, which has only been formed some two years, good work has already been done in connection with a subject of great importance to Congregationalism, viz. the question of Ministerial Settlements and Removals. A confidential committee has been appointed, which has already achieved some good results, and it appears to be gaining the confidence of both ministers and churches.

We have also made a new departure in connection with the work of our churches amongst the young. Owing to the generosity of a friend we were enabled to appoint a special Commissioner, who travelled the country and made full enquiries as to the work being done to-day. He has presented a report which testifies to the efficiency and completeness of his work, and contains suggestions for improvement and extension which I hope may soon be adopted. The future of the work of our churches depends upon what we make of our young people. To keep pace with the advance during recent years in the day schools of our country, we are bound to see to it that the efficiency of our Sunday work for the young is brought into line as far as it is possible.

A great deal of time throughout this period has been devoted to the consideration of social questions as they affect the influence and work of our churches. One result has been the founding of the Institutional Church, which has already done much useful work, and in addition, there is to-day, in many churches, a more sympathetic spirit shown in the consideration of these questions by an increasing number of our ministers and members.

Another feature of this period has shown itself in the comparatively large number of Theological Conferences which have marked our assemblies, and is a very clear indication of the present position of much theological thought and unrest which is existing very distinctly in our churches.

Outside these domestic matters two other subjects have claimed much time and thought. First, the great question of the Drink Traffic and its relation to Temperance. At the period of our last Council, the reports of a Royal Commission had just been issued, the result

of a long enquiry. Both reports, that of the majority, as well as that of the minority, contained many strong suggestions. Since that time two Acts have been passed purporting to meet some of those suggestions, but it has been felt that they were both inefficient, and one of them even retrogressive in some of its provisions. This year a Bill of a different character has been introduced—of a stronger and more drastic nature, which it is hoped may be passed, and may help to meet some of the difficulties. An expenditure on Drink of £166,000,000 a year, with all its attendant evils, for a population of 42,000,000 is surely a justification for a Bill which, to use the words of the majority report, attempts to deal "with a gigantic evil, for which hardly any sacrifice would be too great, which would result in a marked diminution of this national degradation." The majority report, let me add, was signed by some of the leading representatives of the liquor trade in this country.

Naturally the members of the Congregational Union have felt it to be a duty resting upon them to help forward to the best of their ability the great Temperance movement in every possible way.

The other subject that has overshadowed all our gatherings during the same period, has been the Education question. Regularly, at each session of our Congregational Union, and I think I may add at most of our County Union meetings, it has been felt that this subject must occupy a prominent position. In 1899 we were claiming relief from a position which we felt to be very unjust, especially to all the single school areas throughout the country districts where the schools, to which all our Free Church children were compelled to go, though mainly supported by public funds, were managed entirely by representatives of the State Church. In addition our young people were practically shut out from the teaching profession in these districts, and with regard to religious teaching, it was a choice between denominational and nothing.

In 1902-03 Acts were passed that in certain respects increased the injustice of these single school areas, for under these Acts—apart from the provision of the building—the whole cost of providing the education was now thrown upon the people, whilst the local management, including the choice of Teachers, was still entrusted to a Denominational majority.

These Acts practically imposed a new church rate, and against them we have been protesting and struggling ever since. The present Government have attempted to deal with the situation, but hitherto unsuccessfully. At the moment we hope and believe there is a sincere desire to try and settle the question in a way that shall be fair to all, and God grant it may be so, for we cannot conceal from ourselves that this conflict has been a great hindrance to our work and influence as a Christian Church. It has demanded much of the time and strength of our most trusted leaders, and consequently has lessened their opportunity for other forms of Christian service. It has kept up a bitter spirit in many districts, and has hindered the work of many churches. In our assemblies it has attracted the main attention, and consequently has left a smaller share of time to the more direct work of our churches, and in addition has, to some extent, spoilt the very atmosphere where that work was considered.

May I sum up these observations by saying that during the nine years of our Congregational Church life in this country, since our Council met at Boston, we have, in addition to good work in many churches, reorganised our central administration in trust for the

common good, we have given more thought and consideration to social questions. We have felt very keenly and have suffered from the effects of theological unrest and the educational conflict. May our Third Council prove itself a new starting-point for many, may an influence for good be exerted, that shall reach all our churches!

I desire now, speaking, let it be remembered ever from the standpoint of the layman, to refer to some, of what I consider, the weak points in our Church work. In the first place I would ask, is the message we are receiving from the average pulpit what is needed for the times? Never, perhaps, were our pulpits filled with so many able and well-informed men: never with men so free from anything in the nature of clericalism, and yet what proportion have a message—a message at once positive and inspiring—a message that spurs to action by its moral and spiritual force? The man in the pew wants to feel that the man in the pulpit believes in his message, and not only believes it, but wants others to believe it. It is not that the preacher is insincere, but sometimes it seems that preaching is a duty to be performed rather than the result of an inward compulsion.

We want our ministers to gain all the new light they can. We welcome new views of inspiration, and are ready to allow that each succeeding age needs its interpreters, but let us take care that with the larger outlook we have the positive note in the pulpit, so that when we come spiritually hungry into the sanctuary we shall not be sent empty away.

In the sermon there should be ever that which impels us to Christian-like act and deed, for does not the supreme power of the pulpit rest in its success in turning men Godward so that they may cease to do evil, and learn to do well? In a word (to use a term seldom heard now) to convert?

We need cultured and spiritually-minded men to lead, to help, to influence, and to inspire us; from these men whom we set over us in holy things we need true messages in all that relates to the Christian life. We want the results of their convictions, the results of their own experiences, and not only we—the members of their churches—but all who come within the reach of their words and influence.

Again, do we not need that the pastoral function should be more effective and generally cultivated? I do not mean the mere perfunctory social visit with no suggestion of the spiritual in it, which sometimes takes its place. I have been told that at the Autumnal Meetings of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, held in Leeds in 1905, a ministerial friend was staying with a clergyman of the Church of England. In the course of conversation the clergyman said to his guest: "You Congregationalists could carry all before you if you cared to." "How so?" asked the Minister . . . "If," he replied, "the quality and amount of your pastoral work equalled the quality and amount of your pulpit and platform work."

May I give a personal experience—Between 1903-05 I spent a good many spare evenings, in view of a possible candidature—paying house-to-house visits in one district in London. My time for paying these visits was from 8 till 10 p.m.—that being the only time when I could hope to find the head of the family at home. I paid over 2,000 visits, but never once—when carrying out that self-imposed task—did I meet anyone who was calling in connection with purely religious work, and yet—as I have already said—those two hours were the only hours of the day when the head of the family could be found at home!

Once more—are we doing all we might to bring the young people of our Christian families to public profession of faith in and loyalty to Christ and to a place in His Church? How many of our ministers have regular classes at stated intervals for the instruction of those willing to take this step? I venture to think we have allowed a multitude of our young people, trained in Christian homes, to go out into the world without an effort to train and secure them by obtaining public declaration of their faith in Christ and their determination, with God's help, to be loyal to Him for life. Between and around the ages of fourteen and fifteen we have, I believe, the best opportunity, but I fear in a vast number of cases we are losing it. I do not say that at such an age a full vote should be given at our church meetings, what I plead for is simply that at this age we should try to draw into our Christian fellowship those who have been taught from their earliest age in our church, and have had the training and surroundings of Christian homes. May I only add in addition that I have tried to act on this principle for some years, and am very thankful for the results.

May I now say a few words on a subject much left alone during recent years, viz.: the apportionment of our incomes with a view to systematic giving. We are living in a day of appeals for every description of social, educational, and religious work, and yet I doubt whether the average members of our churches and congregations give in any sense an amount that could be called generous because so few apportion their incomes and determine their giving in any systematic way.

When I first became connected with a Congregational church in 1865, the influence of a Mr. Ross—a minister—who had evidently made this subject the chief work of his life, was still felt in some of our Congregational church circles, though he had already passed away. I confess to have received profit from that influence, and I have often wished that another Mr. Ross would arise to continue that work on lines suited to to-day. The work of our own churches and societies—to say nothing of other philanthropic work—would be rendered much easier, and Christian men and women would realise more completely that their income is a trust from God to be used for doing His will, and that its expenditure should have in it a sense of proportion to the demands of our family, and of our charity in its widest sense. All the various claims that devolve upon us, and especially the claim of Him whose we are and whom we desire to serve would thus be far more easily met. Is not this a subject that has been neglected in recent years, and as a result have not many appeals for help given from the pulpit, as well as in circulars lost, much of their force because nothing has been done to train our members to realise that their incomes—whether large or small—should be apportioned systematically, and as in the sight of God? I ask the delegates of this council to give heed to this side of our church's work.

In recent years I have taken much interest in an Association that is trying to obtain for the children of our State, to whom that State stands *in loco parentis*, more individual treatment in homes rather than spending their young lives in workhouses or institutions of varying size.

I am often asking myself whether we do not need to think more of individual treatment in connection with our Congregational churches? Pulpit and platform work occupy so much of our time and thought



REV. R. J. WELLS,
London.



REV. ASHER ANDERSON, D.D.,
New York.



REV. C. RICHARDSON, M.A.,
Glasgow.



REV. A. J. GRIFFITH, M.A.,
Brisbane.

that there is no opportunity—and after a time—no inclination for the individual treatment. How often have I heard the remark made—in connection with some eminent and popular preacher—"he is so impersonal."

Do we not need to do something to bring back those close relations between pastor and people, which seem, according to my earlier recollections, to have existed in the past?

Can our churches hope to prosper and exert their right influence in the world if there is growing up in the relations of minister and people an absence of the closest and most sympathetic personal relationship? To my brother laymen may I ask whether we are keeping the flame alight on the family altar. The Christian home will not endure without the central meeting place where we realise our unity in Christ, and where worshipping at His footstool we draw nearer to one another as we draw near to our Father and Redeemer, and go to our daily work realizing that we are fellow workers with God and desirous to do our work, and live our lives in His sight and for His glory. In our church relationships may we ever remember that our church is simply a society of Christian believers, where we recognise no Priesthood or ruling church, but only loyalty to Christ: that to that church we have our obligations of help and service, and without that help and service on the part of all our churches cannot do their proper work and exercise their right influence.

We have gathered this evening from many lands representatives of many churches—may our meetings from first to last be filled with the Master's presence—may our deliberations be helpful and profitable to our common work, and on our return to those churches may the influence of these meetings be felt for many days.

And may we become—pastors and laymen—each more fitted to be instruments in God's hands for realising the prayer of His Son, "Thy Kingdom come."

Hymn, "O God of Bethel, by whose hand, Thy people still are fed."

Addresses of Welcome by the Rev. Alfred Gardner, the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, and the Rev. Dr. Marshall.

The Rev. Alfred Gardner, of Dundee, chairman of the Congregational Union of Scotland, first addressed the assembly.

Address by Rev. A. Gardner

Mr. President, Fellow Delegates of the International Congregational Council: I count myself fortunate in this third meeting of the International Congregational Council, having fallen within my year of office as chairman of the Congregational Union of Scotland, and it is now my very pleasant duty on its behalf and also on behalf of all the Congregational churches in Scotland to give you the heartiest greeting, and to tender to you the warmest welcome.

And, brethren, I feel that I have a welcome to give that is well worth receiving. I welcome you first of all to Edinburgh, a city of such charm, a city of many historical memories and many noble associations. And

further, I bid you welcome to Scotland, a nation of no small repute amongst the lands and nations of the earth. I question, brethren, if there is any nation in the world so respected and revered as is the Scotch nation. And I say this without prejudice. I am not a Scotchman. I have not had that good fortune. But I have done my best to redress that shortcoming by exercising a ministry of twenty-four years in Scotland. The Scotch are esteemed and honoured first of all for their intellectual qualities. The Scotch people are nothing if they are not intellectual. Let me tell you they make the best audience in the world for the preacher, as those of you from abroad, from England and America and other places who are to preach here on Sundays, will find out for yourselves. Expectant, attentive, responsive listeners you will get. But more by their natural than intellectual qualities the Scotch people are respected everywhere for their qualities of soul and character.

No doubt, brethren, in Scotland we are moving away from many of our old positions of thought and practice. Scotland is passing through a transition period, but still I hold there is no more religious people in the world than the Scotch people. Scotch people have always reminded me of the old Jewish people, being like them a chosen people, or, as I like to put it, a choice people. In the Scotch nation, like in that old Jewish nation, and still it is in them, there is a keen business capacity which has brought to them a considerable commercial success and supremacy in the world. But there is also in them the Jacob who wrestled with the angel of the divine presence, and that trait in their character has still more abounded to the glory and the greatness of the Scotch people.

And brethren, while I am speaking about the religious character of the country to which you are come, I should like to refer to the out-and-out Protestantism of Scotland. The reformation of the sixteenth century came with far differing fortunes to differing countries, due mainly to the way the leaders themselves were profoundly penetrated or not with the religious spirit. The Reformation of the sixteenth century in France was a failure, and the reason of that was that the leaders there were not profoundly penetrated with the religious spirit. Compare England and Scotland in this respect. Dr. Charles Beard, in his fine Hibbert Lectures, has described the Reformation in England as a case of an arrested development—a most illuminating phrase that. And recent years have brought out more and more the truth of that description. But in Scotland, far from the Reformation being any case of arrested development, it was a revolution which went down to the roots of the national life and character. The differing fortunes the Reformation had in the two countries may be illustrated and explained in its two chief leaders. In England was Cranmer, a weak, vacillating man, a man who recanted no less than nine times, and would have recanted the tenth time if he thought his life would have been spared. There has been a lot of pious nonsense and idle sentiment talked about Cranmer's martyrdom and his death at the stake. But in John Knox compromise had no place. There was not a shadow, not a ghost of recantation about John Knox. That well-known story is very expressive of the man, that story of John Knox as a galley slave on a French vessel, offered an image of the Virgin Mary to worship, and saying, "Mother of God—this is no mother of God, I tell you, it is painted wood"—(I am sorry I cannot give you the Scotch for it)—and then he flung it into the river, adding: "she is fitter for swimming

than for being worshipped." That story was expressive of the man, and it is also expressive of the spirit in which the Scotch people received the Reformation. So let me tell you that you have come to a country, Protestant to its very core.

And I should like to end these few scattered remarks by giving you the heartiest welcome to our Scotch Congregationalism. The Congregational church in Scotland, as I suppose most of you know, is not a large body numerically, though, perhaps, it is not much smaller proportionately than most Congregational churches are. I hold very strongly that only people in an advanced intellectual, moral, and spiritual condition can receive Congregationalism and profit by it. For a long time I do not think Congregationalism will be a very large body, but its great hope lies in the future. We are not a large body numerically, but let me tell you we are a large body in spirit, in purpose, in aspiration. The Congregational church in Scotland is a church of native and vigorous growth. It has had its instructive work to do and as far as I have studied its history it has done it well. For reasons into which I need not enter, the Congregational church in Scotland has not the political complexion that it has in England and we have not the same political battles to fight. But let me say, brethren, that we in Scotland sympathise with you with all our hearts in your difficulties and your political struggles, and now and again as at Dundee lately we send you a good man to fight your battles for you.

But Congregationalism has had its own work to do in Scotland. It has in the first place to make real and practical that definition by Arnold of Rugby of a Christian church, the finest definition I know—"A society which exists for making men Christ-like." Have you ever found a finer definition than that, brethren—"A society which exists for making men Christ-like?" And I may say in passing that a by-product of our existence in Scotland has been the furnishing England with a number of excellent principals, professors and ministers. Why, four of the leading principals in England at the present time come out of our Congregationalism and we have even sent to America our excellent Principal, President Mackenzie. I hope you Americans value him. But what is the particular work of the Congregational church in Scotland? In a sentence it may be summed up as the demonstration of the sufficiency and supremacy of spiritual influence, at one in the maintenance of a church in truth, in unity, and in Christian works. Now Presbyterianism has the defects of its good qualities as, of course, Congregationalism has, and every "ism," and if I may be allowed to say it in the presence of distinguished representatives of Presbyterianism with us this evening, Presbyterianism to my mind tends to much of externalism. It is apt to rely too much on outward and artificial bonds. And so we have sought to be an object lesson to Scotland of how, even with as little machinery and organisation as possible, with no official creed, a church may be a living, active denomination, one in truth, one in love—I emphasise love—and in Christian life generally. There is a story told of St. Benedict that once, hearing of a solitary who, not content with shutting himself up in a cave in the mountains, in order that he might not break his vow, bound himself by a chain to the rock; St. Benedict told him to break his fetters and said, "If thou art truly a servant of God, bind thyself with the chain of Christ and not with any chains of iron." And we Congregationalists in Scotland dispensing with all outward and artificial bonds, with all chains of human forging, have sought to bind ourselves only with the

chain of Christ, with the chain of the spirit. And so I think we have played no small or insignificant part in the religious life of the land.

The Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson, D.D., Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, next addressed the assembly.

Address by Rev. R. Wardlaw Thompson

Mr. President, Brethren and Sisters of the Council and Friends,—I am only the Chairman of the English Union. I cannot speak as my brother from Scotland has done of the quality of the people or of the quality of the churches. I am glad he told you that they are a small body in Scotland because I was afraid that after the description he gave of the quality of the people, the Secretary of the Congregational Union of Scotland would have been sorely disturbed by the receipt of a very large number of letters from men wishing to speak to an intellectual people. Though I am only Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, I can assure you it is to me a very profound pleasure to take part in this great gathering, the third of the kind which I have been privileged to attend. And I count it a very great honour to be the mouthpiece of welcome to friends from over the seas on behalf of the members of the churches which I represent. One great advantage of the modern conveniences of travel for a restless people like ourselves is that it has wonderfully increased the opportunity of going to and fro and meeting each other. Friends across the sea are no longer parted from us as in the old days by a lifelong separation. It becomes increasingly easy and natural for colonists to come home to revive old memories or to become acquainted with the old stock. And a visit to the Colonies is no longer to be regarded as so serious and heroic an undertaking as some folks thought it years ago. So soon can we get to each other, that if the colonies make it easy for us to go and see them, one of these days I hope we shall have the joy of meeting as a Council in the Antipodes, because, as our chairman has reminded us, steam and electricity have almost annihilated space. We get from one part of the world to another with amazing speed, and with a comfort which very much disturbs our ideas of domestic simplicity at home. As for the United States, American heiresses in ever fresh and growing supply are replenishing the exhausted fortunes of our old families, and American divines, like summer flights of swallows, rest in ever larger numbers every year on the shores of these small islands on their way to the playgrounds of Europe. We may surely congratulate ourselves on these changes, for we meet frequently and know each other fairly well, and we in the old country rejoice in the opportunity which this gathering affords of meeting so large a number of friends from over the sea, from the great Republic, from that ancient colony the Dominion of Canada, which is one of these days to have such a development. When one travels across its vast extent and sees its enterprising people, one thinks of the future and rejoices over it. Then we have with us representatives of the Commonwealth of Australia, from New Zealand and South Africa, representatives from the continent of Europe, and representatives of the Mission field, and we welcome you all with joyful hearts.

The ease of meeting is making it possible to meet often and it is good for us that we should meet frequently, that we who have a common cause, a common responsibility, a common enterprise, may be one in our understanding of the times and in our effort to meet the many demands which are made upon us. We remember with much satisfaction the first of these gatherings, when a band of stalwarts visited us in London. We Congregationalists are sometimes charged with being very defective in *esprit de corps*. We do not make as much of our denomination, of our great unity, as we might. We have a glorious past, a great heritage to remember and we sometimes belittle it, and we are very careless about instructing our children in our history. But there was no temptation to belittle Congregationalism at that great gathering in London, when we were proud to see what goodly fruit the plant of a spiritual freedom, untrammelled by fixed creed and uncramped by any ecclesiastical organisation, could bear in congenial soil.

And then some of us were privileged to accept your invitation to visit you in Boston, and never shall we forget the unaffected friendliness, the lavish heartiness, of your abundant and thoughtful hospitality. Nor shall we forget the thrill of that common sympathy which awakened and deepened and became strong as we visited the Mecca of the Congregational Churches of New England at Plymouth Rock. We learned also on that occasion some valuable lessons about the educational, the religious, the municipal, the social life of the United States which have greatly helped us in the endeavour to understand your position and the claims upon you, and which have furnished us also with food for a little reflection. Perhaps it is prejudice, perhaps it is pardonable pride, but I confess that that reflection is not in every case to the disparagement of the old country.

Now we meet again in this ancient centre of learning, the home of romance, and crowded with inspiring associations with the history of the struggle for religious liberty. We welcome you all now as old friends. The shyness of the first introduction has passed. We know something of each other's life and work and we realise that we may help each other more faithfully to maintain the witness and to accomplish the tasks which are entrusted to us in the general economy of the Church of Christ.

I suppose there is always a tendency to imagine that the present time is the time of supreme and anxious importance, so I am not saying anything new or startling in suggesting that our present meeting is a peculiarly opportune meeting. It is. We and you have great and pressing questions awaiting our consideration. It is not a question of new theology or old. There has been and is theological unrest, and there will be as long as men's minds are active and they are enquiring into the truth of God. We shall be bound to look at things from different standpoints as time goes on, as education and changing conditions of life and thought bring us new standards, and the theological unrest is a sign of health in one respect. At any rate it is not a matter to be altogether bewailed. That Christ, who is the centre of our life, is ever fresh, ever full, and is King of all the earth. We have no fear about the Gospel. We have no fear that when men look upon the face of Jesus they will be in any doubt about him. What we trouble about, some of us, is whether our manifestation of Christ is suited to the needs of the age, and the question that is arising in many forms with us is, How can we so present Christ to men that

they shall see that he is Lord and King of human spirits, solver of all doubts and difficulties, the transformer of all life into the noble likeness of the Son of God.

Christianity, we believe, is the only influence capable of meeting and solving the great questions of the social and economic trouble of our time. Are we in our Congregational life realising our position? Are we able to express Christ to men, to interpret Christ to men, so that they shall not see the church order but see the lineaments of the Son of Man and be drawn to him and feel his power, and know his saving grace.

And then God has been doing wonderful things in the world. A condition of things exists in the non-Christian lands to-day such as never existed before and the claim upon the church of Christ, and the responsibility on the church of Christ is more pressing to-day than ever before to make Christ known now to all the nations of the earth, in the time of transition, in the time of awakening, in the time of seeking after new help and new light. And we are asking ourselves, Are we equal to the task. Is there something in us or in our organizations and methods, or in our spiritual life which hinders us from accepting the great charge and performing the great task worthily? And it is well that we should meet together, well that we should speak to each other, on many questions which go right down to the roots of personal life and conduct. We thank our president for his candour in speaking about matters which he has looked at from the point of view of the pew. We need to look at them from the point of view of pew and pulpit, to see how we, as Congregational churches, free to adopt any method, may so express Christ through our methods that the methods shall not be seen but the presence of the Christ be felt. And we rejoice when we meet together, when we compare notes together, when we make suggestions to each other, when we help each other as we can, in any way we can, to realise the high ideals of the Christian life which Congregational church polity sets before us.

Brethren, we hail with deep thankfulness the manifestation in many quarters of the growing of unity and mutual recognition that is present among the various sections of the church of Christ, but we feel that Congregationalism has its own distinctive message for the age and the community. And we long to see the Congregational Churches taking their place—the place won for them by the consecration of their fathers in the past—in the van of the great campaign against the evils which beset human nature and hinder the coming of the kingdom of God. We welcome you to this Conference, not simply that we may have the pleasure of fellowship for a few days with friends of our own kith and kin spiritually, but that in earnest converse with each other under the guidance of the Spirit of truth and love, in the Master's presence, the result of these meetings may be to help and inspire us all to truer, broader and nobler service in the Kingdom of Christ and in the redemption of the world.

The Right Rev. Theodore Marshall, D.D., Moderator of the Church of Scotland, next addressed some words of welcome to the Council.

Address by The Right Rev. Theodore Marshall, D.D.

Mr. Chairman and Brethren,—I esteem it a very high honour and a very great privilege to be invited, though not a member of the

Congregational Union, to extend to you in this city, and in this land a very warm welcome. It is I think one of the signs of the times and one of the most agreeable signs of the times that members of different churches may now so freely meet together and speak to each other without anyone supposing for a moment that either of us make light of our principles, or hold these principles lightly.

You have been good enough to ask me, a man who is, lock, stock and barrel a state-churchman, you have asked me, a strong Presbyterian, to address you here to-night, and I believe that neither I nor you for a single moment make light of our principles. But we recognise that we have each our own work to do. We realise I think that we are members of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic church. We realise I think that however different we may seem to be—though I think there are a great many bonds of union between us—that however different we may seem to be we have, each of us may have, something that we may learn the one from the other.

Well, I wish to do what I am really asked to do, to extend to you a warm welcome to this country and to this city. I can assure you who come from other parts of the world that if there were no other reason why we might extend a warm welcome to those representing the Congregational churches, one is that we—I am speaking of those of us who are no longer young—have a very pleasant memory of Congregationalism, the church to which one who was perhaps as highly esteemed in my young days as any man in Scotland belonged—a man who had few equals—and still fewer, if any, excelled him—Dr. Lindsay Alexander. The church of Dr. Lindsay Alexander, for his sake if for nothing else, will be welcomed in Edinburgh. I remember as a boy and a young man very frequently wending my way on Sunday afternoons to Augustine church, when Dr. Lindsay Alexander was at his prime. I remember the great congregations—whether it was our Scotch intellectualism or whether it was because of his fascinating eloquence I don't know, but a congregation composed, I believe, almost as much of Episcopalians and of Presbyterians as of Congregationalists, came from Sunday to Sunday to listen to the wise instruction, to the persuasive eloquence, of one of the most graceful preachers I ever heard.

Well, my friends, you have other claims upon us. You have done a very great deal indeed in proportion to your numbers—for I fully appreciated the remark of one of the earlier speakers—a very great deal in proportion to your numbers, to advance theological science, to the benefit of all the churches. I am quite sure that our theology to-day, the resources of those of us who have to preach, would be infinitely less than they are, if it had not been for your scholars and for your preachers. The church which has given to the United Kingdom Dr. Dale has laid all the churches under a debt of gratitude. And we Scotch people are proud of one who has already been named to-night—Principal Fairbairn. We all benefit by his labours and we very joyfully welcome you who come to represent the church of this great man.

I shall not mention others. I think the three I have mentioned are enough to show the quality of the religious body which is represented here to-night, and so far as I may speak in the name of the National Church of Scotland we welcome you here. We shall follow your proceedings with the greatest interest. We shall learn all we can learn from what you say and do. I daresay you will say and do a great many things we do not agree with, but we shall lay to heart the lesson you give us because we shall feel sure that whatever you say and do is done

thoughtfully, it is done considerately, and that to every word you utter it will be worth our while to listen. And we shall not be very sorry even when you go away if you should have learned that after all, we, too, are trying to do our part, that we are doing our share of the work which has fallen to us to do. We have our history behind us, a history for which I am profoundly thankful. You have your history behind you, a history for which you are profoundly thankful. The time may come when in the providence of God, as he directs, and at the time he selects, our histories may blend together.

I recall a little personal incident. It is the second time, I may say, within the last few weeks that I have occupied this chair. During the sittings of our assembly, very unexpectedly, I was asked to preside over a joint meeting of my own church and the United Free Church, to whom this hall belongs; and here I am, a humble presbyter, but a staunch presbyter of the church of Scotland, addressing you, the great Congregational Union. I earnestly trust you may have a profitable time, that you may have a pleasant time, and that all of us may learn to understand each other better, and so be able each of us to do better our own share of the common work which our Master has entrusted to us.

Closing Remarks by the President

Is Mr. Peter Campbell (Chairman of the Baptist Union of Scotland) here? If not, we will bring this meeting to an early close. I think it will be an advantage, because it will give a great many of our guests a longer opportunity of making the acquaintance of their hosts and hostesses. Before bringing it to a close I am sure this meeting will desire me to express to the three gentlemen who have spoken our cordial thanks for the kindness of their words of welcome. Their speeches have been characteristic of the three men, and of the churches they represent, and I am sure we shall all go away feeling that they have helped us to realise more closely the unity of the spirit in which we trust, and in our Saviour.

After the singing of the doxology, the Chairman pronounced the benediction, the meeting terminating at 8.40.

Wednesday, July 1, 1908

MORNING SESSION

Under the presidency of the Hon. T. C. McMillan (United States) one of the Vice-presidents, the session was opened with the singing of "In the Cross of Christ I glory," followed by prayer by the Rev. F. J. Day, M.A., B.D., of Montreal.

Election of Honorary Members

The Rev. R. J. Wells read a list of names suggested as honorary members as follows:—

Rev. Prof. Paterson, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. A. R. S. Kennedy, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. M. C. Taylor, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. J. Patrick, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. J. A. Paterson, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Principal Marcus Dods, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. A. Martin, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. Macintosh, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. McEwan, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. J. J. Simpson, D.Sc., of Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. J. Kelman, of Edinburgh; Very Rev. Dr. Cameron Lees, of Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. Alex Whyte, of Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. W. M. MacGregor, of Edinburgh; Rev. George Steven, of Edinburgh; Rev. D. W. Forrest, D.D., of Edinburgh; Rev. Dr. MacGregor, of Edinburgh; Rev. Prof. Wylie, of Edinburgh.

This list was unanimously approved.

Remarks by the Chairman

It gives me great satisfaction and highest pleasure to follow the distinguished chairman of this body. It is a high honour for me to preside in the city of my fathers, and the capital of my own native land in such an assemblage as this.

The chairman said that the first duty of the council was to elect a committee consisting of four from the United States, four from the British Isles, two from British Australia, and two from Canada.

The Constitution

The Rev. R. J. Wells having reminded the council that a portion of the constitution had not been decided on the previous day,

Professor Nash suggested that the constitution should be adopted provisionally, and that the matter should be referred to the committee to be elected for their consideration and report.

Rev. R. J. Wells seconded.

Carried unanimously.

Election of Committee

The Committee was then nominated as follows :—

British Isles.—Mr. A. J. Shepheard, L.C.C., Dr. Forsyth, Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A., and Dr. A. W. Russell.
United States.—Mr. W. R. Patton, Hon. R. H. Hays, Dr. P. S. Moxom, Dr. L. H. Hallock.
Australia.—Rev. Jas. Buchan, M.A., Rev. J. W. Jones.
Canada.—Mr. C. Cushing, Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A.

The Chairman at this point invited Dr. Alex. Whyte to a seat on the platform, which he took amidst applause.

The first address was given by the Rev. Peter Taylor Forsyth, M.A., B.D., principal of Hackney College, London, who took as his subject, "Forgiveness through Atonement the Essential of Evangelical Christianity." Before commencing his address, Dr. Forsyth led the Council in prayer.

ADDRESS BY REV. PETER TAYLOR FORSYTH, M.A., D.D.

FORGIVENESS THROUGH ATONEMENT THE ESSENTIAL OF EVANGELICAL CHRISTIANITY

One of the acutest problems of the church at this moment is that raised by the pressure of the critical method upon the New Testament. It is not only to apply to the New Testament the criticism which has been so fruitful with the Old Testament. That is intricate enough, and much more intricate for the New Testament than for the Old Testament. But the problem is more than intricate. It is profound and spiritual. It comes nearer than Old Testament problems do to the centre of the soul, the word of conscience, the essence of faith, and our eternal hope. It is to apply criticism to the New Testament, regardful of the fact that we have there what we do not have in the Old Testament. We have everything clustering round a historic personality, with whom the soul is in direct and living communion to-day, and a final and eternal act of God as the consummation of that personality—an act which fundamentally altered the whole moral relation of the race to Him. We have to do in the New Testament with the person of Christ and with the cross of Christ. And in the last issue with the cross of Christ because it is the one key to his person.

In approaching this subject let us be clear about our starting point. In our modern psychology we start from the primacy of the will, and we bring everything to the test of man's practical and ethical life. And so, here also we start ethically from the holiness of God as the supreme interest in the Christian revelation. The standpoint taken throughout is that which I believe to be the position of the New Testament. That book represents a grand holiness movement ; but it is one which is more concerned with God's holiness than ours, and lets ours grow of itself by dwelling on his. Christianity is concerned with God's holiness before all else ; which issues to man as love, acts upon sin as grace, and exercises grace through judgment. The idea of God's

holiness is inseparable from the idea of judgment as the mode by which grace goes into action. And by judgment is meant not merely the self-judgment which holy grace and love stir in man, but the acceptance by Christ of God's judgment on man's behalf and its conversion in him to our blessing by faith.

By the atonement, therefore, is meant that action of Christ's death which has a prime regard to God's holiness, has it for its first charge and finds man's reconciliation impossible except as that holiness is divinely satisfied once for all on the cross. Such an atonement is the key to the incarnation. We must take that view of Christ which does most justice to the holiness of God.

So viewed the atonement is central :—

I. To the New Testament Gospel (Harnack);
II. To the leading features of modern thought;
III. To Christian experience.

I shall reserve II. for treatment elsewhere as being perhaps less suitable for an occasion like the present.

And by centrality is meant something far more than that the doctrine is the pivot of an adjusted and balanced system of thought, something much more vital and effective for moral life and the life of the soul. By centrality is meant finality for human history and destiny. It is meant that when Jesus died for our sins he died once for all, that he did not merely signalise in a classic way the expiation all must dree, and illustrate and cheer every man's atonement for his own misdeeds. It is meant beyond that, first, that in the atonement we have primarily the act of God, and the act of God's holiness ; second, that it alone makes any repentance or expiation of ours satisfactory to God; and third, that as regards man it is a revolutionary act, and not merely a stage in his evolution. It is further meant that our view of what Christ was and did, must be the view that does most justice to the holiness of God and takes most profoundly and seriously the hallowing of his name.

A true grasp of the atonement, not only meets many positive features of the present age, but above all it meets the age in its need and impotence, its need of a centre, of an authority, of a creative source, a guiding line, and a final goal. It goes with our best positive tendencies and it meets our negative need, our lack of a fixed point. All around us is in a growing flux; change is everywhere; and it may or may not be development according as our fixed standard and goal may be. With no centre, either for its own action or for our estimate, it means disintegration. And especially does our religion need a moral centre. It grows on the one hand evolutionary, and therefore inevitably unearnest; and on the other hand sentimental. It harps on love till it reaches the condition of those decently demoralised people who read nothing but the literature of love, dwell on nothing else, slacken every moral fibre by the submission to this of every other interest in life, and finally gravitate to a chief interest in its morbid or immoral forms. Fraternity grows at the cost of fidelity, the democratic sympathies and pities monopolise the moral world, the moral type changes, another scale of virtues fills the ideal. "Among the working class," says Miss Loane from a long experience as district nurse, "generosity ranks before justice, sympathy before truth, love before chastity, a pliant and

obliging disposition before a rigidly honest one. In brief," she continues, " the less admixture of intellect required for the practice of any virtue the higher it stands in the popular estimation." But what does that mean but the retreat of the protestant type of life before the Roman, of the evangelical virtues before the catholic, of heroic faith before humanist, of Paul before Pelagius. It means the removal of authority from a positive centre in Christ's redeeming act to what I might call a diffused centre in the church, from a new moral man once for all in the cross to the man periodically renewed in kindly sacraments. What is lacking to current and weak religion is the very element supplied in the atoning cross as the reconciling judgment of the world.

That is the general theme which I would enlarge.

I

In regard to Christ's cross, and within the New Testament, we are to-day face to face with a new situation. We are called upon, sometimes in the tones of a religious war, to set Jesus against Paul and to choose. We are bidden release him from Paul's arrest, to raise him from that tomb in which he was buried by the apostle of the resurrection, and loose him and let him go. The issue comes to a crisis in the interpretation of the death of Christ. To treat that death as more than a martyrdom, or to allow it more than a supreme degree of the moral effect upon us of all self-sacrifice, is called a gratuitous piece of theology. To treat it as anything more than the seal of Jesus's own faith in the love of God, or in his prophetic message of reconciliation is to sophisticate. To regard it as more than the closing incident in a life whose chief value lies in its history (which all the time criticism slowly dissolves), is a piece of perverse religious ingenuity much like the doctrine of Transubstantiation. To regard it as having anything to do with God's judgment on man's sin, or as being the ground of forgiveness, is a piece of grim Judaism or gloomy Paulinism. The death of Jesus had no more to do with sin than the life of Jesus; and Jesus in his life made no such fuss about sin as Christianity has done. The death of Jesus had really no more to do with the conditions of forgiveness than one of Fox's martyrs. Every man must make his own atonement; and Jesus did the same, only on a scale corresponding to the undeniable greatness of his personality, and impressive accordingly.

Such teaching removes Christ from the Godhead of grace and makes him but the chief means of grace. It is not ours. In my humble judgment it is quite foreign to Congregationalism, and incompatible with it. For a Congregational church is not a band of disciples or inquirers, but a community of believers, confessors, and regenerates in Christ's cross. Congregationalism, as an evangelical body, has stood, and stands, not only for the supreme value of Christ's death, but for its prime value as atonement to a holy God, and as the only atonement whereby man is just with God. The atonement which raises that death above the greatest martyrdom, or the greatest witness of God's love, is for us no piece of Paulinism.

Of course, we have all felt the reticence of the Gospels on that doctrine. But how can we avoid feeling its real presence in them except by coming to them with a dogmatic humanism, or a heckling criticism, or a conscience mainly æsthetic. Why one of the most

advanced New Testament scholars in America is, I believe, at work on a book to prove that the main interest of St. Mark is not biographical, but dogmatic on such matters as baptism and atonement. The Gospels stand at least on the atoning deed, they were written for a church created by it, and they give singular space to it. Even in John, Jesus is not a disguised God urging people to pierce his veil; he is there to do a work that only his death could do, as a corn of wheat must die to bear. And the Epistles are full of the meaning of that deed.

And where did their interpretation of its meaning come from? From Paul's rabbinism? From the Judaism of his upbringing? From the fanciful speculations of his environment? Was it an interpretation or an importation? Well, where does Paul himself say he got the atoning conception of Christ's death? He received it from the Lord? What does that mean? Was it really but some flash of insight peculiar to his own genius or his idiosyncrasy. Was it a feat of ingenious interpretation? No doubt it took, in certain lights, the colour of his rabbinic mind, but was it in essence just an original and daring application of Judaic theology to the crucifixion? Was it a brilliant construction whose flash he mistook for a special revelation? No, in its substance it was a part of the Christian instruction which completed his conversion at Damascus. It was from his teachers that he had the atoning interpretation of Christ's death. He delivered to his churches what he received among the fundamentals (ἐν πρώτοις) from earlier Christians, that Christ died for our sins, that his blood was shed for their remission, that his death set up a new relation or covenant between God and man, and that all Israel's history and Bible meant this. In the year 57, that is, he states that such was the common faith of the apostolic community when he was converted, three or four years after Christ's death. It was nothing he developed or edited, but it was something which came from Jesus himself. Paul received it from the Lord because it came to him from those who had so received it at first.

And how came the apostolic circle to have this view of Christ's death? Could *they* have foisted on the cross an interpretation so audacious? Must they not have been taught by Christ so to view it, in such words as are echoed in the ransom passage and at the Last Supper? We have the same idea, with natural enough variants, in Peter, in John, and in Hebrews. No; the first teacher of the atonement was the Christ who made it. It is no Paulinism, except in certain side lights. Had the apostles held the humanist view that what mattered was but the life, character and teaching of Christ, would they have given the hand of fellowship to Paul when he came to them with the view that these mattered little compared with Christ's death? Would Paul have taken their hand, with that gulf between them. And what a gulf! It is at bottom all the gulf between the Judaism which killed Christ as Beelzebub and the Christianity which found in his death his deity. The whole history of the church shows that there can be no standing unity of faith or spirit between those to whom Christ's death is but a great martyrdom and those to whom it is the one atonement of the world and God, the one final treatment of sin, and the one compendious work of grace.

We have been warned against the idea that Christ taught about himself or his work as an essential element of his own Gospel. We are told that he is detachable from his Gospel, if not in history yet in principle. We received it through him, to be sure, but we do not

necessarily have it in him. But let us leave the question whether he taught himself, and go back to the prior question. Is the Gospel, is Christianity, primarily what Jesus taught? Is that the whole Gospel? Is it the focus of it? Or the standard? Is the Gospel confined to the Galilean ministry? Are we to test every teaching of an apostle by what is left us of the teaching of the Master—either by that alone or by that in chief? Where in the New Testament do we find the authority for that limitation. Where does Jesus impose it? It is surely clear that those he taught never understood him so. If they had, could they have done anything else than go about retailing that teaching, with a lament at its premature arrest? But is that what they did? The prime thing, and the earliest thing, we know about their teaching (I have just said) is that Christ crowned Israel by dying for our sins. It has not the note of regret, nor the note of transmitted precept. When precepts were wanted they made new ones for the occasion, on the free evangelical principle, and not on the canonist. They applied the redemption to particular junctures freely, in the spirit; they did not make a casuistic application of Christ's maxims. They did not attack Jew or Gentile even with the parables. James himself, who might have been expected to abjure the Pauline method, and take the strictly ethical line, does not draw his precepts from the armoury of synoptic injunction, or treat Christ as the Chief Rabbi of Israel. Nay, they did not even work with the mere personal impression made on them by Jesus, with the magnetism of a personality whose acts or whose words another Rabbi might criticise. They worked with his person as itself the message, and the final message, with a faith which was not a piece of impressionism but the worship of their new creator, which therefore did not fade as an impression does, but grew as a new life. Whether Christ taught himself or not, what he gave, what he left behind, was himself above all; and himself as no mere impressionist but as the Saviour, the New Creator. His legacy was neither a truth nor a collection of them, nor a character and its imaginative memory, but a faith that could not stop short of giving him the worship reserved by all the past for God alone. And what did this? It was the cross, when it came home by the resurrection through the Spirit. It was then that Jesus became the matter and not merely the master of gospel preaching, then that he became Christ indeed, then when he became perfected! Perfected! He became the finished Saviour only in the finished salvation. And, for those who worshipped him first, all he was to them centred in the cross and radiated from there. It was he who was made sin for them in the cross that became for them God reconciling the world to himself. He was all to them in the cross, where he died for their sin, and took away the guilt of the world, according to their Scriptures. It was then that he finished the universal task latent in their national religion, and dealt once for all before God with the sin of the world. That was the starting point of the Gospel; that made it missionary, made the church; and it is the content of the Gospel. And it is always to there that the church must come back, to take its bearings, and be given its course.

The very silence of Christ makes his atonement the holiest place of Christian faith. But it was not absolute silence. It was reserve. And he broke it in Paul. The exposition in the Epistles is the Saviour's own work upon his work. He becomes his own divine scholiast. If he lived in Paul submerging Paul (Gal. ii. 20) then Paul's word here



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was a continuation of Christ's work. It is Christ giving that account of himself which in the Gospels was restrained, partly for want of an audience that could understand or a disciple that could apprehend. His silence is not so surprising. If he showed himself after his resurrection only to the disciples, if he refused to make it a miraculous appeal to the sceptical world, so, in the still holier matter of his cross, he may well have been reserved, even to his own. The great doers are greatly dumb. And Christ was straitened in the doing of the mighty work. But his church—it is no wonder that his church has been prompt to praise it, keen to pierce, and eager to construe it. For the church is the organ which cannot but speak and praise when the Master's silent touch on the keys sets free its soul.

It is sometimes said that the great question of the hour for the church's belief is Christological; it is the question of Christ's person. That is true. But it is the question of the cross all the same. For the question of the Christ is the question of the Saviour. It is not a metaphysical question, but a religious. It is not philosophical, but experimental. It is theological chiefly as being ethical—as turning on sinful man's practical relation to the ethic of eternity, which is the conscience of a Holy God. The question of Christ is not the question of a divine hypostasis, but of a divine Saviour. Technically spoken, the Christology turns on a soterology.

But the question of a Saviour is the question of a salvation. It turns not only on an experience, and the experience of a historic person, but upon what is for us a *revolutionary* experience and not a mere impression, however deep. The sote*ro*logy turns on a sote*rio*logy. The centre of Christ is where the centre of our salvation is. He is Christ, he is God, to us in that he saves us. And he is Christ by that in him which saves us. He is Christ and Lord by his cross. Christian faith is our life-experience of complete and final forgiveness in Christ. It does not *include* forgiveness; It *is* forgiveness. Its centre is the centre of forgiveness. Only the redeemed church, the church that knows the forgiveness, has the key to the Saviour. His blessings are the key to his nature; they do not wait till the nature is first defined. No philosopher, as such, has the key, no theologian, no scholar, no critic; only the believer, only the true church. And we have it where the evangelical experience has always found its forgiveness—in the cross. Our faith begins with the historic Christ. But not with the biography of Christ (except for propædeutic purposes). We begin, in principle if not in method, with Christ the crucified. Not with a writer's picture of Christ the prophet but with the work of Christ the Saviour, continuous in the church it made, and made the mother of our own soul. Mere historic knowledge can create no salvation; which is not given by certainty about a historic fact, nor by any intelligent grasp of it, but by faith in it, in that within it which is superhistoric. And faith finds in this fact of the cross worlds more than a prophet's martyrdom. It finds the depth of God, and not merely the depth of the martyr's convictions. The Christ that we trust all to is not one who died to witness for God, but one in whom God died for his own witness, and his own work on us. God was in Christ reconciling. The prime doer in Christ's cross was God. Christ was God reconciling. He was God doing the very best for man, and not man doing his very best before God. The former is evangelical Christianity, the latter is humanist Christianity. Christ's history, his person, can only be understood by his work, and by a work

we apprehend in our moral experience even when we cannot comprehend it by our intelligence. We believe with the unity of our person much that we cannot yet reduce to logical unity. And our soul, our self, finds itself in him long before our mind does—just as, in the case of his own life, he but gradually appropriated and realised by experience the content of his own personality. The Christ we worship is Christ as forgiver, as redeemer, new creator, and judge of all. His relation to the God of thought is something we can wait for; it is a question of the metaphysic, or the theosophy, of Christian faith and ethic. But the church's belief in the divinity of Christ is the result of her experience of justifying faith, of being restored and raised into the communion of God by union with His Christ in faith. To be united with Christ is, in our experience, to be united with God. Therefore, Christ is God. I am redeemed in Christ, and only God can redeem.

Our chief legacy from the past is distance and alienation from God. The chief problem of the present (and of every present) is to reduce and destroy that. It is reconciliation. But reconciliation is no æsthetic, or educational, or impressionist affair. It is not a revival. It is not a question of moving a certain number of individuals, and gathering them for salvation out of a lost mankind. It cannot be done by a magnetic temperament, a noble character, or a lofty sage. It means changing a race's relation to God. We have to be redeemed into that reconciliation, and redeemed as a race. It is a work that has to be done, and not merely a personal influence that has to be conveyed. Christ did not die simply to affect men but to effect salvation, not simply to move man's heart but to accomplish God's will. It is all the following up of a great and final deed—the cross.

It is the cross, then, that is the key to Christ. None but a Christ essentially divine could do what the church beyond all other knowledge knows the cross to have done for its soul. The divinity of Christ is what the church was driven to to explain the effect on it of the cross, the new creation, so much deeper than any impression on us, and calling for an author so much more than prophetic in soul. The atonement of the cross is the key that opens the door, but the house we enter is not made with hands. It is the very heart of God. We are not landed in a vestibule but straight in the sanctuary of the place. This Son of God is God the Son.

II

In the life of Dr. Dale it is mentioned that in his closing years he was much impressed with the remark of a friend that it was high time the word grace returned to our preaching. He felt that it had been ousted by the word love, in our vehement reaction from theological orthodoxy. And he knew that any gospel of love which was not dominated by the idea of grace had but a short and feckless life before it.

Now, though the idea of grace has returned to our preaching, it has not returned to an extent that would have satisfied Dr. Dale. And one reason for that is that the attention of the Christian public in the interval has been deflected. It has been deflected towards social sympathies, at the cost of personal experimental and I will say ethical religion. At the cost of ethical religion, I will say. For we have lost the sense of sin, which is the relation of the conscience to the conscience of God. And apart from sin grace has little meaning. The

decay of the sense of sin measures our loss of that central Christian idea; and it is a loss which has only to go on to extinguish Christianity.

It is reported from most quarters in England that there is a serious decline in church membership. For this several explanations are given. But it is well to face the situation, and to avoid extenuation. And if we do, we should admit to ourselves frankly that the real cause is the decay, not in religious interests or sympathies, but in personal religion of a positive and experienced kind, and often in the pulpit. Religious sympathies or energies are not Christian faith. Faith is Christian certainty. We have become familiar with the statement (so welcome to easy religion) that there is as good Christianity outside the churches as in. This is not quite false, but it is more false than true. It would be true enough if Christianity meant decent living, nice ways, precious kindness, business honour, ardent philanthropy, and public righteousness. But all these fine and worthy things are quite compatible with the absence of personal faith as Christ claims it, in the sense of personal experience of God in Jesus Christ, personal repentance, and personal peace in Christ as our eternal life. Yet that is God's first charge on us. And it is the kind of Christianity which alone makes for a church and its membership. A Christianity merely ethical, refined, or sympathetic certainly makes for the social state, if you can keep it up; but the Christianity that makes for the church is of a much more intimate, personal, and positive kind. And its absence must not only diminish the roll of membership but reduce interest in the great religious issue between church and state. The reports that come in are as clear about the cooling of that interest as they are about the drop in the membership of the churches. My diagnosis is that both are due to a decay of membership in Christ. Our social preoccupation has entailed real damage to personal and family religion. For even among those who remain in active membership of our churches the type of religion has changed. The sense of sin can hardly be appealed to by the preacher now, and to preach grace is in many even orthodox quarters regarded as theological obsession, and the wrong language for the hour, while justification by faith is practically obsolete. Well, it may be wise not to preach about grace, but it is fatal if that is because we do not have it, instead of because we reserve it, if the reason be of truth and not of its economy.

I know what is said in reply, and it is said with much force. It is said that the sense of sin has not departed but has only changed its form. We are more dull to individual sin because we are more alive to social sin. We have public compunction instead of personal repentance.

To that remark I would answer two things.

First. Public compunction does not move to seek forgiveness, which is the prime righteousness of the Kingdom of God, but to pursue redress and reform. And redress and reform is not what makes Christianity. Christianity is a religion of redemption, but that is a religion of amelioration or assuagement. It is engrossed with the wrong done to our brother and not to our God, and it is therefore to that extent the less religious.

But second. The tendency is welcome in so far as this, that we cannot stop there. The more public it makes the sin, the more social and racial, so much the more does it drive us upon a treatment of sin which is ethical and not temperamental, racial as well as personal, and

not only racial but divine. Now there is no treatment of it which satisfies these demands of the soul, the conscience, society, and God, but the atonement in Christ's cross. In the old juridical theories the social, or racial, aspect of the atonement, its connexion with the moral order, is one of the great truths. And the more these theories become unsatisfactory on other grounds the more should their social sense of sin be developed in terms of modern society. But then the more sin is socialised so much the more imperative becomes the necessity of an atonement. As man grows the sin grows, our sin becomes unified, organised, and must therefore be dealt with at a centre. The social organism has a common and organic sin. And a collective sin must have a central treatment. The more I lament and amend social wrongs the more I must realise before God the responsibility for them of me and mine. It is not only the Plutocrats. If it is man that is wronged it is man that has wronged him, it is man that has sinned, man that is condemned. You cannot split up the race. You insist, indeed, on its solidarity. Its unity and solidarity is one of the commonplaces of modern thought. So, if sin there be, man is the sinner. Surely, therefore, the wrong inflicted on man sets up a corresponding responsibility on man at his centre; and it makes any atonement a matter of judgment, and not mere repentance or reparation. That seems inevitable if we believe in responsibility, and also believe in the unity of the human race. It seems logical.

But there is much more than logic in it. It comes home far more mightily and solemnly from the belief in another unity, the belief in the absolute moral unity of God, in a word, a real belief and a real sense of his holiness.

To bring sin home, and to bring grace home, we need that something else should come home which alone gives meaning to both—the holy. The grace of God cannot return to our preaching, or to our faith till we recover what has almost clean gone from our general, familiar, and current religion—I mean a due sense of the holiness of God. It has much gone from our public worship, with its frequent irreverence; from our sentimental piety, to which an ethical piety with its implicates is simply obscure; from our public morals, to which the invasion of property is more dreadful than the damnation of men. If our Gospel be obscure it is obscure to them in whom the slack God of the period has blinded their minds, and hidden the Holy One who inhabits eternity. This holiness of God is the real foundation of religion—it is certainly the ruling interest of the Christian religion. In front of all our prayer or work stands "Hallowed be Thy name." If we take the Lord's Prayer alone, God's holiness is the interest which all the rest of it serves. Neither love, grace, faith, nor sin have any but a passing meaning except as they rest on the holiness of God, except as they arise from it, and return to it, except as they satisfy it, show it forth, set it up, and secure it everywhere and for ever. Love is but its outgoing; sin is but its defiance; grace is but its action on sin; the cross is but its victory; faith is but its worship. The preacher preaches to the divinest purpose only when his lips are touched with the red coal from the altar of the thrice holy in the innermost place. We must rise beyond social righteousness and universal justice to the holiness of an infinite God. What we on earth call righteousness among men, the saints in heaven call holiness in the eternal God.

Have our churches lost that seal? Are we producing reform, social or theological, faster than we are producing faith? Then we are

putting all our religious capital into the extension of our business, and carrying nothing to reserve or insurance. We are mortgaging and starving the future. We are not seeking first the Kingdom of God and his holiness, but only carrying on, with very expensive and noisy machinery, a "kingdom-of-God-industry." We are merely running the kingdom, and we are running it without the cross—with the cross perhaps on our sign, but not in our centre. We have the old trade mark, but what does that matter in a dry and thirsty land where no water is, if the artesian well on our premises is going dry?

To bring *sin* home, and *grace* home, then, the *Holy* must be brought home. But that again can be done, on the scale of the church and the world, only by replacing the *cross* at the centre of Christian faith and life, as an atonement to this holy love. The centrality of the cross belongs to it only as an atoning cross. Only if Christ atoned for the world did he culminate in the cross, and do the great thing there. And it is as an atonement that the Church has kept the cross at its spiritual centre. This is still the moral problem of the church in relation to society. The form, indeed, of the church's moral problem will always depend on the social conditions of the hour; but the substance of it is always the same. It is practical. It is to place the moral centre of society upon the moral centre of the soul, upon the centre of the moral universe. And what is that but to place the conscience of society on Calvary. What is our problem to-day? It is to take the mass of men (and not only the masses)—inert and hopeless some, others indifferent, others hostile to God—and to reconcile them with God's holy will and righteous kingdom, to reconcile them not with the *ideal* of a kingdom of God, but with his *way* of it. It is to destroy our national and social dislike of that new enthusiasm, to supplant lust by a higher ardour, to bend the strongest wills to the obedience of the holiest, and by moral regeneration, to restore men both physically and socially. This is a tremendous task. It is the grand object of history. It is far beyond socialism. And no laws can do it, and no change of circumstances, but only Jesus Christ. It is the fruit of his work, of his holy love, his holy spirit, and his holy church, all flowing from his holy cross. And the more we are preoccupied with social righteousness so much the more we are driven to that centre where the whole righteousness of God and man found consummation, and adjustment, and a principle and a career, in the saving judgment of Christ's cross. The cross alone gives moral freedom, and moral independence to the mass of men, who were left to slavery by the heroic moral aristocracy of stoicism. It is the cross that makes moral worth an infectious power, and keeps character from being self-contained, and gives a moral guarantee of a social future. The cross is the spring, not of self-possessed and individualist righteousness, but of that creative and contagious goodness which makes possible the social state. Only at the centre of the cross does the man find himself in his kind, and both in God. A creative, missionary, and social ethic springs only from religion: and it springs most from the religion which is able to clothe us with the power of the creative, loving, outgoing God.

III

When we speak of the centrality of the Atonement, I have said, we mean much more, worlds more, than its place in a religious system.

This is no congress of scientific theologians, but an assembly of faith and a communion of saints. And we are speaking of that which is the centre, not of thought, but of life, conscience, history and destiny. We speak of what is the life-power of the moral world and its historic crisis, the ground of the church's existence, and the sole meaning of Christ himself. Christ is to us just what his cross is. All that Christ was in heaven or on earth was put into what he did there. And all that man's moral soul needs doing for it was done centrally there. Neither cross nor Christ is simply a historic fact by which we order our mental calendar; they make the sun in our heaven, the force in our world. They make our vital centre, not as mere facts, but as sacraments, not for their occurrence, but for their significance; not because we reckon from them, but because we live from them.

It is sometimes said, "There are several theories of the Atonement, but we have to do with the fact, and not with our understanding of it." This frame of mind is the root of all that is most feeble and ominous in our churches to-day. The one thing we need is to understand the Atonement, with a life's understanding, with a vital conscience. There it is that Christ comes to himself for good. There, as it were, he finds his tongue, and takes command of the deep eloquence of moral things. Christ, I repeat, is to us just what his cross is. You do not understand Christ till you understand his cross. Nor have you measured the moral world. Such a fact as Christ or his Atonement only exists as it is intelligible, as it comes home to us with a moral meaning and a moral nature. It is only by understanding it that it becomes anything else than a martyrdom, that it becomes the saving act of God. It is only by understanding it that we escape from religion with no mind and religion which is all mind, from pietism with its lack of judgment, and from rationalism with its lack of everything else.

If I may be pardoned for another reference to Dr. Dale, he said that one of our great needs was more preaching about Christian ethics. Well, since his time that need has been largely met, especially in the region of social ethics. Perhaps, indeed, it has been overdone, considering the amount of insight into ethical principle which we mostly have at command. We have been made to attend to the Christian life, in the sense of Christian conduct, at the expense of the Christian life in the inner sense of justifying faith. Ethic has been externalized. The effect of faith in conduct has been ethicized, but the nature of faith in experience has not; it has been sentimentalized. The centre of gravity has been transferred from the cross to the parable of the prodigal. So that what we need is the ethicizing of religion itself, and not simply of the fruits of religion. We want a religion ethical in itself, in its nature, genius and effect; we want more than a manner of life which is morality suffused with piety. And to ethicize religion we must restore to it, from its centre, that note of judgment which it has lost, that note of supreme reference to a holy God. The moralizing of Christian conduct is not the moralizing of Christian faith. But it is the faith that needs moralizing most. If conduct is wrong, it is the religion that needs reforming; the life will follow the faith. And to reform our religion we must be driven, not only *to* its centre but *into* its centre. You seek the ethicizing of religion, its rescue from theology and sentiment? Well, you can only get it by theology. The prime need of religion to-day is a theology. No religion can survive which does not

know where it is. And current religion does not know where it is, and it hates to be made to ask.

The ethicizing principle of religion must be the creative element in its source. Has it a moral source? To answer that question is theology; and it is a theology of judgment. Ours is an eternal faith, and it can only be moralized by the eternal righteousness, *i.e.* by its source in a holy God. The source of an eternal faith can only moralize that faith if there be established at its centre with might what reigns in the universe by right—the moral majesty, the holiness of God. That is theology; but it is also essential Christianity.

Yet so far have we got from this supreme concern of Christ, that when the effort is made to give it its true place for his work on earth, some minds, demoralized by their very religion, cry out against theology, and metaphysics, and academics. It is a cry charged with the ruin of the Christian future. There is nothing that need surprise us in the failure, the ebb, of any church which treats the holiness of God as a piece of theology, and its centrality to the conscience as a piece of metaphysic. What is the worth to the Christian gospel of a piety which calls the theology of holiness academic. Protest as you like against the language of pure thought, and the inaccessibility to relative man of the unconditioned absolute in the ethic of pure thought. Protest strongly against making salvation depend on assent to the metaphysics of Trinity. But when we have come to be so saturated with the religious impressionism of the hour that an ultimate concern of heart, soul and mind with the holiness of God is a strange tongue to us, and its satisfaction a mere piece of theology, then the kid is seethed in its mother's milk, and the soul sodden with the very religion that should be its food. Of course most men, even religious men, are unfamiliar with the holiness of God, but the unfamiliar is not the academic.

We are paying bitterly now, and we shall pay more bitterly yet, in the bewilderment of our youth, for that neglect by the church to educate its ministry in its own subject at the plastic time, which makes such talk possible. When preachers denounce theology, or a church despises it for literary or social charm, that is to sell the cross to be a pendant at the neck of the handsome world. It is spiritual poverty and baldness, it is not the simplicity in Christ, to be sick of grace, judgment, atonement, and redemption. The holiness of God has become a spent force if a gospel which turns entirely upon it is called metaphysical or academic.

IV

Be not ashamed of the cross of Christ, for there alone the final and public righteousness of God is revealed to our growing faith. A moral order of the world is our one modern certainty, among those who are certain of anything. And if, as we Christians believe, this moral order reflects the nature of a holy God (without exhausting his being) then the supreme interest of the world lies there. That interest is the first charge on an ethical religion. All the bearings of a faith like Christianity therefore must be taken from there, and from wherever that is supremely revealed. Christianity is only true if it deal with this, and it is only final if it come to final terms with it. The cross of Christ has more than a passing place only if it give final effect to this holy thing, and is understood in relation to it. It has no meaning as an incident, none except as it is understood; none as a piece of history, only as it is superhistoric. It is presented to our

conscience, and not to our sympathies or tastes. It is not an impressive spectacle, but a decisive act, with the moral order of God's holiness for its central issue and first charge. The understanding of this is the one thing needful for the internal troubles of our religion to-day. An enlightened Judaism can preach a gospel of forgiveness, but our Christian religion has primarily to do with the terms of forgiveness; not with God's readiness to forgive, but with his way of redemption; not with his willingness, but with his will; and with his will not merely as his aim, but as his deed; not as intended, but as achieved. The feeble gospel preaches "God is ready to forgive"; the mighty gospel preaches "God has redeemed." It works not with forgiveness alone, whieh would be mere futile amnesty, but with forgiveness in a moral way, with holy forgiveness, a forgiveness which not only restores the soul, but restores it in the only final and eternal way, by restoring in the same act the infinite moral order, and reconstructing mankind from the foundation of a moral revolution. God reconciles by making Christ to be sin, and not imputing it (2 Cor. v, 21). The Christian act of forgiveness at once regards the whole wide moral order of things, and goes deep to the springs of the human will for repentance and a new order of obedience. This it does by the consummation of God's *judgment* in the central act of mercy. Do not think of God's judgment as an arbitrary infliction, but as the necessary reaction in a holy God. There alone do you have the *divine* necessity of the cross in a sinful world—the moral necessity of judgment. A judgment upon man alone would have destroyed him. And a judgment borne by God alone would be *manqué*, it would be wide of the mark, as being irrelevant to man's experience and regeneration. But borne by God in man, in such a racial, nay cosmic, experience as the cross of Christ, it is the creation of a new conscience, and of the new ethic of the race. When Christ died, all died. Dying with Christ is not a mere ethical idea, complete only as we succeed in doing it. It is a religious or mystic idea, which is ethical, as taking effect in a holy act, where it is already complete in principle. It is not applying the principle of salvation to life, it is the foregone salvation which becomes our life; and practical Christianity is living it out, and not merely squaring life to it. The judgment involved is one that fell on Christ once for all. It is not a judgment in individual men, but in man in Christ. It is not the sum total of our self-judgments under Christ's light; rather say, all our self-judgment is but inspired by the complete judgment on Christ once for all. It is on us as we are in him, yet not as judgment but as grace; not as punishment, but as salvation; not as a scourge, but as a cross.

Without such a cross and its Atonement we come to a religion of much point and no atmosphere, much sympathy and no imagination, much kindness and no greatness, much charm and no force—a religion for the well-disposed and not for the rebel, which loves our neighbour, but not our enemy, and not our Judge; a religion for the sensitive, but not for the world. When the world-cross goes out of the centre of religion, religion in due time goes out of the centre of man's moral and public energy. The public goes past the preacher because he is not strong enough to arrest and compel them. He has too much to say and too little to tell. He hangs to his age by its weakness, and not by its strength. He does not reach its soul with such gospel as he has. The pathos of Christ takes the place of his power. We canonize the weak things of our Christian world in our haste for rapid

success with the many. Religion becomes too æsthetic, too exclusively sympathetic, too bland, too naturalist. Our very Christmas becomes the festival of babyhood, Good Friday the worship of grief, and Easter of spring. To use the old theological language, under an obsession by culture and its pensive delicacies, we become dominated by the passive obedience of Christ instead of his active. We treat the cross as a passion only, instead of a principle, or as a principle instead of a deed. Christ becomes a pathetic, tender, helpful and gracious figure rather than a mighty. We prefer the flavour of the evening service to that of the morning. The religion that is driven out of business and our energetic hours takes refuge in our tired hours and our evening time. And it takes on that hue. It acquires that type—even in the preachers too often, whose active business it should be. We tend to overprize the subdued, composed, and vespertinal type of religion, whose patron saints are outside the evangelical succession with Francis and Fra Angelico; or we are engrossed with the genial, brotherly, and bustling type. And all the time the church is dropping into a vague Arianism: it is losing faith in the incarnation, faith in the real presence of the redeeming God, and therefore faith in a strenuous and historic ethic. Is it wonderful that it should be deploring a decline which it cannot stay by all its religious galvanism and its forced enterprises? The idea we are offered is a kingdom of man, with God to serve it, rather than a kingdom of God, with man to serve it. It is a consecration of the natural man *by* God instead of his redemption *to* God. It trusts to man's Christian culture instead of his conversion, The God within exploits the God without. The historic facts of our faith become not so much unique organs of God's self-revelation, as they are means of making us aware of the God within us, and living up to him. We do not so much owe our soul to the fact of Christ, we impose on that fact the soul within us, the human soul, crude, but still very capable; dim, but unlost; and so we really receive but what we give. Revelation is then not an objective authority, given at a point once for all; it is but a subjective way of treating history. The course of history is the real revelation. The deification of a point in it, of a person in it, is only a passing mythology, forced on us by a psychological necessity, though it may be very valuable when properly guarded. But Jesus cannot be regarded as an objective revelation. He lives while we believe.

The tendency to dwell upon the passive obedience of Christ is but the theological way of expressing the tendency to dwell on God's sympathy and to ignore his salvation. There is little doubt that the sympathetic tendency is the more popular to-day, and to press salvation in a real sense is to be accused of a reactionary bias to theology. But a God who is merely or mainly sympathetic is not the Christian God. The Father of an infinite benediction is not the Father of an infinite grace. We are often warned of the dangers of anthropomorphism, especially by those who are preoccupied with the superpersonal element in God (though it is better described as intrapersonal). But what we need much more to-day is a caution against anthropopathism, or a conception of God which thinks of him chiefly as the divine consummation of all our human pity and tenderness to man's mischance, bewilderment, sorrow and sin. A being of infinite sympathy would not rise to the height of the Christian God. And a religion of far more sympathy than we have yet felt would not be the Christian religion. It is needless to dwell on the preciousness of sympathy. The man who needs none is something less than human; and the man who receives

none remains so. But a sympathy which has no help mocks us with an enlargement of our own sensitive impotence, which means so much better than it can. And a sympathy which could only help would not secure us against the fear that all its help might be at last in vain. It might not reach me, or not my worst need; or it might be arrested by a power more mighty to foil than to help. We must have a sympathy that can not only help but save, save to the uttermost, and not only bless but redeem. Nay, far more, we must have, for the entire confidence of faith, a sympathy that *has* redeemed, and already triumphs in a conclusive salvation. If God, indeed, could not sympathise, he would be less than God. There would be a region, large or small, into which he could not pass. There would be an insuperable obstacle set to Almighty God by a something which by so far reduced his power and resisted his access. He would be a limited being, tied up, as impersonal things are, by their own nature, and incapable of passing beyond it. But all the same, if God were all sympathy, if his divine power lay chiefly in his ability to infuse himself with superhuman intimacy of feeling into the most unspeakable tangles and crises of human life, then also he would be less than God, and we should have no more than what might be called a monism of heart. Even a loving God is really God not because he loves, but because he has power to subdue all things to the holiness of his love, and even sin itself to his love as redeeming grace. A sympathetic God is really God because he is a holy, saving, redeeming God; because in him already the great world-transaction is done, and the kingdom of his holy love already set up on his foregone conquest of all evil. The great and crucial thing is done *in* God and not *before* him, in his will and not in his presence, *by* him and not *for* him by any servants, not even by a son. It is an act of his own being, a victory in his own immutable and invincible being. And to be saved, in any non-egoistical sense of the word, means that God gains his own victory over again in me, and that I have lost in life's great issue unless he do. God's participation in man's affairs is much more than that of a fellow-sufferer on a divine scale, whose love can rise to a painless sympathy with pain. He not only perfectly understands our case and our problem, but he has solved it. The solution is for ever present with him. Already he sees, and for ever sees, the travail of his soul and is *satisfied*. All the jars, collisions, contradictions, crises, pities, tragedies and terrors of life are in him for ever adjusted in a peace which is not resigned and quietist, but triumphant and exultant; and nothing can pluck us from his hands. All history, through his great act at its moral centre, is, in God, resolved into the harmonies of a foregone and final conquest. And our faith is not merely that God is with us, nor that one day he will clear all things up and triumph; but that for him all things are already triumphant, clear and sure. All things are working together for good, as good is in the cross of Christ and its saving effect. Our faith is not that one day we shall solve the riddles of providence, and see all things put under us, but that now we see Jesus; and that we commit ourselves to one who has both the solution of every tragic thing and the glory of every dark thing clear and sure in a kingdom that cannot be moved and, therefore alone, moves for ever on.

Our current religion of sympathy is but a section, and not the central or effectual section, of a religion which is a religion of redemption; and of achieved redemption, else it must at last cease to be a religion at all. That, and only that, is the fulness of the evangelical gospel.

But in all the subjectivism I have named are we not slowly passing to another religion, a religion which starts with man's spiritual nature and not with God's self-revelation, with humanity and not with history, where man becomes "his own Holy Ghost." We are bidden to study human nature, not the Bible, not Jesus Christ except to look for classic cases of spiritual humanity and high prophetism. The Bible becomes then but a valuable deposit of that irrepressible spiritual energy in man which in every age takes its own form, and finds no kind of finality in any age. That, of course, reduces Jesus to a mere historic link instead of a perennial presence, and his cross to one of the crises we have surmounted, or are in process of doing so. The greatest personality is but a node in the great evolution. Man needs but evolution and not revolution. He only needs that his face be cleared, and not turned steadfastly to Jerusalem.

Let us see exactly where the point is, and let us be quite fair to the kind of liberal religion in view. It does not, of course, exclude God. It does not say that the religious development of man is a smooth or an automatic thing. Progress still needs the help of God, or whatever stands for God. It needs even the act of God. The origin of faith within man is an act of God. But the point is that this act is not a revolution in man, not a new creation, not a regeneration, not an absolute redemption but only a release, an impulse from God, the elimination of our best, a delivery of the innate spirituality and goodness of man with which history is in travail until now. It is not a salvation from death but only from scanty life. There is no real critical life and death catastrophe in the moral history of the race, but what we have is a deep consistent progress, harmonious on the whole, each step attaching to the step before. We have the happy perfecting of those decent, just, or tender instincts which are the original righteousness of human nature, the gradual surmounting by moral culture of sense and self. God is our helper and no more. He is not in a real sense, but only a figurative sense, our Redeemer. He helps us to realise our latent spiritual resources and ends. There is no break with self and the world, only a disengagement from an embarrassing situation.

It should be clear that this is another religion from that of redemption, and it has no room or need for atonement. And if it be true, then Christianity is not so necessary as we were led to think. Its whole complexion is changed. Nothing so very serious has taken place. Things can be bad enough, but not so bad as all that. Human nature is very mysterious but there is nothing marvellous, miraculous, in God's relation to it, nothing that needs much penetration or agony of holy thought. Incarnation becomes a metaphor. These greatest words are so great and useful because they can be made to mean anything. Well, faith in the incarnation is bound to become a metaphor, and to sink, if we count it mere theology to take it seriously that God was in Christ reconciling the world, and to press on to understand the mighty God hallowed in the atoning cross. It is bound to sink so as to become the incarnation of man instead of God, if in the cross we see but the extreme suffering of the most loving man instead of the supreme act and victory of the most holy God. If Christianity do not make a revolution in human nature we make a revolution in Christianity. A religion centring wholly in the graciousness of Christ, or his submission, or his spiritual insight can be no foundation for a commanding ethic or a triumphant faith.

He lacks the virile note. It did not come as a grand spiritual personality, but as the Redeemer. It was not to spiritualise us but to save us. Moral verve is bound to relax if the religion of the cross become but a hallowed addition to life's spiritual interests or touching moods, if it do not carry the stamp of moral crisis and personal decision for death or life. Ethic is bound to grow less strenuous, even while we bustle about ethical conduct, if the sublime ethical issue of the universe is not the marrow of our personal divinity and the principle of our personal religion. We can find a strong foundation only in that centre where the holy God both bears our load and performs his new creative act. If in the cross we have but the greatest of love's renunciations instead of the one establishment of God's holy will, then the sense of God's presence in the cross, and in the church, and in the world's moral war, is bound to fade. The eternal ruling God cannot be God in a passive or touching cross merely. A religion of mere service is no religion to rule such a world as this. We shall come to feel that in the cross there is no God, but only a victory of God's foes, another and a tremendous case of the world crushing the good and just, another case of the soul's defeat by fate. Then, of course, Christianity must die. "The cross is either the life of our religion, or it is the death of all religion. Either it is the supreme atonement and so the final guarantee of God's Fatherhood and its victory, or else it is a mere martyr death, and so an eclipse of that fatherhood, its greatest historic eclipse, which would mean its extinction." Christ trusted a God who did not give him the victory. A pathetic, mystic, and martyred Messiah could stir the sympathy of many, but could not win the worship of the world. He could impress but not forgive; he could move men but not redeem them; he could criticise society but not judge the world. A king the world could just crucify is no king the world could fear; it needs a king who in his cross judged the world, and did not simply find his fate there. There is nothing central, nothing creative for life in such a fate. There may be much in it to appeal to our sympathetic and religious side, but nothing to establish faith, nothing to ethicise it from a creative centre, nothing to fortify us against the unholy, nothing to set conscience and holiness on the throne of the world. If Christ died to saving and central purpose, then he died by the act of God. His death was God's act in the sense that it was the moral activity of God. God was in Christ and his death, acting there, setting up an everlasting kingdom, and not simply inflicting, nor simply suffering, a racial penalty.

Moreover, a pathetic cross sends our active sympathies mainly to Christ's teaching and his miracles. If we see in Christ and his cross chiefly the passive and the affecting side, and not the active and creative side, if we see Christ's love enduring judgment more than God's holiness triumphant in judgment and doing there the grand, nay, the one, moral act of the world, if we see but that, no wonder the vigorous world turns away from the cross to the teaching of Christ and his beneficence. For these *are* acts of will, positive deeds with active effect. It is no wonder a cross of pathetic and appealing suffering, a cross of mere sacrifice, should become decentralised in favour of these. And yet these have no permanent value for us in themselves, but only as expressions of Christ's person. The great thing is not that they were said or done, but said or done *by him*. And the person of Christ would be dumb and inert for us in

our last crisis, apart from its active assertion and cosmic triumph on the cross. The cross, therefore, was no martyr passivity of the finest prophet, led like a lamb to the slaughter; it was the work of a Messiah king with power over himself. Christ never merely accepted his fate; he willed it. He went to death as a king. It was the supreme exercise of his royal self-disposal. The same great picture which presents the sheep before the shearers dumb deepens before its close to one who poured out his soul unto death. And when we obscure that, when we pity where we should worship, melt where we should kneel, or kneel where we should rise to newness of life, it is no wonder if faith become a mere affection, or a mere ethical ritual, and cease to be the absolute committal of ourselves to him for ever. It is no wonder, then, if it cease to be the practical and eternal consignment of our spirit into his hands who has redeemed us as our Lord God of Truth. Faith is really self-disposal. But currently it is not. It is any of a multitude of things but not that, except in some feeble or breezy sense which does not save the moral asthenia of the church. The church has lost much moral tone even in its occupation with ethical subjects. It has lost power to guide the instinct of self-sacrifice by reducing the cross to nothing else. It has lost religious weight in the weightiest matters. And the deep cause is its modern failure to understand the cross, to see in the judgment of the cross God's righteousness, God's holiness, coming to its own, and to realise this as the one object for which man exists or the world. This failure is bound to tell acting on the scale of a church, however secure many fine souls may feel, living in a coterie and painting angels in their solitary cells.

It is only as God's act then that Christ's death can retain or regain a central place in faith. Second it is only as an act revolutionary for man. And farther, it is only as an act in which his holiness gives the law to his love, and judgment make grace precious. Holiness must be the first charge on the Saviour. If we spoke less about God's love, and more about his holiness, more about his judgment, we should say much more when we did speak of his love. And we should keep that supreme in our faith which was supreme in Christ's, in that saving hour when the sense of love was dimmed, when communion failed, and nothing was left but faith by which to save the world.

And it is round this sanctuary that the great camp is set and the great battle really waged. Questions about immanence may concern philosophers. And questions about miracles may agitate physicists. But the great dividing issue for the soul is neither the Bethlehem cradle nor the empty grave, nor the Bible, nor the social question. For the church at least (however it be with individuals) it is the question of a redeeming atonement. It is here that the evangelical issue lies. It is here, and not upon the nativity, that we part company with the Unitarians. It is here that the unsure may test their crypto-unitarianism. I would unchurch none. I would but clear the issue for the honest conscience. It is this that determines whether a man is Unitarian or Evangelical. and it is this that should guide his conscience as to his ecclesiastical associations. Only if he hold that in the atoning cross of Christ the world was redeemed by holy God once for all, that there, and only there, sin was judged and broken, that there and only there the race was reconciled and has its access to the face and grace of God—only then has he the genius and

the plerophory of the Gospel. If he hold to Christ as this head, then, whatever views he may hold on other heads, he is of the Gospel company and the Evangelical pale. Only thus has he a real final message for the age. Only thus is he more than one that has a lovely voice and can play well on an instrument for the ages' pleasure —and its final neglect.

V

There are two sets of admissions that should be made here. One concerns the history of the doctrine, the other concerns its place in individual experience.

(1)

As to the doctrine in history, we ought to admit the value of much of the socinian and rationalist criticism of it. The value is negative and corrective, but it is value. The ecclesiastical form of the doctrine is the source of most of the prejudice against it. And I mean particularly the forms it took among the Protestant scholastics of the 17th century. Many of these forms will not bear the light of Scripture any more than of reason. They are more aristotelian than apostolic. I do not say they depart from the New Testament doctrine, because it would be hard in the present position of New Testament knowledge to say the New Testament had a complete doctrine. But it has a principle and a norm which is positive enough to enable us to rule out many notions which misrepresent God's grace. For instance, we can no longer treat the atonement as a deflection of God's anger, as if the flash fell on Christ and was conducted by him to the ground, while we stood in passive safety, with no part or lot in the incomprehensible process. We can no longer speak of a strife of attributes in God the Father, justice set against mercy, and judgment against grace, till an adjustment was effected by the Son. There can be no talk of any mollification of God, or any inducement whatever, offered by either man or some third party, to procure grace. Procured grace is a contradiction in terms. The atonement did not procure grace, it flowed from grace. What was offered, was offered by God, within the Godhead's unity. The Redeemer was God's gift. Farther we must not think that the value of the atonement lies in any equivalent suffering. Indeed, it does not lie in the suffering at all, but in the obedience, the holiness.*

And it is both a moral and a pyschological impossibility that an amount of suffering equivalent to what we deserved should ever have been undergone by Christ or any personality in our stead. Again, we must speak very differently about the transfer of guilt, and never as if it were a ledger amount which could be shifted about by divine finance, or a ponderable load lifted to another back. We have to be cautious in using the word penalty in connection with what fell on Christ. We must renounce the idea that he was punished by the God who was ever well pleased with his beloved Son. The chastisement of our peace was upon him indeed; but if we think there is no chastisement left for us in him, we have against that idea the whole classic Christian experience, which finds the truest, deepest, and bitterest repentance at the end of the Christian life rather than at the beginning. But it is one of our present misfortunes that so much criticism of the popular doctrine,

* I have developed this in the *Expositor* for September, 1908.

with its abuse of repentance, is conducted by people who seem not to know what bitter repentance, spiritual brokenness and total humiliation mean. I would rather repent truly with a Salvationist theology than criticise that theology with a judicial superiority which needs no repentance.

(2)

But in respect of personal experience, do we deny all true faith which does not grasp the atoning cross? Surely not; so long as it is not denied or denounced; and so long as the experience of particular individuals is not made the measure of the message of the Church.

I hope I take due account of the effect of Christ's person, word, and deed before the cross. I have often recalled Zaccheus, the Magdalen, Peter, and, I may add, Judas. And to-day still the life, the words, the acts, the death of Christ have a precious power to rouse men, to break, heal, and restore them to him, without direct reference to his atoning work. The saving action of Christ for many individuals begins there—in his life; especially to-day, and it only attains late unto the resurrection from the dead. We do ill to force the ripe experience of the cross on those who can as yet feel but its dawn. Any theology of atonement must be adjusted to the indubitable fact that Christ's forgiveness may and does reach personal cases apart from conscious reliance on his atoning work or grasp of its theology. To do otherwise would be to show ourselves the victims of a pedantic dogmatism or a theological papacy. To preach Christ is indeed fundamentally to preach his atonement, but it is not incessantly to preach about it. We must always preach it, but we need not always preach about it. Only it must not be denied or denounced, never ignored or levelled down to the category of man's efforts to atone his own sins. It is true there are stages and junctures when to preach Christ in the more theological form is the only preaching relevant to the mental and moral situation. It was so at the Reformation. But to-day it may be more needful in certain positions to preach the Christ of the cross than the cross of Christ. There is a strategy in the holy war. It is the crisis that calls the reserves to the front. But whether we preach the Christ who atoned or the atonement of Christ it is still an atoning Christ and an atoning cross we preach. To preach only the atonement, the death apart from the life, or only the person of Christ, the life apart from the death, or only the teaching of Christ, his words apart from his life, may be all equally one-sided, and extreme to falsity. I will only stop to remark here that the more the conscience is affected by Christ's words or behaviour, the more is that standard generated within us which demands the atonement in the cross. It was the Christ of the cross that said these words, and did these things. It was the Christ who himself was driven by his experience to recognise that the crowning thing he came for was to die. And another remark must be made. What we are chiefly concerned with is the great message and experience of the church; and that cannot be whittled down to the experience of individuals and their early stages. It is a minimal gospel that is paralysing the cross. Preach the total Christ therefore in the perspective of evangelical faith, but with immediate stress on that aspect most required by the conscience of the hour. For the Reformation age the ethical concern may have been satisfaction and its true form; for our age, with another public ethic, it may be judgment as the demand of a social

righteousness. For that age the interest was far more directly theological and juristic, now it is more psychological and ethical. Then it was the Christ of the two natures cohering in one person that gave value to the cross, now the stress is the Christ of the one, holy, obedient personality. The unity we prize in the Saviour is not one realized previous to the cross metaphysically, so much as a unity by and in the cross as the crowning moral act both of God and of humanity in Christ. But a point of unity we must seek if our faith is to be unified, if life is to be unified out of its present distraction, if religion is to have a vital core and cease to be a frame of pious moods or morals. Our relation to God must be a real one and not subjective. It must turn on a positive fact and act, which gives it both reality and unity; and on a fact of history. It is not enough to say this fact is the person of Christ. If his be not a mere loose-hung personality with a religious casualism it must itself have a principle of unity. This principle cannot, with our data, be psychological; even with more data perhaps it would still be beyond our comprehension psychologically. "Du gleichst dem Geist den du begreifst, nicht mir." But it is a theological unity converging on his death and the consummation there of all that made his person what it was, took him out of the category of other men, and made the ground of our salvation. He saved us by his difference from us. He did not redeem us because he represented us; rather he represents us because he redeemed. Had he redeemed man by representing him, man would be self-redeemed. It is the atoning death of Christ as the representative of God that makes Jesus a complete and closed personality with a final action on the world. He died once for all, the just for the unjust, that he might bring us to his finality of God.

VI

But after these admissions let me lay the more stress on the necessity of this atonement for that maturer Christian experience which gives us the true type of faith.

The conscience has many functions, and the atonement of Christ satisfies or stirs them all. It strikes light from many angles, and it is presented in the New Testament in various complementary ways. But its chief action on the conscience is to pacify its accusations with the love and grace of God. Faith is above all the life of a conscience. It is the life of a conscience which is stilled and established by the forgiveness of God, True enough, as I have said, this may take a true, though an incipient form, in the deep impression made by the tender mercy of the kindly Christ. But many never rise above this level. It is enough for them to respond to Christ's gracious way with the sinners he met. They place themselves among the sinners he forgave and healed during his life. And they may question the need of any atonement. The assurance from Christ of God's forgiveness is enough. But that is a very naïve and all too simple faith for such a conscience as ours, and such a world. Let its value for certain individuals not be denied. Who would be exacting with the simple souls? But surely it condemns them to be perpetual moral minors. And it keeps faith at the lay level. Ours is a lay faith, but the Christian could not live on it at lay level. If such people go on to think and ask, as they should for their soul's life, in passing from

disciples to regenerates, must they not begin to have certain misgivings? Must they not, for instance, say to themselves at some time: "Those cases that Jesus forgave were but single cases; is mine quite parallel? If he forgave them must he forgive me? Is God's forgiveness just a series of acts, one for each soul? If so how do I know where they may stop, whether they will reach to me? Or is his forgiveness one great act into which I am built, so that when one died all died?" Moreover, the soul goes on to think thus: "As I grow in Christ my sin grows on me, and the tremendous thing in my pardon grows on me. The damnability of sin grows on me and with it the incredibility of grace. How do I know not merely that God is willing to forgive but that he has forgiven, that what is so incredible is equally unalterable?" Still farther. The believer sins after he has been forgiven. "Am I fit," he says in his repentance, "to stand with those that Jesus forgave. They did not betray him. I have sinned against a light and an experience they never had. I am a chief of sinners. I have sinned my mercy." Moreover, there rises on his soul a deepened sense of Christ's demand. His forgiving words to special cases lose force compared with the exigence of his general demand and the holiness of his standard. His judgment grows more serious than it seemed in our first forgiveness. How shall we stand? Better people than we he left outside his kingdom. And so we oscillate between the goodness and the severity of God. We are tossed from the one to the other. They alternate as it were according to our mood, they are not entwined and fused. They thwart each other, and get in each other's way; they do not sustain each other. And the conscience gets no rest till it find in the cross the one final fact in which both are reconciled and inwoven, with the grace uppermost. I meet the atonement where the sin of the whole world is taken away, which carries in it the foregone forgiveness of sins I dread and yet am sure I shall do. There are various ways in which a man finds it hard to take home the forgiveness he craves by a general declaration of God's love. Some may not feel so much the greatness of their sin as the incredibility of anything so vast as God's love. There may not be grievous blots on their life, yet they feel that the state of the world's conscience must call out God's judgment on the race, including them. On the other hand if there be such blots in life, and especially if a man sins after his forgiveness in a grievous way, he gets such a shock in the revelation of sin's tough and subtle power that it needs something very final and decisive to assure him of its destruction. He must then have a grace which is not simple and self-evident—for "lightly come, lightly go." He must have a finished work, and a God who has made a full end. A conscience in his state, as soon as it thinks on a world scale, must have a grace and salvation which is not benignant only, but gathers up the total moral situation in one act, which settles the great strife for good and all. He must have more than a full forgiveness, he must have a complete redemption. And that means one which pursues, captures, and subdues to God's holy purpose those consequences of our sin which have long gone beyond our control or knowledge, and are out on the world doing evil work at compound interest on their own account. He needs something to make him confident that his past sin, and the sin he is yet sure to commit, are all taken up into God's redemption, and the great transaction of his moral life is done. The real complete forgiveness is the appropriation of the world's atonement.

It is not easy. For a man to make Christ's atonement the sole centre of his moral life, or of his hope for the race, is not easy. Nothing is so resented by the natural self as the hearty admission of man's native lostness and helplessness, especially when he thinks of all the heroisms, integrities and charities which ennoble the race. It is not always pride, it is a mere natural self-affirmation. It is a native self-respect, which makes him shrink from submitting himself absolutely to the judgment of another. Even in his repentance he does not want to lose all self-respect. He feels he cannot amend the life of conscience, and repair the old faults, without some remnant of self-respect to work from. His new shoots must come from the old stump, which must not be rooted out. He is fighting for the one remnant of a moral nature which if he lost he fears he would be less than a man. He does not easily realise what a poor thing his self-justification must be compared with his justification by God. He does not feel how sterile the stump is, how poorly his moral remnant would serve him for his moral need, how recuperative vitality is the one thing he lacks, how absolute God's grace is, and how complete is the moral re-creation in Christ. He palters with a synergism which is always trying to do the best for human nature in a bargain with God. And he does not realize how this starves and pinches the conscience itself, compared with the moral fulness of a total gift of grace and a new man in Jesus Christ. There are thus a thousand influences of no ignoble kind which may arrest a man's total committal of himself and his kind to the new creation in Christ's cross. And it seems a reasonable self-respect which solicits him to reserve a plot of land in his interior where his house is his castle and he can call his soul his own, even at the challenge of the holy and all-searching Judge. He does not, perhaps, venture to say that God and the soul are coequal foci in the moral ellipse, but he struggles, sometimes pathetically, to set up what is as impossible morally as mathematically—a subsidiary centre; which is a contradiction in terms. There is but one centre, one Lord, one cross, one faith, and one spirit of a new life in Christ Jesus.

VII

It has been asked concerning Christ, Was his will to die one with his will to save? Is there any doubt about the answer the church has given to that question from first to last? The forgiveness, the redemption has always been attached to Christ's death, from New Testament days downward. Not indeed without challenge, especially in recent times, but the challenge has not affected the catholicity and continuity of the church's witness as a whole to that truth of its foundation. And the salvation is attached not to Christ's death as an incident of history or even as an object lesson of grace, but as the effectuation of grace, not indeed its procuring but its putting in action. It is not the fact of Christ's crucifixion that saves but the inner nature of that fact as understood, and not simply swallowed, by faith, understood as the atonement which makes reconciliation possible (2 Cor. v. 19-21). Such is the witness of you may say the whole church about its central relation to its creator, its living tenant, and perpetual Lord.

But this suggests a serious question. It is declared that, if we be true to the true Christ of the Gospels we shall relegate a final atonement in the cross to the region of apostolic theologoumena. That

means that Jesus did not understand his will to save to be one with his will to die. So that his death would be either an arrest of his saving work, or an indifferent sequel to it. It would be a mere anecdote of his life, not its denouement. And the serious question that then results is this, How came such a teacher, such a prophet, to be so deeply, so long, and so continuously misunderstood? If Christ's atoning death is not the central effect of his person, and the central thing to our faith, if that notion of atonement has overlaid Christ's real gospel, how has the whole church come totally to misread its creator, and to miss what for him *was* central. There has surely been some gigantic bungling on the church's part, some almost fatuous misconception of its Lord, a blunder whose long life and immense moral effect is unintelligible. An error of that kind is no misprint but a flaw. It is not mistake but heresy. And, as it concerns the centre and nature of faith, it must destroy any belief in the guidance of the church by the Holy Spirit—which, however, is not a very lively faith among those whose challenge concerns us.

But leaving that, I will keep the question upon lines which represent a less doctrinal interest. What a poor thing human nature must be to have been affected so mightily, nay in great measure revolutionised, by a mistake so complete. What a poor and untrustworthy thing human nature must be, to have found in such a moral blunder the charter of a new ethic, the foundation of a new humanity, and the secret of eternal life. The church has done its Lord many a wrong, but none so grave as this, to have determinedly perverted his legacy, and grieved his spirit in regard to the central object of his mission on earth. It has often travestied his methods, misconstrued points of his teaching, and even compromised his principles; but these things have been done against its best conscience and its holiest spirits. They have passed, and been reformed, and renounced. But this perversion I speak of is greater than these, less culpable possibly, but even greater as a perversion. For it has been the misrepresentation of Christ's central gospel by the church's best and wisest. It has been a more total and venerable perversion than even the papacy. For even had all such passing ills been cured this travesty of Christ's central intent would still have gone on, and gone on with all the force lent by a purified church, and all the spell of saintliness to wing the central lie. If the cross was but little to Christ in comparison with his real work, if it was a mere by-product of his mission, a mere appendix and not a purpose, and if his church has yet made it central and submersive of all else, then the enemies who swore Christ's life away did him no such bad turn as the disciples whose stupidity has belied him over the whole world for all time. And those browbeaters who would let him say nothing did his cause less harm than those apostles who made him say what he did not mean.*

* I would here anticipate a remark that may occur to some to the effect that I am allowing too much to the authority of the church, and that if the arguments I apply in respect of the nature of redemption were applied to polity we should be delivered into the hands of Rome and an episcopal succession. In reply I would point out that the church stands to the nature of its generative redemption in a relation quite different from that which it has to every other doctrine. It was the one thing that created the church, and therefore the church's verdict upon it has an authority quite interior to her views on all besides. We may take the constitution of the church, the ritual of the church, or its theological system at any stage; and not one of these has the same creative relation to the church as Christ's atoning death. We may even select from the system of the Catholic dogma the doctrine of the Incarnation; that truth, central as many find it, has no such centrality as the principle of atoning forgiveness. The doctrine of the Incarnation did not create the church; and the doctrine of the cross did—in so far as that can be said of any doctrine, and not

But we cannot stop here. There is worse to follow. What was Jesus about to leave such a blunder possible? What a *gauche* Saviour! What a clumsy teacher! How awkward a prophet! How unfinished with the work given him to do. Regard it. Suppose the central thing committed by the Father to Christ's charge was not the atoning task; suppose he himself was not central to his own Gospel, yet he departs and leaves a body of disciples who do believe his atonement to be the great work, and his person their God. And these have grown and spread into a Catholic church, which, amid many distractions and divisions, still founds upon this evangelical rock, and is the greatest product of humanity. Well, I say, if there be this central perversion of him by the body of his disciples and apostles, first and last, then and now, what are we to think of him? If he so discharged his real mission from God, and so gave his message during three years of public and responsible life, that a central misunderstanding swamped that message as he really meant it, and smothered his word in his cross, what kind of testimony was that he bore, and with what face would he return to him that sent him? If his cross cost him not only his life but his true message, and if his apostles of the cross have been among the most active obscurantists of his real kingdom, surely when he consented to death he signed away his commission, he consented too soon to die, and he accepted the one thing that foiled his true intent. The hour was not ripe when he thought it was that he should return to the Father. Never did he think his death would be captured, exaggerated, and exploited like that to obscure the Father and the kingdom. I say, if he left his disciples convinced that what was to him a side interest was his supreme bequest, and if the net result of his act all these ages has been to deepen and spread the mistake, then was he any fit trustee for the purpose of God? Observe this, too. The mistake is most deeply held and hallowed by those most near his own saintliness; its effect has been to generate that sanctity as nothing else has; it is only discovered to be a mistake late in history, by men who, however good, have more sense of what is rational than of what is holy. Well, noting this, can you suppress the question whether sainthood to Christ is good

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rather of the act and power which the doctrine tries to state. The doctrine of the incarnation grew upon the church out of the experience of Atonement. The church was forced on the deity of Christ to account for its saved existence in Christ. We can experience the redemption as we cannot the incarnation. I have already said that the soteriology sprang from the soteriology—the creed of the person grew up in a church which had been created by the experience of his salvation. The authority of the church, therefore, in respect of the manner of its salvation is primary compared with its authority in regard to the constitution of its Saviour, far more in respect of its polity or its practice. Its testimony as to the cross is its witness to its own life. Here Loisy is right enough. There is a *contmuum* in the church which takes precedence of every specific view the church may hold. It is the continuous, supernatural, eternal life. Only that life is not an indefinite vitality, without feature or content, and capable of almost any. But it is life as the new creation, carrying in its very heart its mark of origin, and having the seal of proceeding from the cross as the action of God's holy love on sinful man. My point then would be this. As the witness of an illiterate saint to God's grace in the redemption which has made him what he is has a value for the objective natuie of that redemption that belongs to no other piece of his theology, so with the large testimony of the household of faith. Its witness to the divine act which called it into being and made it what it is, is on another footing from any matter of its polity or speculation. The church might have gone widely wrong on grave points like these without wrecking its own existence; but to have gone so widely wrong on the point I am treating would be for the church to commit suicide, to cease to be the thing that God once made, and practically to deny the Lord that bought it. For that there would be no repentance. The church of the papacy and the mass was reformable; but a church that renounced universally its atoning redemption would not be reformable. It would be extinct, however long it kept the name to live. All turns on the cross (*i.e.* the total person of Christ put into the cross) being the power creative of the church, and on the church's relation and witness to this source and secret of its life.

service to God? If, I say, the saints nearest to him have done most to decentralise in favour of the cross what was really dearest to him; if his greatest cloud of witness becloud his real word, and help but as the crowd helps at a fire; if those who know they are saved only in his blood are in effect one with those who were guilty of his blood in silencing his real testimony—what are we to think of him who so mismanaged things as to allow the blunder to be possible, who left his work in a condition that permanently spoiled it, and bequeathed to his best believers the doom of perverting the counsel of God?

Nay farther, if the effect of Christ has been that the church has worshipped a Redeemer on the cross when it should but have hearkened to God's prophet in his words, if it gave him worship where it owed him but attention, what must be the frame of mind in which he now lives and sees the misbirth that has come of the travail of his soul? If the church was left by him in such a state that it has gone on living on another centre than what was really his and God's, how shall we conceive the bitter regret with which he now views his old effort in the light of experience and of heaven. He who, we thought, had redeemed Israel botched the work, and left it to harden into a mere theology. And he who, we thought, ever lived to make intercession for us, must ever live in petition for himself, that God would graciously forgive the well-meant failure he must sadly own. If the effect of the church's evangelical faith upon Christ in heaven is to surprise and disappoint him by its central note, then, before the Father, he has to apologise for this diminution of *his* glory, he has to lament that the work was not put into better hands, and given to one without the genius of being misunderstood most by those who loved him best. And what before God he would have to confess for us, and deplore for himself, would be not only the diminution of God's glory but its unhappy eclipse by his own. He has been taken and made a king in spite of himself; and a king whose effect has been, not to hallow the Father's sole and suzerain name, but to obscure it by his own, to divide the worship and deflect the work of God.

I trust these thoughts will not be deemed extravagant. They are efforts to think to the end, and to think with the foundation of faith, the intelligence of conscience, and the experience of life. They are not the exercises of an ideologue. They are efforts to recall our minds to the need for concentration, decision, finality, and footing; to call them in from dawdling and dabbling in eternal things; to protect them from the current susceptibility, discursiveness, and distraction; to guard them from a too mobile sympathy, which answers every novelty, joins every society, reads the latest thing, and sows itself on every wind; to secure them from a morbid vivacity which has a brisk interest in everything, and may even reach a curiosity about the Eternal; to shelter our minds from the humane optimisms in which the devil whispers that the devil is dead and the perfection of manly culture is at hand. I would force our concern on one vast world issue in which time is won or lost for eternity, and the whole human soul for the all holy God. We handle matters where to be right is to be right upon a final, sublime, and eternal scale. But to be wrong there is to fly from orbits of celestial range, and do damage at last to the inhabitants of heaven as well as the dwellers on earth. To be right here is to secure the church's future, to be wrong here is to doom it. But for the church to be right here is for the church continually to cry "Holy, Holy, Holy, O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world, have mercy upon us and grant us thy salvation."

The Rev. William E. Barton, D.D., pastor of the First Congregational Church, Oak Park, Illinois, followed with an address on "The Person and Deity of Christ."

ADDRESS BY REV. WILLIAM E. BARTON, D.D.

THE PERSON OF JESUS CHRIST

From reliable and adequate historical sources we are assured that there lived in Syria, some nineteen hundred years ago, one Jesus of Nazareth. This was neither very long ago nor far away. Nineteen men no older than we have known could join hands, and the man at the farther end of the short line could take his hand, and the nearest could hold the living grasp of the present generation. A ship of moderate speed could bear us in a fortnight to where we could put our feet in the very paths he trod. A certain great teacher was accustomed to say to his pupils that we cannot too often reiterate that such a man as Socrates really lived. We cannot too often remind ourselves that there once lived, and that well within the period of recorded history, not very far remote from us in time or space, Jesus of Nazareth. He was a carpenter, who became a lay-preacher, and the founder of religion. After all reasonable deductions have been made for possible additions to his words, and for the glorification of his deeds, there remains an irreducible minimum of fact and utterance sufficient for our requirements.

We deal with the historical Jesus as we deal with any other character of history. We submit the records to the same processes which we employ in other literature inherited from the past. By these severe and accepted tests of veracity, we arrive at the reality of the historic Jesus, a Jewish prophet, teacher, healer, martyr; a sincere believer in his own message and mission. Whether we measure his height by the elevation of his head above his contemporaries, or by the length of the shadow he has cast across succeeding ages, he impresses us with the dignity of a mighty and regal personality.

To account for him, and to assign him his proper place in the interpretation of history and of life, is to the reverent and inquiring mind an inspiring task and a perpetual challenge.

That his life was a human life, we must believe if we believe that he lived at all, but that his nature partook of the nature of God, and made him the Son of God, is also the historic and reasonable faith of the church that bears his name.

We do not touch the historic Jesus directly. His words are reported, and to a certain extent interpreted in the report, by the writers of the epistles and the evangels, and these disclaim any attempt at completeness. They wrote for specific purposes, and for special groups of readers. And as these several groups did not possess identical interpretations of the work of a Saviour, the apologetic of the New Testament differs in its several parts, and the argument for the divine authority of the Christ is approached from different angles in Romans and in Hebrews, in the Synoptics and in the Fourth Gospel. Into the interesting questions suggested by these various interpretations we may not now enter. It is enough that we assure ourselves that material is not lacking for modern inquiry concerning

the essential Jesus of history. Difficult as may be the problems presented by a comparison of the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics, these afford us, when we reckon with the intent of their several writers, material for a biographical synopsis with reasonably clear outlines. Such a biography as we are able to construct out of these materials carries us at the very outset beyond a merely local interpretation of the character and personality of the Christ.

Jesus lived in a time when his own nation was cherishing a strong Messianic expectation, and it was almost inevitable that he should have interpreted his mission to his own people in terms of their national hope. But we should greatly err if we did not remember his reticence on this point, and his repeated injunctions of silence regarding it. When the Jewish leaders demanded of him, "How long dost thou hold us in suspense? If thou be the Christ, tell us plainly," Jesus replied, not in terms of Jewish expectations, but by referring them to his discourse concerning the Good Shepherd, and its declaration that his other sheep must constitute with the Jews one fold. He answered John's question "Art thou he that should come?" in terms not of temple sacrifice but of universal need. He told the Samaritan women that he was the Samaritan Christ, a person of very different characteristics, as the Samaritans thought, from the conquering son of David. We are fully justified in affirming that while Jesus believed in his own messianic mission, he interpreted his divinity in larger than national terms. He was the Jewish Christ, in order to becoming the world's Christ.

We do greatly err, therefore, not knowing the Scriptures nor the power of God, if we rest our claim for the divinity of Jesus Christ on any proof, either Biblical or rational, that Jesus claimed to be, or was believed to be, or was, the Jewish Messiah. Even in the New Testament, written for the most part by Jews, and largely for Jews, the horizon is vastly larger than this. Legitimate as were the arguments by which this minor claim was supported, we shall measurably fail of appreciating the New Testament theory of the Person of Jesus if we do not reckon with those portions of the New Testament which deal directly with the interpretation of the Person of Christ in terms of universal Messiahship. This the Apostle Paul attempted to do, and this again is the endeavour of the prologue of the Fourth Gospel.

The opening chapter of Genesis records that in the beginning God created the heaven and the earth, and made man in his own image. The New Testament tells the same story, but with interesting amplification of those details that find significance in the fact of Christ. In the beginning there existed in the being of God an eternal necessity for self-expression. The Word was no adventitious element in the history of revelation, but was in the beginning with God and identical with God. God unrevealed, God minus the Word, would have been less than God. The Word became flesh in the first man, for without the Word was not anything made that was made. The Word became flesh in every succeeding man, even in those in whom the light shone in unapprehending darkness: even to them he was the true Light, lighting every man that cometh into the world. But in all this series of flesh-revelations, the expression of the Word was incomplete; he came unto his own things, the things of humanity, and was not received by his own, through in proportion as men received the Word, they entered into their right to become sons of

God. All this and more is recorded in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel before it tells us of that supreme incarnation of the Word, wherein man beheld the glory of the Father, full of grace and truth. Then follows the wonderful record that identifies the historic Jesus not only with this specific incarnation, but with the whole creative work in which the Word has ever been striving for coherent self-revelation. The revelation of the image of God in the first man, if not imperfect, was at least the most unperfect of all such revelations; he was of the earth earthy. But he who appeared in time as the second Adam was before all things, and in him all things cohere.

The Word incarnate in Christ was a Person, but the personality was the personality of God. The nature of God is profoundly social, realizing the divine self-consciousness in a spiritual unity of all moral existence. God's subjective self finds its being in objective relationship. The eternal Father, the self-revealing Word, and the all-comprehending Spirit make up the indivisible personality of a God forever one.

The incarnation of God in human life has in it a divine inevitableness. Consciousness necessitates subject and object, and a relation between them. "God could not make Antonio Stradivari violins without Antonio." God comes not only to men, but he comes also to his own when the Word becomes flesh, and the flesh responds to the Word that inhabits it.

God is in his world, and in every part of it. But not every form of existence can equally disclose the life of God. God could reveal something of his beauty in the rose; of his order in the stars; of his harmony in song; of his power in the earthquake; of his truth in a book; of his righteousness in a law. But the character of God must be expressed in character; and if it is to be made known to men it must be in terms of humanity.

The incarnation of the divine life in human flesh was essential to the self-realization of the infinity of God. God could have exercised almighty physical power in a universe possessed by himself in isolation: but such isolation would have been a divine imprisonment, a life-sentence to solitary confinement in a close-fitting cell. It was another, and in some respects a restricted, yet in the moral sphere a vastly enlarged omnipotence which God achieved when he shared his dominion with man, in whose evolution into the divine life, as Paul finely puts it, the life of regenerate man "increaseth with the increase of God." God could have been physically omnipotent and spiritually impotent in a sinless and a useless world. If the perfect home is not the one with no child's finger-marks on the walls, and no scratches on the furniture, then a sinless world may not have been in God's sight an ideal world. God was willing to sacrifice the omnipotence of isolation for the restricted and enlarged infinity which God achieved in man.

It is essential to the Incarnation that that which becomes flesh shall be the very life of God. If we cared to quibble in the terms of dead controversies, we should say that it is not sufficient that he be of like substance, but must needs be of the same substance with the Father. And this is true not only for the sake of humanity, but because nothing short of this would enable the Omnipotent sufficiently to be.

When a little child is born, two parents are born. The Fatherhood of God was dependent on his children; the mercy of God was

dependent on the existence of undeserving beings who needed his compassion; and the realization of the experience of redemption in the divine life depended on the existence of beings in whom the image of God, soiled but not obliterated, waited for the expression of that capacity for forgiveness eternally present as a latent power in the life of God. There is something in the experience of God that was never actually existent as a fact of divine consciousness till there was joy in the presence of the angels of God over repenting sinners.

The sacrifice of Christ was an inevitable expression of the life of God. The universe itself was the first great sacrifice. The creation of human life was a sacrifice. History was a sacrifice, and sacrifice is a term common to experience in earth and heaven. Like the measurement of the holy city, the cubit of the man is the cubit of the angel. Life from the time when mother-love finds its meaning in glad pain, up to the holy anguish of the cross on which Christ suffered the joy of a world's redemption, knows sacrifice as a common word in the lexicon of goodness in all worlds.

The glory which the Spirit incarnate in Jesus had with the Father before the world was, was another and a minor glory than that which the glorified Spirit of the Son of God has now at the right hand of the Father. Even to deity has been added as a crowning glory the human experience of God in Christ.

But if it is requisite that the Incarnation shall partake of the very life of God, it is no less essential that it shall be spelled in terms of human life. God was in Christ, and the proof of it is his reconciling, that is to say, correlating, the world unto himself. Men recognise God in Christ, not chiefly in anything local or adventitious in his ministry, but in that of which the Apostle Paul wrote when he said, "For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man? even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God. But we received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit of God; that we might know the things that are freely given us of God. For who hath known the mind of the Lord that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ" (1 Cor. 2: 11, 12, 16).

The divinity of Jesus is not only compatible with a real humanity; humanity, honest, actual humanity, is absolutely essential to the incarnation of the Son of God. This is the ground-wire of the circuit, without which the divine life in Christ would have been forever insulated. The Word did not merely assume flesh; the Word became flesh, and the flesh was real, not merely in the hands and feet, but in the heart and brain, in the thought and emotion, in the dependence and in the faith, of Jesus Christ, the Son of Man and the Son of God.

The metaphysical difficulties of the Incarnation are not the difficulties of practical religion. The differences between old theology and new theology are not the difficulties of religious experience. It is only in the realm of speculation that these questions trouble us.

We deal with a truth that surpasses all our definitions, and no man would dare express himself without disclaiming more than the hope of touching the garment's hem of the truth. It is easy enough for us all to point out the inadequacy of each other's definition, and even of our own. Yet the hem is part of the garment, and the touch of faith has healing. And when we touch this robe of the Person of Jesus, we see that if the warp of it is divine, that which the shuttle supplied must be veritably human; and the garment is without seam. Humbly and reverently, let us draw near in the press of those who throng him, and

endeavour to touch the human significance of the divine fact of the Person of Jesus.

One form of reasoning to prove the divinity of Jesus Christ is likely to experience a diminished popularity. It is that which reduces the problem to a trilemma, after this fashion:

"Jesus claimed to be the Son of God.

"Therefore either

(*a*) He was a self-deceived fanatic; or

(*b*) He was an intentional impostor; or

(*c*) He was (in the particular sense of the logician's dogma) the Son of God."

This dialectic method begins ascent toward the summit of the deity of Jesus along a path which it flanks on either hand with abyssmal ravines, and essays to drive men straight upward to that elevation before the bayonet of its irresistible logic, and to compel them to stand on this exalted pinnacle, with the certainty that a misstep would land them in one or the other of the chasms. It is an ill-mannered argument at best, and is open to serious logical and practical objections.

An increasing number of men revolt against this logic. They say, "You cannot drive me along such a path, for I will not start. I will go by another and to me a surer way. I will begin with the clear and sure conviction that Jesus was good, sane, and a safe leader, and I will follow him. If he was only man, he was the best of men; if he was more than man, I shall be glad to discover it, and to acknowledge him in all that I find him to claim and to be. If this brings me to an acceptance of his divinity, well and good; but if it leaves me only a human Christ, you shall not take from me the assurance that he was a sane and exalted one. If I find myself able to climb and stand in time with you upon the summit of Christ's assured divinity, well and good; by my own soul's path I shall be glad to find that truth with you. But if I fail, I still shall feel beneath my feet some spur, some level upland, of the same great mountain of his indubitable goodness."

In the old controversies it was assumed by both sides that God and man represented distinct spheres. On one side of the line between God and man, the Trinitarian placed Jesus; on the other side of the line the Unitarian placed him. They agreed, and were both wrong, concerning the line. God is as much on the human side of the line as on the other, and perhaps more so; and God is more truly in Christ, because Christ was also human. God the Spirit and the Spirit of God are not diverse, but the same. The Spirit of God in Christ and in those who are Christ's is identical. All these worketh these one and the self-same spirit.

Henceforth we can never safely drive our arguments for the divinity and humanity of Jesus in directions diametrically opposite, hoping that by some spherical miracle of divine logic, understood in heaven but hidden from us, the two may meet on the other side of the world, though when last we saw their inevitable deductions they were as far apart as the east is from the west. The two belong together, and he who denies, explicitly or by implication, either the humanity or divinity of Jesus, assails also the other and co-ordinate truth.

There is a tendency in modern thought to find the divinity of Christ in his sinlessness. But this conception of the essential quality in the life of Jesus is like the sweet and forceless face which the artists

conceive when they add a beard to a woman's face and call it the Christ. Mere sinlessness will never save the world. In Jesus Christ we have not only a sinless man, but a "strong Son of God, immortal love," conquering sin and saving men into the glory of his oneness with God.

It is not sufficient either for our teaching or for our religious experience that we hold to a merely human Christ. The Christ whom the church has honoured, whom the Christian heart has received, and who is proclaimed with power to forgive sins and to make men one with God, is a Christ both divinely human, and humanly divine.

He who lived and died, almost in our own generation, so near has he come to us, felt God in his human life and brain, all the way from the bench at which he wrought to the mountain on which he taught; all the way from the manger where he was born to the cross on which he died. In him is manifest the permanently divine in human life, and the eternally human in the life of God.

It was not sufficient for the divinity of Jesus that God knew he was divine, or that he knew himself to be divine. As God was dependent on human flesh for the vehicle of the Incarnation, so he again is dependent on men for its recognition. Blessed is he to whom this truth is assured, for flesh and blood hath not revealed it to him; and he who possesses it is a rock against whom, and the church founded on him, the gates of Hades can never prevail.

It is time for us to protest against that classification which says, "The cross represents humanity's final judgment on the Son of God; and God's contrasting judgment of him and of those who continually crucify him are shown in his triumph over death, and his ascension out of the world into another world." When God declared Jesus to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead, he needed men. The rain falling on a seedless earth creates no garden; the sun streaming on lifeless soil makes a desert. Had there been no Mary watching by the tomb, no Peter and John to run, no Thomas to doubt and confess, no bewildered disciples talking as they walked to Emmaus, no company in the upper room, no succession of those who in that and the ages following testified of his risen life, the life and resurrection of Jesus might as well have happened in heaven; it would have lacked its significance. Jesus Christ is divine because God has declared him to be the Son of God with power by the resurrection from the dead; and he is also divine because men, made in the image of God, repenting of sin at the foot of his cross, recognize the divine life in him and partake of that life. They not only believe his resurrection, but are his resurrection. This is the argument of Paul. Merely animal man is incapable of knowing God. But we have the mind of Christ, share his risen life, and are his resurrection from the dead.

The Son of God came not to condemn the world, by showing how little God and man have in common, but to save the world by the revelation of the life of God in man. And now appears his crowning glory, the united recognition of high heaven and of an imperfect but redeemed world. Jesus Christ is Lord, not only by the fiat of Almighty God, for the choice of the omnipotent before all ages has been ratified in human history. Humanity has found God in Christ, by the normal tests of its own hope and aspiration, the laws of the image of God in its own being. There is the democracy of the Kingdom of God—the eternal republic of the Sovereign of Earth and

Heaven. We have plucked from his brow the crown of thorns. Him whom God hath highly exalted, but with whom divine exaltation alone was not enough, we have crowned, by unanimous suffrage of redeemed humanity, King of kings, and Lord of lords.

God has shown in Jesus Christ that righteousness, God's own righteousness, can reign in human flesh. Is that enough, and may God now cease with that illustrious and solitary example? By no means! That merely shows that the achievement is possible. It lays upon God a tremendous moral obligation to repeat the indubitable success, and make it the norm of all life.

The church has not failed in its reverence for Jesus Christ. It has crowned him Lord of all its spiritual life and hope. But it has sometimes failed to understand and even to believe that vast mass of Scripture declaration that the life of God in Jesus Christ is a life to be communicated to the world through those who find faith in his name. Men have theorized about all manner of methods of imputing his righteousness, but the plan of God is to impart his righteousness. They have talked about substituting his life; but God's plan is to communicate his life. They have dealt in legal fictions about pretending that the life of Christ was in his brethren; but he has ascended to his Father and our Father, his God and our God, taking with him our humanity, has promised that even in heaven he is to be in all things like unto his brethren.

As the crowning beauty of the flower is its ability to bring forth seed after its kind, so the crowning proof of the divinity of Jesus is his power to incorporate his own divine life in the lives of those who find God in him. To as many as receive him, to them gives he the power to become the sons of God.

Such is the revelation of the Christ of the Gospels and of experience, a Christ capable of reproducing his own life in the lives of his followers. This is as it was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

The apostle Paul not only declared this to be the veritable and only Gospel, but in language vehement and startling he declares that nothing else is or ever can be the gospel than this, the power of the living Son of God to reproduce his life in those who find the Father in Jesus Christ: "It is no longer I that live, but Christ liveth in me; and that life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself up for me." (Gal. 2: 20.)

In Jesus Christ we have no fragmentary revelation. God who spake unto the prophets in divers fragments has given us in his Son a unified interpretation of God, Man and the universe. Important as are those revelations which incarnate a single suggestion or attribute of God in one noble individual or another, we have here a revelation so unlike in degree that it becomes almost other in kind, yet is not other. There is one God, and one Mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus. He is the way to God; he is not in the way.

Unitarianism offers us its purely human and fallible Jesus, aspiring to know God and to make real to men what he dimly apprehended. Such a Christ does not assure us of access to God. Gnosticism offered us a God making his approach to men through receding and impersonal emanations. Every such theory is a bridge with only one abutment. We have not so learned Christ. In his human life the hither abutment is solid: in his divinity the foundation of God standeth sure. He is a

ladder, standing beside the stoniest pillow of earth; the lowest round of his humanity within easy reach of the lowliest and sinfulest wanderer from God; his divine nature rising in unbroken ascent, affording not only a descent of angels to our dark world, but ascent for the souls of men into fellowship with God.

The New Testament doctrine is of a Christ in faith of whom God laid the rocks of this solid earth; a Christ whose character is the goal of all human history; a Christ toward whom all life had been ascending from the first pulse-beat of the tiniest heart that ever throbbed with the energy of God; a Christ in whom the whole creation finds its moral and spiritual significance: a cosmic Christ.

The New Testament doctrine is of a Christ not only of the swaddling clothes, but also of the song and the star; a Christ not only of the Hebrew shepherds, but also of the Persian Magi; a Christ not only of the Jewish sacrifices but also of the Greeks that came up to the feast; a Christ whose cross bearing the legend, "The King of the Jews," was borne by Cyrenian Simon, and whose inscription must be written in all the tongues of earth; a Christ who taught men to say in his native Aramaic, the name which he gave them for God, "Abba," that the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man might be preached with all the cloven tongues of heavenly flame of Pentecost, and in all the tongues of living men, Parthians and Medes and Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia, Jews and proselytes, Cretes and Arabians, till men hear everywhere in their own tongue and in figures of speech comformable to their national life and thought, the wonderful works of God revealed in a universal Christ.

In 1898 a company of Congregationalists, in number just equal to that of the passengers on the Mayflower, journeyed westward to the meeting of the National Council in Portland, Oregon, and stopped for a Sunday at Manitou, in the Rocky Mountains. It was, during the Spanish war, and we knew on Saturday night that the battle of Santiago was in progress. Our last word was that Shafter was holding his position "by a thin line," and we had no other message until Monday, when we heard how the thin line had pressed its way to the top of the hill and won the battle; and also that there had been a battle on the sea, resulting in the destruction of the Spanish fleet, and that the end of the war was in sight. Tidings of these two victories kept coming to us on Monday, the fourth of July, as we journeyed with the sun over the roof of the continent. Something of it we learned at half-past three in the morning, as we were wakened to take our train. All day Sunday we had looked up at Pike's Peak, and its summit was hidden by shifting clouds. We saw it and knew it to be taller than its neighbour mountains, and it took on something of vastness from its very mystery. But on that Monday morning, as we were moving to our train through the dusk, we looked up, and behold, the mountain was aglow with light. The sun had risen there already, and it shone down upon us with unclouded serenity. Towering above all hills around it, it bathed itself in the sunrise while yet the world was in the shadow. It was not merely higher than other hills, but it had a glory from the sun itself, a glory prophetic of their glory.

If we knew Jesus Christ only as a higher mountain in the range of the world's great men, that would be something not to be lightly cast away. If we knew him to be somehow greater, but could not tell how, because we could see the limitations of other men, and his summit was veiled from our sight by his great elevation and the clouds of our

earthly atmosphere, even so his sublimity would inspire us. But we all with unveiled face, beholding as in a mirror our humanity resplendent with the glory of God, and changing even as we behold into the same image, even as from the Lord, the Spirit, find in him something that wonderfully relates itself to our struggles and earthly battles. It is the vision of his real and perpetual divinity, resting on the basis of our humanity, and with the glory of God streaming from his life. He reflects the sunlight of God down upon other hilltops; and irradiates even the valleys of our sorrows with the luminous glory of a human life in which God lived and lives eternally. He lifts our common humanity up to God, and is the true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world.

The third address was given by the Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A., minister of Emmanuel Church, Cambridge, and editor of the *British Congregationalist*, who spoke on "Historic Fact as a Paramount Necessity for Christian Doctrine."

Address by Rev. W. B. Selbie, M.A.

HISTORIC FACT AS A PARAMOUNT NECESSITY FOR CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

Christianity is an historical religion. It arose at a certain period in time, and as the outcome of certain definite events. It has an historical Person as the centre of its thought and devotion. Christian theology is the interpretation of this Person—the attempt to relate him to our idea of God on the one hand and of human life and conduct on the other. It is obvious, therefore, that this process of interpretation must be profoundly modified by the view we take of history. When the world was young and men naive and simple in their ideas facts were facts, and the acceptance and explanation of them presented no difficulty. Credulity was a virtue. But in these latter days when more critical and philosophical conceptions of history are in vogue, when the idea of development dominates every department of thought and environment is a factor to be taken into account, the position is very different. It may be that the facts themselves remain unchanged, but the point of view from which we approach them is by no means what it was, and with the changed standpoint come a changed estimate and mentality. So we have to reckon with a more hesitating emphasis on the historical groundwork of our faith. Though Christian doctrine must always be the result of reflection on the Christian history, there is a widespread tendency to draw distinctions between them and to substitute say, a Christ of doctrinal development, or philosophical reflection, or experimental utility for the Jesus of history or of flesh and blood. We are invited to turn our attention to the living Christ and to fix our gaze exclusively on Him. He is represented too as a spiritual force operative for and discoverable by the men of to-day. He is regarded more or less unconsciously as in contrast to a dead Christ of history, and we are invited to believe that even though we may not have known him after the flesh there is yet a knowledge of him after the spirit available and sufficient. Now, no doubt, there lies behind this

position a very profound truth. It is a commonplace in these days that religion is a life and not a creed. Its vitality depends on present experience and not on memories of the past. Without such experience it is apt to drift into a condition of unreality in which it ceases to be or to be effective. But experience itself must be of something. It must have its foundation in fact. Otherwise it remains suspended in mid air and there is no guarantee of its uniformity or permanence. The tendency to divorce religious experience and thought from fact and history is one that has to be combated at every point.

Like all processes of the human mind, this tendency itself has a history. It is due to the spirit of the time and to the expression which this spirit has received in modern theology. In one aspect of it it is a form of mysticism, while in others it takes to itself shapes which mystics would be the first to repudiate. With the rise of a scientific historical method, arose also a new conception of the difficulty of arriving at historical certitude. Facts themselves were seen to be elusive in the sense that it was not always possible in history to distinguish between facts and the fancies of those who recorded them. This led to the desire to find some more secure foundation for religion. The question emerged as early as the eighteenth century, though in a form and for reasons widely differing from those prevalent in more recent times. The objection to history as a possible basis for religious doctrine was then purely philosophical. It was not the difficulty of obtaining historical certitude that occupied men's minds, but the undesirability or even the impossibility of finding a foundation for the eternal truths of religion in the more or less accidental phenomena of time. To Lessing, Kant and Fichte the historical element in Christianity was purely accidental, and could only be held to represent religious truth in a symbolical fashion. History may exemplify ideas, but it is the ideas, we are told, that are important and not the form in which they become manifest to the mind. The form is always accidental. On these terms Christianity tends to become a metaphysical philosophy and is easily divorced from fact. Scripture history becomes but a sensuous representation of religious truth. The growth of historical criticism and the application of the historical method to the Christian documents brought up a fresh justification for this plea. This basis of Christian doctrine was believed to be not only philosophically unsound but historically doubtful. Those who believe with Harnack that "the tradition as to the incidents attending the birth and early life of Jesus Christ has been shattered," are compelled to find some new groundwork for their belief in Christ and for their doctrine concerning him. Hence the familiar apologetic of Ritschl and his school. The aim of these writers is to find a justification for Christian belief which shall be independent of historical criticism on the one hand and of metaphysic on the other. In order to accomplish this they draw a clear distinction between the theoretic knowledge that has to do with facts, and the religious knowledge that has to do with judgments. They believe in the "historic Christ," and they assert his divinity, but both belief and assertion are held to be independent of criticism on the one hand and of any philosophic interpretation of the Person on the other. They lay stress on the ethical content of the life of Jesus as over against its historical form. But their "historic Christ" is not really independent of criticism. Rather he is the Christ who is left to them as the result of a criticism with an anti-supernaturalistic bias. And their independence of metaphysic confines them to a religious knowledge derived from

faith and experience alone. Their Christ is divine only in the sense that he has a certain religious value for the believer. In other words their interpretation of the Christian facts is subordinated to a materialistic philosophy and a naturalistic critical process. This school has done good service by insisting on the importance of value judgments in religion and of experience in the interpretation and construction of Christian doctrine, but its method is a vicious one throughout.

Its principles have been carried some way further by modern Romanist writers like Fathers Loisy and Tyrrell. These frankly abandon the historic basis of Christianity in the New Testament. Criticism is by them allowed to have its perfect work, with the result that the Gospels are entirely discredited as historical material. They then proceed to "put the ark of God somewhere where the Philistines cannot get at it," and by a skilful use of the doctrine of development justify a complete acceptance of mediæval dogma. Regarding Christianity as a living organism they believe that it can best be studied and understood in its later and completer stages. The earlier stage, which consists of a record of events which may or may not have "gone through the form of taking place," belongs to the world of appearance, which is irrelevant to faith. As Loisy says, "Historical researches only tend to prove and represent *facts*, which cannot be in contradiction with any dogma precisely because they are facts, while dogmas are representative ideas of faith." It is easy to see the attractiveness of this position for many minds in the present distress, but a very little reflection should be sufficient to show the extremely uncertain nature of the foundation it offers for faith and life.

We must not, however, overlook the fact that there are certain tendencies of modern thought which go far to popularise this conception of a Christianity divorced from history. The more important among these are, first, the application of the theory of development to Christian doctrine; and, second, the influence of the new philosophy which goes by the name of Pragmatism.

There can be no doubt that the idea of development is inherent in Christian teaching from the first. It was no part of the purpose of Jesus Christ when here on earth to leave with his followers a complete body of Christian doctrine, or a fully organised church. In his own mouth his teaching was no more than a seed which was intended to germinate and to grow, or leaven which was to work its way gradually through the whole lump. He was himself the core of his teaching, and he likened his own life to a corn of wheat which must fall into the ground and die before it could bring forth fruit. It was this capacity for growth and adaptation which constituted the uniqueness of the work of Jesus Christ and gave to it its power. But if we are to apply to this process of growth the concept of development we must do so intelligently and consistently. Development must mean here what it means everywhere else. If it implies continuous growth from earlier and simpler to later and more complex forms, according to fixed laws and by means of resident forces, then we must regard the earlier forms and stages as being at least as important as the later, and as containing within them the potentiality of all that was to be. It may be that the doctrine of the Person of Christ in the church to-day presents features which are not explicitly found in the Gospel history, but if they are to be regarded as a legitimate development they must at least be implicit in the facts which that history records. Indeed, any fair reading of Christian doctrine in the light of evolution increases rather than



GROUP TAKEN IN THE QUADRANGLE OF THE OLD UNIVERSITY, EDINBURGH.

diminishes the importance of the historical records. In these we have given the historical data whose development we have to study, the organism whose growth we have to investigate. If the Christ of dogmatic development is so far removed from the Christ of the Gospels that no sort of likeness between them can be found, then the study of the process of development should show us how the divergence has arisen, and should enable us to judge whether it is ideally or historically legitimate or not. On the other hand, if the portrait of Christ in the Gospels is judged to be wholly unhistorical no doctrine of Christ developed from it can have any vital significance either for reason or for faith. A myth does not develop into a reality. The bigger it grows the more mythical it becomes. Whatever is implicit in the germ must become explicit in the finished organism.

But it must be freely recognised that other factors come into play in the developmental process besides the forces and characteristics resident within the primitive organism. Environment must be taken into account, and in the development of thought environment has a great part to play. It is very necessary to understand the conception of the historical facts of Christianity, which was entertained by those writers who contributed most powerfully to the growth of Christian doctrine. But it is equally necessary that we should understand the intellectual and religious equipment which these writers brought to their task. They were themselves often the product of their environment, and, more or less unconsciously, they altered the truth as it was in Jesus when they tried to give expression to it for their own day. Much of their work, too, was polemical in intention, and this involved a bias, which must be taken into account in estimating it. It is much to be desired also that those who study doctrinal development would follow the example of Edwin Hatch, and give full weight to those pagan and other alien influences which came so strongly into play during the first four centuries of the Christian era. These are equally important whether we regard Christianity as an idealistic philosophy, or as an historic creed. In this connection, however, it is well to bear in mind the warnings to which Harnack has given utterance: "A man must be infatuated to maintain that, because all history is a history of development, it can and must be described as a process of material or mechanical change." "In the history of intellectual and moral ideas, the rough and ready way of explaining cause by environment alone, breaks down altogether."

Once more the idea that Christian doctrine may be independent of historical fact, is undoubtedly fostered by the prevalence of a pragmatic philosophy. There is a superficial attraction about a philosophical system which recognises the difficulties which beset every theory of cognition, which subordinates the intelligence to the will, and judges religion, not by the truth of its teaching, but by its effects on life and in experience. When Professor James asserts that "The only meaning of truth is the possibility of verification by experience," and that "True is the term applied to whatever it is practically profitable to believe," he is laying down propositions which strongly appeal to an age that loves to consider itself above all things practical. And there is no doubt that modern psychology is right in insisting that experience must be given a very important place among the criteria of religious truth. Theories, religious as well as scientific, are at first generally of the nature of hypotheses, and the test of an hypothesis is, will it work? But to make this the exclusive and universal test of knowledge involves

a kind of scepticism, the effect of which is to make theology impossible. There is truth in Professor Carveth Read's description of Pragmatism as "a kind of scepticism, as any doctrine must be that puts the conviction of reason solely upon any other ground than cognition, whether it be action or feeling." But even granting the admissibility of this new philosophical method, there is nothing in it to justify the neglect of historic fact as the basis of religious ideas. In the case of Christianity it is history which gives the data of experience. Apart from the records of the life and teaching of Jesus Christ no real experience of his power is possible. And to say that this experience remains the same, equally valid, and equally fruitful, whether the records be historically true, or whether they be merely myth and the product of imagination, is to say what no careful student of human nature would be willing to endorse. Whatever may be the case with philosophers, the average man is not easily persuaded to divorce his ideas from what he considers to be facts. If his religion is to supply him with sanctions for conduct, and to be judged accordingly, he can hardly be blamed if he seeks for it some basis in reality, and some foundation stronger than a myth.

But it is time now to realise that the root of the difficulty that confronts us is not to be found in any scientific or philosophical theories, but in the historical criticism of the early Christian documents. The results of that criticism are now generally known, and have brought about a wide-spread scepticism as to the historicity of the Christian records. Hence the desire to find a basis for Christian belief that shall be independent of records altogether. But there are other ways out of the *impasse*. Criticism must be met with criticism. The false relation between doctrine and fact which has too often been maintained, must be replaced by one which allows a wider latitude. For instance, it has sometimes been urged that the doctrine of the incarnation depends upon the fact of the birth of our Lord from a virgin, or that belief in the living Christ is impossible, apart from the belief in his bodily resurrection. But to deny this dependence of doctrine on a single isolated fact, is not to deny that historic fact is no necessary basis for doctrine. It is merely to assume the obvious necessity of discriminating among the facts given, and of broadening the basis on which doctrine is built. It would not even be true to say in so many words that the Christian doctrine of redemption is based on the fact of the death of Jesus Christ on the cross. It is not the fact that Christ died, so much as the fact that it was Christ who died, that is important for the foundation of doctrine. The force at the back of Christianity is the person of Jesus Christ, and our belief in the Person is not necessarily conditioned by the accuracy, or otherwise of the reports we have received about incidents in his career. The historical testimony to the truth of the Christian origins does not depend on the degree in which we can authenticate every statement made in the Gospels, still less in our power of identifying the writers of the Gospels. We have to see with their eyes and to judge as best we can of the verisimilitude of the picture which they draw. We are deeply concerned with the impression which Jesus Christ made upon them, because of the presuppositions which that impression involves, and which emerged when they attempted to describe it. But because those presuppositions present to us certain metaphysical difficulties, we must not allow these to affect our judgment of the apostolic testimony.

It is too easily assumed that criticism of the Gospels is necessarily

destructive in its effects, and that it has left us no secure foundation on which to build a doctrine of the person of Jesus Christ. A reaction against the extreme conclusions of the critics is already in process, and saner and broader views are beginning to prevail. Criticism itself has shown us that it is historically impossible to explain away the unique claims which Jesus Christ made, and the results which followed directly from them. His work and teaching are embedded in the history of the first centuries of our era, in such a way that it is impossible to eliminate them. It is important that we should discover what the first followers of Jesus thought about him, and it is not difficult to do so. Nor is it unreasonable to assume that their opinions concerning him originated from, and were shaped by his own words and actions, as they understood them. Their understanding may have been faulty, but that it had no sort of foundation in fact, no sane person is likely to believe. Here, then, at the very beginning, Christian fact and doctrine come into the closest possible relations. There must have been certain facts given to start the process of reflection. Something happened, and something which was a sufficient basis for doctrine. How easy it is, however, for doctrine to become dissociated from fact the history of Christian thought during the first four centuries abundantly proves. We can trace without any difficulty the process by which the historic Jesus became the unhistorical Christ of fourth century philosophical speculation. We have here not a natural development from the historical data, but the result of speculation in which the history has been largely overlooked, or perverted for dogmatic or polemical purposes. A familiar illustration of the process is often found in the changes which came over the presentation of Jesus Christ in art. The devotion of his earlier followers was none the less that they pictured him to themselves simply as a young man, of like form and fashion with themselves. But in the course of time the halo appeared round his brows, and he was presented to the gaze of his followers, either in a form glorified, and far removed from any vestige of humanity, or else as an agonized and perpetually crucified martyr. This transformation was the sign of a corresponding change in thought and belief, which Dr. Rashdall has well described in the following terms: "It can hardly be seriously denied that the picture which the fourth century formed to itself of the nature of Christ's personality, was an unhistorical picture. More and more as the historic environment of Christ's earthly life receded into the background, the key was lost to much in Christ's teaching, which, with our richer historical knowledge and our developed instinct of historical reconstruction, we may now hope to understand. The historic Christ more and more disappeared from men's view, and was superseded by a metaphysical Christ, whose humanity was indeed acknowledged in word, but who lacked all the attributes of the humanity which we know."

It has been among the chief tasks of modern scholarship to recover this lost Christ of history. And it is the fact that the Christ so recovered, is very different from the Christ of ecclesiastical dogma, that has led many minds to disparage, if not to discredit both the historical process and its result. It is quite true that the New Testament records give us not dogma, but only the materials for dogma. But the materal is sufficient, and is absolutely necessary for the purpose of doctrinal development. Historical criticism has had some constructive results, which are not to be overlooked. It has made it for ever impossible to deny the belief of Jesus Christ in his unique relationship

to God on the one hand, and to humanity on the other. His consciousness of this, and the claims he founded upon it, form an integral part of any representation of him that pretends to be true to the facts as his first followers understood them. They bring us face to face with what is sometimes called the problem of the person of Christ, with the lovely majesty and unique grandeur of his moral and religious consciousness. It is with the total effect of this personality that the student of history has to do, rather than with any incidents in his career. In the making of history, personality is a force to be reckoned with, and in Jesus Christ we have a personality more potent in its results, both immediate and remote than any other known to men. Regarded from this wider standpoint, and in this more human aspect the foundation of our faith stands firm. To quote Harnack once more, "There is," he says, "a difference between fact and fact. The actual external details are always a matter of controversy, and in this sense, Lessing was perfectly right when he warned us against coupling matters of the highest moment with 'accidental truths of history,' and hanging the whole weight of eternity on a spider's thread. But the spiritual purport of a whole life, of a personality, is also an historical fact; we are certain of it by the effect which it produces, and it is here that we find the link that binds us to Jesus Christ."

But it is not only in the field of Christology that the importance of history has to be recognised. It is equally important for theology in the broader sense of the term. No doctrine of God can be regarded as satisfactory which is the product of unaided imagination or of the idealizing tendency of the human mind. The science of Biblical theology is a standing refutation of any such theory. There is a history of thought as well of events, and the history of Christian thought on the Godhead is of the last importance in regulating the doctrinal reconstruction of modern times. The new science of comparative religions and the effect which it is producing well illustrate the point under discussion. There we have an immense body of ideas and phenomena which testify to the depth of the religious sentiment in man. Christian theology cannot escape the conclusion that we have in these, not only man's dim groping after God, but also God's search after man. He has spoken to the fathers in divers portions and in divers manners, to every age in the language that it could understand, and to every tribe in its own customs and in the forms of its own thought. The knowledge of this cannot but profoundly influence our conception of God in these days. It throws new light upon the whole Christian revelation and gives us a guide to the Scriptures without which we should often go astray. Students of the New Testament know how much they owe to the interpreters of the history of Old Testament religion. And the Old Testament itself is a sealed book to those who take no account of the general history of Semitic faiths, while these studies again broaden out until they come into close touch with the whole religious history of mankind. Here, as on the narrower ground of purely Christian theology, the historical background is absolutely necessary to the dogmatic process, and whoever is content to ignore it is but a blind leader of the blind.

The question still remains as to the place of experience in the formulation of religious truth. It is only germane to the subject because of the tendency of certain modern writers to make spiritual experience rather than historical investigation their great criterion. The two, however, must not be separated. Experience is useful as a process of

verification. By it men give practical effect to the faith that is in them, and are enabled to discover its value for life and conduct. It helps them to apply to their belief the practical test, "solvitur ambulando." But it does not give them the content of their belief. Its data are supplied, and all that experience does is to subject them to a certain method of proof. Nor must it be forgotten that religious experience itself has a history. The experience of the individual is only valuable as it is part of the collective experience of the race, and as it adds to the volume of the testimony which that wider experience provides. That the experience of the saints of Christendom says yea and amen to the spiritual claim of Jesus Christ is undoubtedly an important fact. But it loses all force and meaning if it is once dissociated from the history of the life and teaching of Jesus. That men studying this life and teaching to-day find in it the same solace and inspiration as was found by the men of the second century A.D. is a striking confirmation of the force of Christ's personality and of the universal nature of his appeal. But it does not prove the historical truth of the records concerning him. No doubt it may be said that the men in whom this experience has been effective have heartily believed the Scriptures which originated it, and that it is very difficult to imagine the birth of a true Christian experience in any man to whom Christ and his teaching are only products of the pious imagination. That may be so, but the fact remains that the real value of experience is for psychology and not for historical criticism. The point that more nearly concerns us here is that the history of Christian religious experience becomes largely unintelligible without the historical data on which it rests. Jesus Christ was not merely a teacher like Plato. He exemplified his teaching in his life, and the power and meaning of that life men discover by following the lines which he laid down.

Nevertheless, the fact has to be faced that a dehistoricalized Gospel is being offered to the world to-day as the latest and necessary product of scientific religious thought. We are told that "religion must withdraw its pretensions to be dealing with matters of fact"; that Christianity is a religion of experience born of illusions, and that these illusions preserved "the invaluable treasure of the Christian teaching and the figure of the teacher." We are told even that without the historical Jesus, the Gospels would become "more wonderful and more encouraging than before, for the profound wisdom and lofty character found in them would prove to be the expression not of a single and unique religion of Jesus, but of the spiritual ideals of many humble and unknown men." This position is set forth as the last word of modern apologetic, and it undoubtedly has its attractions. But the practical effect of it is to nullify the religion in the name of which it speaks. The great need of religion at the present time is for more and not less reality. Nothing is gained by telling us that we have the spirit of Jesus even if we lose the historical Jesus. To the plain man this means that you have reduced his religion to the "baseless fabric of a dream." It means also the substitution for historical reality of a kind of spiritual authority which may appeal to the philosopher but has no sort of influence with the common people. If in this way Christianity were ever to become a religion for the learned, it would entirely change its character and lose the greater part of its power. As Professor Shailer Matthews has well said, "It is easy enough to forecast the effects of this sort of presentation of an unhistorical Gospel. If once the world becomes convinced that Jesus

has no more reality than his value as a working hypothesis of God's character, and that the Gospels have only a functional worth, the church as an aggressive spiritual force will go out of commission. The very men who champion such a view will find it difficult to do more than reshape the religious fervour and faith which belong to men who once lived assured of the actual historicity of a risen Christ. The world at large has very little use for a myth or a legend or an illusion, no matter how it may assist it to function religiously. We may need sometimes to speculate as to what would be left the world if evangelical theology were to go into bankruptcy ; but it does not become us to depreciate its assets, much less call for a receiver of a solvent concern." In the old fable the strength of Antæus lay in his touch with mother earth. When Hercules lifted him into the air he overcame him with ease. So the strength of our Christian faith lies in its touch with historic reality, with what is sometimes called the fact of Christ.

In conclusion, we must insist that modern Christian teaching cannot be allowed to separate itself from the evangelic facts. These facts have to be investigated with all the aids which a scientific criticism can supply, and we need not fear the results of the process. The criticism which starts with a bias against the supernatural, whatever else it may be, is not scientific, and has certainly no right to an exclusive possession of the field. But the facts have not only to be examined, but interpreted. A distinction has to be drawn between the interpretation given to them by the men of the first century and the interpretation which is suited to the mind of to-day. But if this interpretation is to be Christian it must still remain in vital and organic relation with the facts. The exigencies of modern life and thought lay upon the church as its first duty the necessity for a positive reconstruction of Christian doctrine, or, in other words, for an intellectual presentation of the Gospel in terms intelligible to the men of to-day. This task the church can only accomplish as it remains loyal to the original deposits of the faith. To invent a philosophical Christianity without any historical background is to preach another Gospel. Theology will never go very far wrong so long as it finds its basis in the Bible and in history. Apart from these, it becomes a mere speculative system whose authority is simply that of its authors. It must be remembered that "a theology may be liberal and scientific and not be unevangelical. The history of Christian thought cannot be wholly a history of mistakes. The fact that historical criticism and the acceptance of the methods and results of biological science bring one back with new confidence to the heart of an historic faith, though by the road of a somewhat radical methodology, is at once reassuring and eloquent as to the future. There are many points both in conclusions and in method at which there will always be honest difference of opinion, but whatever is a fact will finally be reached by any legitimate investigation."

To sum up, the Christian religion possesses what a mere philosophical speculation lacks—the historic person of Jesus Christ. It was the force of this personality which originated the Christian church and has transformed and inspired men and women all through its history. The history of the person is not confined to the few years that Jesus spent on earth but is spread over the ages, and is to be studied in the results it has produced. In estimating it we must believe as Emerson puts it, "what the years and the centuries say against the hours." Christian doctrine is the prolonged and varied effort of the human

mind to explain the Christian facts and to relate them to the widening processes of thought. Its truth is proved by the extent to which it corresponds to the facts of history and by the life for which these facts supply the motive power.

Discussion

The Chairman suggested that as it was now 12.10, and the Council did not rise until 12.45, speakers in the discussion should be allowed five minutes up to 12.30 and three minutes between 12.30 and the time for adjournment. This course was agreed to.

Some moments having elapsed without any one rising to speak,

The Rev. S. G. Smith, D.D., of St. Paul, Minnesota, said he thought the silence indicated that the Council would like to take recess, and he moved accordingly.

This was seconded and put to the meeting, but, on a show of hands, was not carried.

Questions to Dr. Forsyth

Dr. Smith: I would not shrink from manifest duty. If Dr. Forsyth is present I should like to ask a question—whether or not there could have been forgiveness of sin, prior to the redemption on the cross—that is, in the ancient world, was there such a thing as the forgiveness of sin?

Dr. Forsyth: Yes, sir.

Dr. Smith: Then would it not be a divine experience of which the cross itself is only afterwards a symbol?

Dr. Forsyth: It is very difficult to answer theological questions within a limited space and in a large assembly, but so far as I am able to grasp the question of my friend opposite, the reply would be in terms like these—that the cross of Christ, representing a culmination of revelation and a process of grace which was in action from the very beginning, was retroactive as well as prospective in the cross of which I spoke. I think, perhaps, that is all the answer it is possible to make in these circumstances. As I have been called to my feet, may I take this opportunity of saying what I omitted to say in the delivery of my address, but had noted to say, that several unsatisfactory portions of the address may, perhaps, be supplemented in an article which I shall publish in the September number of the *Expositor*.

The Rev. Alex. Brown, of Aberdeen: I should also like to put a question to Dr. Forsyth. To me the one point of the paper was the sentence that the cross was the judgment of God upon sin. That is the whole secret. If Dr. Forsyth had dealt with that, and elaborated and told us what he made of it he would have helped some of us immensely. The whole point is there. Now I have been of a way of interpreting the matter entirely differently. I have always said to myself and to my people, "The cross is man's judgment upon God, and the resurrection is God's judgment upon Christ." That elucidates matters to

me immensely, and I can get the substance of Dr. Forsyth's atonement without the difficulties that I think belong to his position, and I should like him to tell us what he means by the cross being God's judgment upon sin.

The Chairman: You are asking a good many questions of Dr. Forsyth. I am sure he is well able to answer them.

Dr. Forsyth: Well, sir, I frankly confess that I cannot answer that question within the limit of the time at my disposal, because it really involves the whole of a system of theology. Mr. Brown is perfectly right in saying that it is the crux of the whole thing. In looking at the action of Christ's death I did indicate in some measure the position I should take. I said that judgment was not to be regarded as an arbitrary infliction, but that it was an absolutely necessary moral reaction of the Holy One against sin, against therefore any personality that was identified in a corporate way with the race that had committed the sin. Therefore, I venture to think that while I should accept what Mr. Brown says, the situation would be more adequately dealt with if he were also to accept what it was in my mind to say and that both views are requisite and both are complementary. And while it is no doubt true that the resurrection was God's seal upon what Christ had done, not so much an act of Christ himself as an act of God upon Christ, on the other hand also the cross represented the necessary reaction of God's holy nature against sin, falling upon one who was completely identified with the sinful race. I would say the cross was Christ's acceptance of God's judgment and the resurrection was his experience of God's justification. I do not know that I ought or could satisfactorily go further than this at this moment as to that point of Mr. Brown's question. I think it is a very suggestive one and a very necessary point.

Remarks of Professor Simpson, Edinburgh

I should just like to express in a word or two my very hearty thanks to the gentlemen who have read these very excellent papers. I feel very grateful to them for their admirable treatment of the various subjects which they have taken up. If there had been time I should have liked to have offered a word or two of criticism upon Dr. Forsyth's paper, but there is no time to go into that. I should like to say with regard to the two following papers that I followed them with very close interest, and I think I agreed with the positions taken up by the writers throughout. And I do not think I should have any criticism at all to offer in regard to either of these two last papers. I think it is a very great satisfaction to us as Congregationalists and as members of this Council to have heard such a full expression of what I take to be our historic faith as Congregationalists. I am very glad to think, and I suppose it is on the whole correct, that we stand as a body upon the great evangelical foundations. Dr. Forsyth, I must thank, too, for having faced what is probably a greater difficulty with a good many of us at the present time than what relates to the other two papers. I thank him very heartily indeed for having the courage to write and to utter what he has expressed before us to-day. But that problem which he has faced in this paper is a very wide one. I have no criticism at all to offer upon his main positions and his main contentions. I agree with that position entirely and fully, but

there are difficulties lying beneath and beyond. I suppose it will be felt to some extent by some, there are two main propositions in the title of his paper. One is that forgiveness through atonement is *the* essential to evangelical Christianity. And there is implied in that the other position that forgiveness through atonement is an essential of New Testament Christianity. A gentleman on the left here referred to a difficulty which occurs at once to most of us in regard to the Old Testament. We find there the ascription of the forgiving attitude of the Spirit of God apart altogether from any conditions. There run through the Old Testament, as most of you are aware, two lines of thought upon this subject, one which connects forgiveness with the institute of sacrifice, and the other which ascribes forgiveness to God as a necessary attribute to the divine character apart from any conditions. I suppose Dr. Forsyth's answer to some extent would cover that position, and for myself I quite believe that these two lines of thought are correctly interpreted in the New Testament.

Remarks by Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D.D., Chicago

I have nothing to contribute, sir, in this discussion, but I do desire for myself to speak a word of appreciation of what I have received from Dr. Forsyth this morning. I should like to sit under his preaching. It seems to me he has more than given us an address on the Atonement and forgiveness this morning, a most impressive and deeply spiritual utterance, and I felt the tears come to my eyes again and again as he spoke. And as I came from a church which is largely made up of labouring people and came in contact with men who are in sin and who sin like myself, I could not help feeling that it was an experiental illustration of the necessity of this deep and essential way of treating the Atonement through Jesus Christ, and that we are to go deeper than the merely sentimental methods of treating Jesus and the love of God. And, sir, I simply rose to express my indebtedness to Dr. Forsyth. If I had heard nothing else in coming across the sea than this great address, which, it seems to me, is an epoch-making one, I should have felt fully repaid.

Remarks by Rev. W. L. Walker, Glasgow

I should like, Mr. Chairman, to join with the brother who has spoken last in expressing my gratitude for Dr. Forsyth's illuminating address to us to-day. When I saw the title of the paper, I said to myself, "He will tell us plainly what he means by Atonement." I think that is the question that people almost everywhere to-day are seeking to have answered—what was it that Jesus did for us that can be described rightly by the word "Atonement." Mr. Brown's question, "How did the judgment of God fall upon Jesus Christ as a victim of the malice and hatred of God's enemies?" is, to my mind, a very difficult question. How did that represent God's judgment on him? Well, I agree that the view that he has impressed upon us needs a good deal more clearing up. We must try to see what it was that Jesus Christ did as representing God in his grace, and what he did in representing man in the presence of God and as a symbol. Then, I think, there is another thing that ought to be made clear about the

atonement. That word atonement is not really a scriptural word at all, it is "reconciliation." It is God reconciling the world to himself in Christ. Now Principal Forsyth in one part of his paper to-day laid great stress on the fact that it was God's work—it was God in Christ. Then in another part of his paper he spoke of the Atonement as the offering of Christ to God. Now, I do not think these two modes of expression quite agree. If it was that God was doing it in Christ, what could Christ do to God in the popular sense of atonement? Of course, if you take atonement as meaning what it ought to mean—at-one-ment—that is another matter. The last thing I wanted to say is that there was forgiveness before there was the cross. All through the Bible God's forgiveness was offered to repentant sinners. Jesus forgave all and sundry to whom his mercy went out before the cross. I think the cross must tell us something more than God's readiness to forgive or that there is a ground for forgiveness. I hold that Paul's teaching was that there was a universal proclamation of forgiveness, as Thomas Erskine put it long ago, the unconditional freeness of the Gospel that goes forth to the world through the cross of Christ, apart from any requiring on the sinner's part at all, God's love going forth through Christ's identification with us sinners as representing what sin did, that God's grace goes forth as the proclamation of free forgiveness to all who will come to him in Christ, as the means of drawing men to himself through his love and grace on that cross.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Adamson, Glasgow

I should like before the meeting ends to express my feeling regarding these papers, and first of all to express my thanks to Dr. Forsyth for the address he has given to-day and for the addresses and papers I have read concerning the same subject in various periodicals. I do not understand why my brother Mr. Brown here and my friend Mr. Walker have such difficulty regarding the matter of God's judgment on sin in Christ Jesus our Lord. If I understand Principal Forsyth, it is this, that when he says the Cross he does not mean simply the crucifixion—he takes in the whole sufferings of our Lord, not only those arising from the external condition, but those which came from the inward consciousness of Christ. I should like to say a word about the second paper, and to ask Dr. Barton what is the distinction he makes between the deity of Christ and the divinity of man.

Reply by Rev. Dr. W. E. Barton, Oak Park, Ill.

As a matter of defining divinity and deity, I should not know how to answer the question. I did not attempt and do not attempt any method of proving Christ first human and then divine and endeavour to reconcile the two. The two must proceed together. They cannot be driven wide apart and then reconciled. I agree very heartily with what Mr. Brown has said, that the cross represents man's judgment upon Christ and that the resurrection represents God's judgment, but I am sure Mr. Brown would agree that that antithesis cannot be eternal—there must be a synthesis; and therefore it must be that through the nature of God imparted to man, by which alone any divinity in Jesus Christ can be apprehended by

man, this Jesus Christ is the Son of God not only by the fiat of the Omnipotent, but the kingdom of God is also the republic of God, and we crown him King of kings and Lord of lords by the fiat of high heaven and the unanimous suffrage of redeemed and kindred humanity.

REMARKS BY REV. J. HIRST HOLLOWELL, ROCHDALE

We have had three most brilliant papers which will amply repay the study which will be given to them on their publication in volume form. I am glad that the question of the eternal mercy, the eternal forgiveness and love back of the historical Calvary has been raised. No one wishes to deny the eternal disposition and purpose of God to forgive the repentant sinner, and I do not think anyone could deny that all that is taken up into Calvary, all that is confirmed and perfected on the cross. There is one practical matter. I felt there was a true Gospel in Dr. Forsyth's paper, yet I wished it were a simpler one, a plainer Gospel, a more preachable Gospel. Dr. Forsyth is, of course, talking to doctors of divinity, learned men from the Edinburgh University, and other universities, a few plain men being interspersed among them. He used, of course, the language of theology and philosophy. Can he reduce that language into a simple, preachable Gospel that can be given to the poorest of people? I believe he can. But as it appeared to us this morning it was a most difficult Gospel to preach, though sublime, profound, touching to the emotions, a Gospel on the holiness of God such as is seldom preached. I want him to reduce it to popular terms so that it can be conveyed by a hundred, a thousand tongues as well as his own. My last point is this—I so frequently detect a note of criticism on social amelioration and social reform in Dr. Forsyth. I wish he would understand that those who are most passionate in their desire to raise the social conditions of the people are not those who discredit theology or disparage or lower theology, but those who take the same great interest in it that he does.

REMARKS BY REV. E. C. MOORE, D.D., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

Mr. President: I shall feel sorry if we adjourn without someone expressing his feeling of what we had in Mr. Selbie's paper. The discussion of this half hour has turned on these other questions, but I think I speak for some who would agree that the question which Mr. Selbie discussed is a burning question for us as we live and think today, and that the paper which Mr. Selbie gave us was masterly in the highest degree, and a great contribution to theological literature.

Closing the Session

The Chairman: The time for our noon recess has arrived. Before we adjourn—and I wish you all to remain—I am going to ask the Rev. Mr. Glasgow, of Demerara, to come to the platform and lead us in a brief prayer and pronounce the benediction.

The Rev. T. B. Glasgow then led the assembly in prayer, and pronounced the benediction.

The Council adjourned at 12.45.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Rev. Dr. Fordyce (Sydney) took the chair at half-past two, and the session commenced with the singing of the hymn "Come, Holy Ghost, and thro' each heart," and prayer was offered by the Rev. S. Lenton (Adelaide).

The Chairman: The business before us is the continuation of the discussion on theological and philosophical problems. I am sure that you will be saturated—intellectually saturated—and I will not venture to offer any remark.

The Rev. Professor R. Mackintosh, M.A., D.D., of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester, was the first speaker. His topic was "Recent Philosophy and Christian Theology."

Address by Rev. Professor R. Mackintosh, D.D.

RECENT PHILOSOPHY AND CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE

In dealing with so large a subject in a short time, it will be necessary to generalize freely. And, whether one's knowledge be full and detailed, or be sadly limited, there can be little doubt what is the main stream in recent philosophical thought—the empirical tendency. *A posteriori* has gained at the expense of *a priori;* given facts count for more, and necessary truths for less. It is reported—correctly or incorrectly—that when the wife of John Stuart Mill was dying, she became very much frightened, and anxiously asked her husband what was before her, receiving the reply: "Everything is possible, nothing certain." That has been, on the whole, the spirit of recent thinking upon all the final problems. Objections to theological belief are weakened; for example, there has been, I fancy, comparatively greater willingness to consider pleas for personal immortality. But the rational certainties, upon which science and theology in the past have equally relied, seem to the recent mind less certain and even less rational. This age has seen a great revival of Roman Catholicism. That system has not protected itself against scientific criticism; on the contrary, its leaders have anew bound heavy burdens upon men's shoulders; yet the system has shown signs of new life. Again, ours has been the age of anarchism. Kindly and cultured gentlemen have persuaded themselves that, if all government could cease, mankind would be perfectly good and perfectly happy. Even among those who translate such opinions forthwith into crime, and argue by means of explosions, some, we are told, are in private life harmless and amiable. The age of reason is not yet begun, or it has been interrupted. There is an obstinate vitality in extravagant beliefs. The standards of common sense have been torn up and flung away.

It is plain that such changes must frequently threaten Christian theology. A writer whose name was mentioned already, John Stuart Mill, though never a dogmatic believer, made a memorable admission—that we might, even to-day, define the good life as the life that would meet with the approval of Jesus of Nazareth. How different is the spirit of the contemporary unbeliever! There is hardly now one wretched little freethinking undergraduate who will not tell you just where Jesus went wrong, and why. Perhaps, when our age is reviving the paradoxes and absurdities of the past, some fragments of forgotten truth may be recovered. I was told in New Zealand, twenty-five years ago, that the Chinese goldseekers were washing over the refuse which European miners had thrown away. Presumably, they found some gold. The Christian similarly must set himself to learn scraps of truth from brilliant aberrations like the ethic of Nietzsche. It warns us—as Ibsen again warns us—against conventionalism. I suppose we need the warning, though we ought not to need it. If we have been defending custom for custom's sake, or for comfort's sake, that is not serving Christ. On the other hand, the unworldliness of a Christian is a very different thing from the unworldliness of a Bohemian. And what have we to do with fictions of an *Uebermensch?* He has made us little less than divine, and has put all things under our feet. The head of every man is Christ; the head of Christ is God.

But, if the upsetting of old standards frequently involves danger to the cause of Christian thought, it sometimes brings help. Fetters may be broken, among other things, and prison doors thrown wide. The system often described as Naturalism is being challenged by the deeper empiricism of our age. If our fathers found it hard to believe in anything beyond nature and its laws, many of their children are inclined to hold that nature is no more than a serviceable but conventional, almost fictitious, construction of the human mind, and nature's laws perhaps averages, possibly even habits of soul-like forces outside and around us. Whether this is or is not the best way of meeting naturalism, it is a way that is highly characteristic of our own generation—more popular to-day than the natural dualism which placed side by side, in peaceable union, facts and truths; matter and mind; fixed laws and free will—perhaps also more popular to-day than idealism, or at least the idealism of the past. Such idealism is stigmatized among us as intellectualist. Indeed, I do not know of any present-day tendency in philosophy more widespread or more characteristic of the hour than this recoil from intellectualism.

What is intellectualism? The word may be used in different senses, and the recoil from intellectualism may take different directions. Sir Wm. Hamilton is quoted by the Oxford Dictionary as identifying rationalism and intellectualism; Ferrier as contrasting intellectualism and sensualism—the theory that knowledge is the work of active mind, with the theory that knowledge is a gift received passively by the mind from the senses. That is not the modern usage. It is not a question now of the origin of knowledge. Relying on the threefold grouping of psychological phenomena—thoughts, feelings, acts—the modern asks, whether feeling and will are merely disturbing influences and necessary evils, so far as knowledge is concerned, or whether they have positive functions in the attainment of truth? Perhaps naturalism itself is a species of intellectualism, though not the finest sort. There is a "Rationalist Press" in Great Britain to-day which carries on the programme of enlightenment as the one great need of mankind. A

more dignified type of intellectualism is associated with the historic name of Plato, whose influence is described by Kaftan as having largely moulded and distorted Christian theology. Another representative intellectualist is Spinoza. "Human things are neither to be laughed at nor wept over; they are to be understood;" to which we might reply that the things best worth understanding never will disclose themselves except to one who can laugh at the right time, and weep in the right measure, the best human things being accessible only to sympathy, and still more surely the things that are divine. But probably the greatest intellectualist of all is Hegel. "Hegel," said Rabbi Duncan, "studies everything as if it were a problem in algebra; but to me the vital questions seem profoundly moral." Even so "profoundly moral" a disciple of Hegel's as T. H. Green finds his key to ethical truth chiefly in a *Metaphysic* of *Knowledge*. Is not all that properly described as the extreme of intellectualism?

Now the spirit of the present hour, for good and for evil, is setting strongly against this immersion of the mind in abstract disinterested knowledge. Protests are heard in every direction. For instance, one takes up the interesting anonymous Roman Catholic manifesto on the *Programme of Modernism*, and one reads: "To-day it is no longer possible to speak of a cognitive faculty which functions in complete independence of our subjective needs and interests" (p. 114) or is "immune from all influence of the will and the emotions" (p. 126). Again, the learned, able, and very radical book of Professor G. B. Foster, entitled *The Finality of the Christian Religion*, is full of protests directed now against orthodoxy, "Catholic and Protestant" (p. 281), now against rationalism (p. 142), as being all of them "intellectualist" (p. 14). "Christianity is primarily a religion of the will" (p. 17). "Into the mystery of religion and of Christianity science is not able to penetrate" (p. 14). But one need not multiply quotations. Let me simply add that, if not the inventor of the new term, yet its chief patron is Professor Eucken of Jena. It is he who has placed side by side naturalism and intellectualism as the two chief enemies which the religious consciousness has to fear.

Now, we may not have done very much by directing attention to so simple a truth as the elementary psychological trichotomy. Some will even call in question whether the psychological trichotomy does anything to challenge intellectualism. Is it not the nature of thought to go outside of the self? Is it not the business of knowledge to know—of the subject, to grasp the object? When we allow for will, when we allow for emotion, in our scheme of ideas and in our picture of reality, what have we done except—improve intellectual knowlege? The answer might be offered, that we have at least prepared the way for something better in the sphere of life. But the intellectualist may press us further. Are emotions, are conations or volitions, anything else than raw material for thought? We reply again: They are indeed raw material for thought; to correct intellectualism by despairing of truth would be fatal to Christian theology. But will and emotion are very much more, besides being material for the intellect. They are, to a greater extent than any abstract thoughts, the stuff out of which human life, out of which especially the religious life, is built up. And so the rival forces must face each other. The intellectualist complains that we call him nicknames; he retorts by telling us that we are doomed to scepticism. We complain in turn

that the intellectualist's gospel is one destined for the wise and prudent, but hidden from babes.*

The interest of religion in the protest against intellectualism ought now to be plain. Religion, in its perfection as Christianity, has taught that there is some knowledge, and that the most precious of all, which is inaccessible to the scientific intellect. *To know God*, said Pascal, *you must love him.* This position was expressed, well or badly, in Ritschl's theory of value judgments. He limited his doctrine of value in two ways. First, the appeal is not from mere intellect to mere emotion or mere will, or a mere union of these two, but from intellect (taken in isolation) to the whole man. And, secondly, this is not a theory of all knowledge, but of religious knowledge. Scientific knowledge is left to stand by its side, as knowledge of a different type; knowledge in which the value judgments are negligible. I do not deny that difficulties may be raised in regard to both these limitations; but I believe that the rough commonsense of the religious position is given us here. Similar views will be found expressed on the philosophical side by Professor Pringle Pattison of this city. "The analysis of knowledge, though involving fundamental ontological conclusions, cannot give us all that is included under metaphysics or ontology, regarded as a synthetic statement in ultimate terms of the nature of reality. This statement must be based not only upon the structure of knowledge, but upon ethical and aesthetic considerations; upon our notions of value, and the relation of our ideals to the ultimate ground of reality."

But philosophy moves on to a more radical reconstruction of the theory of knowledge. Not content with supplementing reason by calling in the emotions and will, it proposes to set up will as a rival to intellect, and no less a man than Professor Paulsen treats Voluntarism with respect; while Professor Baldwin hints that there may also arise a theory of "affectionism," which will give the supreme place in knowledge to the feelings. If it is hard to find persons labelling themselves intellectualists, it may be still harder to find those who accept these other labels. And what wonder? Professor Eucken's admission to Mr. Boyce Gibson, that he himself at times has swung too far towards irrationalism, is a danger signal. If Voluntarism means that knowledge is the mere creation of will, the doctrine seems to be a sceptical renunciation of real knowledge. Or, if it means that biological conceptions are to drive out philosophical, that also might well be considered retrogression rather than progress. Once more: the establishment of conation as a leading point of view in psychology *may* mean that every cognition without exception is what Ritschl termed a judgment of value.

In the Arabian Nights, and again in Hans Andersen, one reads of an intelligent dog, who wished to protect his master against enemies. When the spies, who were pursuing his master, marked with chalk the door of his house, the dog marked every door in the street; and so the identification was lost. These newer philosophies are working against Ritschl in a similar way. What have we done to advance the study of the religious consciousness by identifying it with judgments of value, if every body of human ideas is also a thing of value judgments, the

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* Is it true that in criticizing intellectualism we are bound to go in the direction of empiricism? Eucken might deny this. He will not surrender the name of idealism to the intellectualists. Yet perhaps the admission makes for clearness of thought. The Hegelian intellectualism, at all events, believed in universal reason, but belittled whatever was individual. Now it is the individual self that acts and feels.

creation and embodiment of specifically human interests, and if there is no such thing in existence as direct study of facts or the vision of abstract truth?

I do not know whether Pragmatism is another extreme recoil like Voluntarism—possibly indeed, synonymous with Voluntarism. I say that I do not know. If Voluntarism is an obscure and orphan creed, Pragmatism, though its parentage is known, is quite as hard to cross-question. The one thing certain is that any summary account of Pragmatism and Humanism will be denounced as unjust by the authors of the theory. In politics, we have found in this country that it is a dangerous blessing to possess statesmen dowered with the literary faculty, since they punctuate their wisely considered acts with blazing indiscretions of speech. Perhaps, too, it is unfortunate when our leaders in philosophy have too much literary verve and brilliancy. True, as the Germans remind us, it has been arranged that the trees shall not grow up into the sky; and no doubt it has also been arranged by a higher power that those who talk about philosophy shall usually be dull. It is hardly gracious, therefore, to quarrel with the amusing pages of Professor James or Mr. Schiller; yet one cannot help thinking that, at whatever sacrifice of literary effect, they could have put their meaning more clearly, if they had chosen. With reserve then I state the following impressions of what they mean: (1) practical interest in knowledge having been undervalued in the past, they have allowed themselves to declare that nothing except practical interest counts at all; (2) in spite of Professor James's disclaimer, his Pragmatism means much the same thing as his radical empiricism, each in turn being equivalent to "pluralism"; (3) Pragmatism treats all knowledge as *symbolical*, chiefly on the ground of modern doubts regarding the objective worth of the working conceptions of science; (4) it treats all truth as "dynamic" *i.e.* as progressive. "Dynamic" is another of the watchwords of Professor Foster; dynamic—yet "finality" of the Christian religion! At this point it is very hard to keep step with the theory. In a yacht race, when a mark boat drifts from its station, the race is declared "off"; but it is claimed as one of the glories of human and especially modern knowledge that the standards of the mind are always shifting. No doubt, human insight deepens; yet there is unity and continuity in knowledge; else knowledge would be shattered. Evolution is not revolution. The attempt to generalize the doctrine of practical interest in knowledge has a lurid light thrown upon it, if that is what it comes too.

I pass on to another doctrine, one again which is largely associated with Professor James—the doctrine of the subconscious. It is held that all our beliefs and all our mental processes are continuous with movements of mind of which we are sometimes but half aware and sometimes never aware at all. This doctrine is regarded with curious hatred by intellectualists. The subconscious is a poor relation which "Reason" will by no means acknowledge. Of course, the range of the subconscious may be exaggerated, and very grave inferences may then be based on it; possibly even a pessimism like von Hartmann's. It is said that nine-tenths of an iceberg are submerged under the waves, while only one-tenth is visible. If we were to say that human thought was as predominantly subconscious—if we said that conscious beliefs were islands separated by a waste of waters, or continuous only under the surface—we should say too much. Science is nothing else



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than the study of the visible floating portions of the icebergs; and science does not lose the thread of connexion at every turn, or find itself always driven back on subconscious elements. But are there certain beliefs, in the creation of which, will and emotion ought to have a share? Is there something in the life of the soul besides science? It is precisely below the level of clear consciousness that emotion and will have their fullest chance of moulding thought. There is need of care at this point. If we are to escape irrationalism, we must not appeal away from thought to feeling and will, nor even away from the conscious to the subconscious. The two must make one music. But it appears to be plain psychological fact that there is a focus in consciousness and a blurred field upon the outskirts. So, too, it appears to be plain psychological fact that the religious leadership of the world has rested with the prophets, the men of intuition, and not with the men of reflection, to whom we owe science and philosophy. If so much of our mental life necessarily passes in twilight, which is wiser? To give the guardianship of it to character, working through sound moral tastes and principles, or to struggle hopelessly for a degree of enlightenment as perverse as it is impracticable?

What is the theological outcome of the prevailing type of philosophy to-day?

First, very plainly, the empirical spirit is interested in the strange and varied phenomena of religion. When Henry Brougham was placed on the woolsack, it was said that the new Lord Chancellor knew a little of everything, even of law! And perhaps it is something to be thankful for to-day that the new spirit in philosophy is interested in all curious phenomena, even the religious. Things were not always so.

Again, more specially, the new spirit attaches great importance to personality and personalities. When one remembers how the Hegelian philosophy degraded the great man into the impersonal servant of "the Idea," one must be thankful for this change too. Of course it means different things in different quarters. With Ritschl and his friends, it meant a precariously sharp dualism between nature and history. With Professor Höffding it seems to mean chiefly that, while dogma is volatilized into symbol, cult is to vanish altogether, and personal religion, of the somewhat starved sort in which Professor Höffding believes, is henceforth to be all in all. Yet I think we may hope that an appreciation of the moral meaning of personality will pave the way, better than intellectualism ever could, for a true faith in the supreme personality revealed in history, that of our Lord Jesus Christ.

But perhaps we can particularize still further! Though, if we try to do so, we shall hardly find that faith in Christ, as we understand such faith, is as yet supported by the empiricist and anti-intellectualist tendency of thought. In many different quarters there is a conception of the religious life which reveals considerable moral warmth and impressiveness, but which seems to have no room in it for the Christ. According to an article by Professor Lovejoy in the *American Journal of Theology*, the heart of Professor James's Pragmatism is belief in free will or in pluralism; in this sense (I take it) that the future is detached from the past and may therefore develop out of real acts of free choice. This pluralism is applied all round. God, if believed in, has to be thought of as the foremost fighter in the battle—a brave fighter, a hopeful fighter, but just a fighter like others; *primus inter*

pares. Perhaps the most attractive statement of a religion of this type will be found in Professor Eucken. He believes in the reality of inward decision, with the promise in it of a new and higher life. A man may "arise in me, and the man I am may cease to be"; that constitutes the whole truth of religion. But, if we will have it so, this high experience is possible. God is accessible, if we seek him with loyal wills.

More briefly, we might describe the religious bearing of the prevailing drift in philosophy as distinctively moral. I do not of course mean that all empiricist thinking is moralized; but rather that the religiously-minded empiricists emphasize the moral aspects of religion. In itself, surely, that emphasis is good. Let me contrast with it for the moment a theological rather than a philosophical rival. The eternal odium of Calvinism—I had almost said, the eternal infamy of Calvinism—is its preference for the other horn of the dilemma; its determination that, whatever comes of morality, or of God's character, it shall make sure of God's omnipotence. Now—if we must choose—is not that the less true and less Christian alternative? To insist upon morality, upon struggle, progress, free will—is not that, of the two, the more Christian alternative? When Dr. Rashdall again teaches that God is not the Absolute, but, along with created spirits, constitutes the realm of the Absolute, there we have the same empiricist and moralistic strain showing itself in an unexpected quarter.

Early in the frightful *débâcle* of the Franco-Prussian war, the wretched Louis Napoleon blurted out the hopelessness of his position in a would-be comforting telegram: *Tout peut se rétablir;* all may—yet—go well. That is the very programme of religion, in the judgment of many philosophers to-day. Now the affirmation thus made is true, and vitally important, so far as it carries us. All will go well, if we are brave and faithful; if we are cowardly and disloyal, things for us cannot go well—unless we are to accept dogmatic universalism, and affirm that our lives must end well, do what we may; but I cannot help thinking that, when dogmatic universalism is enthroned, morality vanishes. No! Let us keep to morality! Let us hold to the truth that things may go well, or may for an evil self prove incalculably evil. But is that the whole truth? Christianity has taught that there are higher guarantees for the welfare of man and the universe than our individual faithfulness—in the good hand of God; in the administration of Jesus Christ. Was that faith a mistake? Is it to be dropped now, as inconsistent with moral seriousness? Is this the standard under which henceforth we are to conquer; TOUT PEUT SE RÉTABLIR?

So far I have spoken of the empiricist, and more particularly of the anti-intellectualist, current of thought, as the dominant tendency of the hour. It is time to remind ourselves that idealistic monism and intellectualism still have their champions. Touches of monism have indeed come under our notice already as we have studied the champions of the other side in the great debate. Perhaps even the Pragmatist, when he strikes out or ignores pure science, behaves like a monist, unifying thought. Again, reluctance to believe in libertarianism—or, alternatively, the modern proposal to vindicate freedom in conduct by denying law in nature—points once more to the difficulty of dualism; in other words, to the strength of the monistic appeal. Yet again, miracle is harder to maintain than formerly, and has enemies in unexpected quarters. What is exceptional meets to-day with less and

less support. So far forth, unity has made headway even in empiricist minds. Very likely, as a counterweight, we may now find that the intellectualists of our time show traces of the anti-intellectualist drift. It is not a metaphysic of knowledge but a metaphysic of "experience" from which Mr. Bradley himself starts. When I wrote a little book upon *Hegel and Hegelianism*, I quoted this as a movement away from intellectualism; but I am not now sure whether that description is correct. We have a plainer recoil from intellectualism in the emphasis laid upon conation not only by recent psychology, but by recent idealist metaphysics. For example, Prof. Taylor, formerly of Manchester, now of Montreal, says that his argument for idealism is very like Berkeley's, while remedying Berkeley's defects by a fuller reference to conation. Here there can be no doubt that intellectualism is qualified. There may be more room for doubting whether the new idealism will hold water. When Professor Paulsen, in a recent essay, tells us that we have immediate knowledge of our own mental life, and may have genuine knowledge of reality outside of us if that reality also is mental, one fails to follow the train of thought. True, I taste sugar in my own mouth; but is that any proof that I can taste the sugar in yours? However, in greater or less degree, intellectualism still has its representatives. Professor Royce, for example, in the preface to Vol. II. of his Gifford Lectures, speaks as follows: "Since childhood I have never had any faith about the problem of immortality except in so far as I have seemed to myself to see philosophical reasons for such faith. . . . I regard the whole matter as one for reason in precisely the sense in which the properties of prime numbers and the kinetic theory of gases are matters for exact investigation." Of course this refers to one problem—human immortality; but the same temper will spread to other points, and probably Professor Royce would himself apply it everywhere. What could be more abstract or dry than to demand that gases and souls shall be studied in exactly the same temper? So, too, Professor McTaggart's *Some Dogmas of Religion* shuts us up to metaphysical reasoning as the one ground of certainty.

What is new in this quarter is the tendency of thinkers working upon the Hegelian foundation to define their results. They used to practice reserve, not alone from prudence. For they held that in philosophy results and processes must go together; and that a man had better intelligently believe what is false than unintelligently believe what is true. From their own point of view, they were right. If intellect is the saviour, intelligence always, and it alone, begins the work of salvation. Yet philosophy cannot permanently be reticent. Results must be worked out, though many may catch them up as mere dogmas. So—in the name of ultimate reason—Professor Bradley gives us a Pantheistic Absolute, and no human immortality; and Dr. McTaggart gives us an eternal society of interrelated spirits, and no absolute being as such; and Professor Royce gives us God and immortality, but without mention of Christ; and Professor Taylor finds that Royce's arguments are vitiated by reliance upon the relational form of thought, and himself gives us a fighting chance of immortality, and an Absolute that cannot be called personal or a self. Such differences do not prove that idealism is barren; but surely they prove that idealism is no case to claim a monopoly of certainty. Dim movements of faith may be wiser than this shrill logical debate.

The type of religion which idealism supports is naturally different from that which empiricism favours. Intellectualism, in its fullest

form, argues somewhat as follows: We live in a reasonable world, in which all must be well. (Indeed, Professor John Watson, of Kingston, thinks that our own existence is a proof that everything must be reasonable—everything! A very short method with doubt.) If this logical certainty implies God and immortality, good; God and heaven are certain. But, if not, God and heaven may be mere dreams, while yet the certainty of metaphysical optimism stands firm. That is the order of truth. In any case, the Absolute is perfect; and we, in any case, are but subordinate phases in the immanent development of its riches.*

Christianity stands in a sense midway between the two types of philosophical religion—the morality whose God is incomplete, and the idealism whose infinite and absolute being is supermoral. It may be dangerous to insist upon one's own conception of Christ as if it were normative or even, in any full sense, normal. Our little systems, when they have had their day, cease to be. It is Christ who does not cease: he is more than they. With that caution, this is how one has learned Christ: We believe not only that "perfection is eternal" not only (in Bible language) that God's will is done already in heaven by his holy angels; not merely, again, with the moralising people, that God's will may come to be done upon earth, as in heaven; but that the battle has already been fought and won. Thus in Christ we have not merely the possibility but the certainty of redemption,† and not forgiveness alone but the new life. Life will not pass into us independently of our co-operation or against our will. But such power resides in Christ as ensures that the wedding shall be furnished with guests; and the power avails for every willing heart. So we say not simply, "All may yet be well," but "All must be well." We have not merely the vision of a remote future perfection, nor yet the other vision of present perfection which fulfils itself alike in the evil and in the good, in hatred as in love; we have faith's vision of the perfect God redeeming the lost. And so we still preach Jesus as Lord and as Saviour; to the Pragmatist a stumbling block and to the Idealist foolishness; but to them who are called, whether from the one camp or the other, Christ the power and the wisdom of God. This is more than our theology; it is our gospel. Woe be to us if we desert it, because this or that school of philosophy, or, if it be so, all philosophy finds it anomalous! The foolishness of God is wiser than men.

Perhaps the case might have been put more sympathetically? If it is clearly understood how we stand, there is no harm in civilities; and the better minds in many different schools are not far from the Kingdom of God. Only we must insist upon this—that Christian theology is not yet mediatized, or retired upon a pension, or a suppliant for the crumbs from the philosophical banquet. Christ is still king in the kingdom of God: the Son who alone knows the Father, or who alone can communicate the revelation to others. Philosophy, however well disposed, and however competent in its own sphere, must not lay down the law to Christian doctrine; which strives to answer the other, the immense question, *What thinkest thou of Christ?*

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* The orthodox type of idealism which long ago helped to define the great church dogmas has been less in evidence in recent philosophy.—Mr. R. J. Campbell's appeal to the "sages of the East" marks him as an intellectualist; but the more popular part of his teaching is his catastrophic or revolutionary social gospel, which seems slenderly connected with the doctrine of immanence.

† A point which Calvinism aimed at expressing.

The Rev. Professor C. S. Nash, D.D., of the Pacific Theological Seminary, Berkeley, California, spoke on "The Place of Experience in Christian Theology."

ADDRESS BY REV. PROFESSOR C. S. NASH, M.A., D.D.

THE PLACE OF EXPERIENCE IN CHRISTIAN THEOLOGY

Christian theology is the statement and interpretation of the truth of the Christian religion. It must be far more than the intellectual content of truth; it must exhibit and commend its vital values. No follower of Christ would have this attempted by an alien, or essayed—even by a son in the father's house—as a mere intellectual task. Said a Shinto priest at the parliament of religions, "If you would understand Romanism, do not ask me to expound it; and if you would understand Shintoism, do not take the testimony of a Roman Catholic priest."

In that notable and profoundly sympathetic book, "The Saint," Mr. Fogazzaro pleads that Catholicism must be interpreted by Catholics, no Protestant, however sincere and devout, being able to arrive at accuracy and sense of values.

If it is true that every religion has the right to be judged at its best, then the more spiritual the religion, the more impossible it remains to interpret it from without. Christianity, to be known, must be vitally entered. Its message is never to the intellect alone. God's first demand is not for correct thinking, but for belief and obedience; not for any computable amount or quality of intellectual action upon truth, but for the response of the heart and the answer of conduct unto him. In this discussion we presuppose the living God, our father, in profound and ceaseless action upon man. No definition or description of Christian experience is deemed necessary. It is agreed that such experience is initiated through the Christ of Galilee and Calvary, and is sustained through the Christ of the throne and the human heart. Our subject is not, What is experience? nor, What are its chief elements? nor, What main articles of Christian theology are derived from it? nor, What is the precise place of the historic Christ in it? Our subject is rather, given experience, as generally understood to consist in living the Christian faith which is being formulated, what place has such living in such formulation? And the discussion will be carried in general terms.

The question of the hour, then, is not the purely psychological one, whether the intellect is able to act apart from the feeling and the will, is able to apprehend and formulate and interpret truth apart from all emotional and voluntary reaction upon it. To this question modern psychology is giving a definite and assured reply in its doctrine of the unity of the mind. Intellect, feeling and will never are separated, but the whole mind always acts. This looks far in the direction of our present inquiry. And since "there is no thought without some accompanying feeling and some impulse to action," the emotional and voluntary response must vary according to the materials of thought, their volitional value, their moral imperative, their spiritual appeal. In Christian theology these influences are present at the n^{th} power and with inmost incessant pressure. Theology is engaged in the divine

presence and upon a body of truth whose first word is the call for the obedient heart. The heart and will once finding themselves addressed, they may not thereafter permit the intellect to retire for solitary action. The whole matter is moralized. He who would fashion and interpret Christian doctrine must first bend to truth's sceptre, and must undertake to keep his spiritual experience in the lead of his thinking. They who would have Christian doctrine framed and adjusted, made plain and cogent, must listen at the doors of intellectual workshops whose spiritual retreat is the holy of holies, must hear men speak who are worshipping the God for whom they prophesy and are learning by daily experience what the truth they utter will do in the lives that listen.

Nor in this moral merely. Besides being duty, it is spiritual necessity. Christian theology must be scientific. It must aim to reach the inmost abodes and uttermost outgoings of truth. This remains beyond the power of the intellect which persists in going without experience. The truth of Christian theology is to be spiritually discerned. It will not come for intellectual treatment merely. God will not give it save to him who is prepared to admit it into his being, to handle it with all faculties in union, to hear its whole voice, to follow its entire command, to report its total scope and significance. The Christian theologian must have his whole soul prepared and alert and engaged. Should he try to think on Christian truth declining such personal preparation as will assure his own sympathetic feeling and co-operant will, psychology will charge his impotence upon him; while they whom he assumes to teach may weigh his words in comparatively light scales, as themselves hearing a voice to which he remains inwardly deaf: "I thank Thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou didst hide these things from the wise and understanding, and didst reveal them unto babes." The Christian theologian must needs be a spiritual Christian.

In fact, experience has generated Christian theology and sustained it. Living is the groundwork of thinking, in the child, the man, the age, the race. "Doctrine"—and much more, the interpretation of doctrine— "grows out of experience as thought grows out of life." The currents of religious living have always supplied the motive-power for theological thinking. The rejector of experience declines the labor of religious thinking. Christian theology is safely, if not sufficientiy, experiential. The greatest men in its history and the countless stars of many magnitudes have lived the truth they reasoned, have reasoned because they lived it, have reasoned what they lived.

For experience has given and must ever give the materials of Christian theology. The experiential element in revelation and the Bible is now coming to its own. Revelation—"the personal communication of thought to the soul by God" involves "the subjective perception." Revelation is conceived as—in the good words of another—"not the communication of abstract truths in the form of scientific propositions, but the contact of God with the soul." In this creative contact we are now magnifying the human element, the soul's insight and upreach, "the subjective perception," the spiritual experience. Men lived their lives with God; the best of them lived worshipping and marvelling, conscious and thoughtful, obedient and loving, devoted and sacrificial. In such living, truth dawned and rose upon them; they found themselves walking in its light; they recognised the light wherein they walked. This is not to assert the bare action of resident forces. God is in it all. He reveals the truth

unto his servants. He is in contact with the human soul, most deeply with obedient and communing souls, vitalizing their personal and social processes, raising their faculties to higher points of view, and, as Professor Frank Hugh Foster has well said, "personally guiding men's thoughts to things otherwise imperceptible to them." Let the divine side in revelation be stated—in its own place—as richly as possible. But let the human element be given its full account, for its glory returns to the indwelling God. Men came to know by living in God and taking inspired and conscious possession of the truth whose lower parts they were experiencing. Divine inspiration is real, unceasing, universal, instantly ready for any awakening consciousness, mysteriously great for the anointed seers and prophets of the Most High. And such mystic communion is experience. It is religion at work. It produces character, imparts message, generates conviction, charges with inward power, clothes with conscious authority. No man can return unchanged from an hour of revelatory association with God, an hour of insight and reflection and appropriation. Nor would one who has really entered, as any prepared soul may, upon the wondrous experience as confessed, for example, in the fiftieth chapter of Isaiah, verses 4 and 5, reduce other experiences than his own to the commonplace or a dead level of equality, or refuse uniqueness to the experiences which have been able to give the world its unmatched expressions of the divine procedure in the soul of man. You know those words in Isaiah; do they seem to you to portray the highest ranges of the divine method in spiritual experience? "The Lord Jehovah hath given me the tongue of them that are taught, that I may know how to sustain with words him that is weary; he wakeneth morning by morning, he wakeneth mine ear to hear as they that are taught. The Lord Jehovah hath opened mine ear, and I was not rebellious, neither turned away backward."

Thus, through human experience, in contact with God, have all the materials of Christian theology come to man. The import of this for our present purpose is to magnify the place of experience in theology. Truth, originally given thus, has ever been and doubtless will ever be imparted in the same manner to new generations. Our conception of revelation is vitalized by emphasizing receptive experience while preserving the divine impartation. In theology experience enlarges the divine element, and prevents reducing the whole matter to human or intellectual terms. Theology must continue to find in Christian experience its materials and motive and enabling.

To the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, in particular, Christian theology goes for the materials of doctrine and interpretation. The Scriptures are the record of "the life of God in the soul of man," of human experience in contact with the living God; the record, moreover, of that divine life in human experience in its richest and most productive power. With no thought of reducing its divine character and high standing in our faith, the point for emphasis here is the human mould in which it is all cast. The truth is put in terms of human experience, and reaches these last days through human lips in the long process of history. It is *for* experience; not merely to be reflected upon, but to be lived again by whosoever will. The historical method of employing the Scriptures is established. It will be practised in its full meaning and pressed for its utmost returns. It includes the personal, co-operative, and cumulative spiritual experience of those who study. The Christian world, hungry and hopeful for the life hid

with Christ in God, will not wait at the doors of teachers who cannot enter the penetralia. Experience alone can interpret these unique and generative records of the life of God in the life of man. It is your own living theological leader, brethren of Great Britain, whose name is upon *our* lips as well, who has written: "The Word of God is a large term; it does not denote a closed book, but a living Spirit; it has no being without the Spirit of God; were that Spirit to be withdrawn the Scriptures would cease to exist; where they were a literature would remain, but not the Word of the living God. The continuance of the Spirit, then, is necessary to the being of the Word, and his continuance is the source and secret of its authority. Unless, then, the Spirit that gave the Word inspire the spirits that hear and receive it, it can be no inspired Word." (Fairbairn: "The Place of Christ in Modern Theology," pp. 509-510). This is as far as speech can carry it from the substitution of human struggle and conceit for divine revelation and inspiration. But it is all of God. But it is all within man, within the action of his faculties; within not his intellect alone, but his whole mind; within his life of resolve, and virtue, and service: within his sorrow and sinning, and his sympathy with those who fall; within his forgiveness, his hope, his joy, his love; within his consciousness of these experiences and of all that throngs the shining way as he walks "in newness of life." How great a place should experience have in Christian theology? The question cannot be answered with precision. But must not the answer be, a universal place, as source, as interpreter, as joy and strength.

Must Christian theology, then, be circumscribed within experience? Or may it transcend experience? May it, for example, formulate and interpret a doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ, or the resurrection of Christ, or the future life? The ready reply may be that theology may go wherever revelation leads the way. The human mind may be employed, and can be trusted, under the divine Spirit who will not withdraw, to re-construct and formulate and convey what it was enabled to discover and receive. Upon all the materials given to man for religious knowledge and life, even upon any which may truly be called transcendent, Christian theology may act.

It is a common place that in religious truth we are dealing with things infinite. None of it anywhere is completely comprehended within the knowledge and practice of the individual or the race. From all points we look out upon infinite distances; we gaze up into the greatness of God. Much that appears cannot be reproduced in details of mortal action or in distinctive elements and degrees of finite character. We see vanishing great arcs of truth, whose nearer condescending segments we touch, for whose glorious outgoings we have no wing. But our vision is not the unsupported effort of an arrogant intellect, sweeping off where love and obedience cannot follow. The heart is there, whether in rapt amaze or glowing love. The will is there, absorbed in self-less devotion to the reigning will of God. The whole soul acts, and there is no distraction. And God is there, opening his child's eyes upon the canvas which he himself unrolls. This is experience, though of truth transcendent. The seer, who would presently be theologian, knows himself to be in and of that truth, knows his personal way to lie thither toward the throne of God. He may turn now unto men with so much of his vision as mortal speech can bear.

Christian theology may and must dare those heavenward blue

depths of truth. The person of Christ is as truly within its scope as the fruits of the Spirit, man's hopes for the life to come as truly as current social duty. But, as one moves out into imperial spaces, where visitants are few and standpoints uncrowded, it is no more the part of conviction to grow serenely and exultantly confident of the majestic lines of the divine procedure, than it is of the essence of humility to grow less insistent upon the universal validity of particular interpretations. It is the common-places of spiritual reality, extensively attested, wherein men may be held sharply to specified ways of thinking.

The experience, then, which is significant for theology, is more than individual; it is social. His own real life in the truth the thinker must find in other genuine lives. Here, again, a solitary individual is not a man. The materials of theology lie spread out in the experience of groups of men—families, churches, congregations, communities, tribes, nations, generations, centuries. Of wealthy ages of Christian experience are we heirs. The great realities of religious life have persisted long. Men have heard God's voice together, in their group experiences. In love toward men whom they saw they have realized their love toward God. In God's love for all they have found his love for each; "whosoever" does really include every man. In mutual relations they have tested and attested the religion which has animated and sustained their morality.

It is this accrued value upon which the Christian theologian must draw. He may move freely back and forth between personal and corporate experience. For himself he must "follow the gleam" which salutes his own conscience. For guiding others he will square his own with the collective experience. In the main articles of doctrine he will not be sole and singular; he will hear "the thunderous great voice of the church"—not any ecclesiasticism, but the militant hosts who have lived for ages, as devoutly as he is living now, the life in God, and have drunk, as he is drinking now, that life at its earthly intake in the Scriptures. Thus furnished, guarded, and fortified, thus oriented and related toward earth and heaven, he may rejoice in the ongoings of his personal experience, and may contribute his own interpretations of Christian truth.

Increasingly, too, he will speak with authority, for he will hear authority addressing him. Truth is always authoritative, but to carry obligation it must be perceived and granted; then, according to its vital bearing, conscience enforces it. Nor does its right to command depend upon its form of statement, or its location in literature, or any externals whatever. Circumstance affects our attainment of truth, which, when reached, is taken as superior to circumstance. Its power and authority lie within itself and within us. Spiritual authority is finally God, God resident in truth and men. His voice is heard in all truth, uttered in whatever literature, caught by a listener from whatever direction. And men have ever pressed for immediate contact with God beneath all finite mediation, and for his voice distinct and royal beyond all mortal certification. A state, or a church, or a pope, or a book, were a gross and passing substitute for the Spirit in the soul. Now, at length, so is the Christian at home with God in personal and corporate experience that he will follow no voice *ab extra;* he will listen inwardly for the voice which, however mediated, is speaking in the throne-room of consciousness. Authority has not failed with the fall of the sceptre from the hand of church, and pope, and book. But

men are learning, and must learn, to recognize it in experience, and to feel its deeper tones to be the more searching and imperative. How the divine authority now enthroned within shall be named—whether truth, or Christ, or the Spirit—is, doubtless, of great importance, but is not for present discussion. The point is that it acts in the realm of experience. The Christian has his mind like his Master's. He is Spirit-filled, and judgeth all things. He knows the one kingly voice; hearing that, he follows. Most of all does he hear it from the priceless records of their experience who heard it most divinely. But not the book as such, nor any content of it, may command him till the living Spirit set the message ringing in his own conscious chambers. In words already quoted: "Unless the Spirit that gave the Word inspire the spirits that hear and receive it, it can be no inspired Word." This is no assertion of the primacy of reason over faith, or intellect over sensibility. All mental powers and processes are God's highways in the soul. But it is in the soul he dwells and speaks. And he who speaks there is perfect and infallible, though he be not so heard by our poor ears. It is the irrepressible demand for a perfect authority that has carried us beyond even the Scriptures. It is the confessed imperfection of our hearing that saves us from sheer mysticism, the mere individualistic following of the inner light. Now that the throne of authority is acknowledged to be within the soul, all real experience of it becomes precious and helpful; while the Scriptures are lodged in human faith as peerless and well-nigh perfect, normative for subsequent spiritual experience, awakening the soul marvellously, and all but infallibly, to the authority of the indwelling God.

The third address was delivered by the Rev. A. E. Garvie, M.A., D.D., Principal of New College, London, who took as his subject "The Limits of Doctrinal Restatement."

Address by Rev. Principal Garvie, M.A. (Oxon), D.D. (Glas.)

THE LIMITS OF DOCTRINAL RESTATEMENT

The prominence and importance given to the study of the nature, origin and development of life by the researches and conclusions of Darwin gained for biological conceptions a wide-spread currency; it became fashionable to use the terms of his science beyond its proper province. Thus Herbert Spencer described human society as an organism, although he did not ignore the qualifications necessary in the use of such an analogy. As regards Christian theology, the ideas of development, adaptation to environment, survival of the fittest have become quite common. Thus the second of these ideas—adaptation to environment—might be taken as the guiding principle of doctrinal restatement; and the first development—which implies identity amid variation—as prescribing its limits. But it is obvious that the biological analogy is inadequate; the psychological would be much more suggestive. Psychology offers us the ideas of *personal identity*, a continuity of experience embracing the memory of the past and the anticipation of the future as well as the consciousness of the present, of *deliberate volition of ends* and the means towards them, and of *the adaptation of the environment to the self*, even more than of the self to the

environment. These ideas suggest the lines on which the subject may be treated.

I

Although there are necessarily limitations and qualifications of the conception of the Christian church as an *organism*, and even as a *person*, yet the analogy holds so far that we may insist that there is an identity of life and thought in the Christian community throughout the centuries. As a dual consciousness in an individual is abnormal, of interest to pathology rather than to psychology, so a break in doctrine and practice which should give to the church's faith and life a new content and a fresh character would be an exception to the law of gradual development. In the individual there is variation in beliefs and habits, and yet normally there is a continuity. A Christian generation so changed that it could not apprehend the truth, or appreciate the worth of the theology or the ethics of the former age would be a monstrosity. As it is difficult rigidly to define the exact point at which conduct becomes inconsistent with previous character in the individual, so it is well nigh impossible to affirm when normal development in doctrine and practice passes over into abnormal defect. Yet we do recognise when the continuity is broken, the consistency marred. If we can form a definite conception of the distinctive features of the Christian religion, we have in it a standard by which to judge variations in Christian doctrine. As it is desirable in this last paper for to-day to bring into a unity the previous discussions, we may venture to fix the identity of the Christian religion, with the limits of the doctrinal restatement of which we are now concerned, in three terms, *historical*, *evangelical*, *experimental*.

(i.) The origin of the Christian religion is traced back to, and its nature is fixed by, certain historical facts concerning Jesus Christ. The relation between God and man in the Christian religion is determined by the life and work of him whom the Christian church confesses as Saviour and Lord. That the Word of God became flesh, and dwelt among men, who beheld his glory, as of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; that he was holy, harmless, undefiled, and went about ever doing good; that he tasted death for every man because he died for our sins; that he could not be holden of death, but was raised from the dead; that he was manifested by infallible proofs to chosen witnesses; that the promise of the presence and power of his spirit in the community of believers in him was fulfilled; that he became the object of the faith, love, and hope of his church in the first generation of believers; these in brief are the historical facts which give to the Christian religion its distinctive features. Deny any of these facts, and the continuity of the Christian faith is broken. Deny that Jesus was the incarnate son of God, or that he was sinless, or that his death was atoning, or that he lives and reigns, and you not only contradict the apostolic testimony to what he was and did; but you separate yourself from what has been the Christian faith throughout the centuries.

(ii.) All these facts must be duly recognised in their essential consistency; but it must be admitted that within the Christian church there have been tendencies to emphasise one element or another divorced from the others. The fact of the incarnation, or of the moral perfection in word and deed, or of the consciousness of divine sonship,

or of the issue of the life and work of Christ in the indwelling and in-working of the Holy Spirit may be isolated from the others, and thrown into exclusive prominence. The *sacramental* tendency emphasises the assumption of human nature, in its physical aspect in the Incarnation, and so seeks divine grace through material channels. The *speculative* tendency derives from Christ's filial consciousness the metaphysical principle of the essential unity of the divine and human, and lapses from the ethical monotheism of Jesus to a pantheism which may be morally indifferent. The *ethical* tendency is attracted by the teaching and the example of Jesus, and finds in him a pattern and a guide. The *mystical* tendency appropriates the result of the revelation and redemption in Christ in the life of God in man, and man in God without always fully recognising the historical mediation of that life by Christ. The *sacramental* and the *speculative* tendencies seem to the writer rather departures from than developments of the Christian principle. A far narrower meaning is given to the word *flesh* in the former than the evangelist intended, and the New Testament generally does not lay stress on the physical aspect of the incarnation. Christ's consciousness of sonship has a far fuller moral and religious content than the metaphysical principle of the *speculative* tendency. Both the *ethical* and *mystical* tendencies are true so far as they go, but they do not go far enough. The *ethical* tendency ignores man's moral impotence to imitate the perfection of Jesus; and the *mystical* man's religious estrangement from God apart from the reconciliation which is in Christ. Hence the core of the Christian history seems to be found where Paul found it in the crucifixion and resurrection, the atoning death and the saving life of Christ. That man needs forgiveness, the recovery of his religious fellowship with God, and consequently the restoration of his moral character, is the fact about man, with which the Christian religion is primarily and supremely concerned. That in the crucified and risen Saviour and Lord this atonement is offered by God to man is the fact which makes the Christian religion a gospel for mankind. The *evangelical* tendency is that which corrects the error, or supplements the truth in the other tendencies. It is true that this tendency may become one-sided; without the *ethical* it may become *antinomian*; without the *mystical* it may become *legalistic*. If, however, the crucifixion and resurrection are kept central without detachment from any of the other facts of the Christian history, then a doctrinal restatement which is *evangelical* as well as *historical* will preserve the continuity of the Christian faith from the Apostolic Age to the present time.

(iii.) If forgiveness through atonement be the essential of Evangelical Christianity; then, even as it is historical in affirming the fact of the atonement in the death and rising again of Jesus Christ, so must it be *experimental* in interpreting the fact of forgiveness in the individual life. It is only as the forgiveness is appropriated that the atonement can be appreciated. Without this emphasis on experience as the test of doctrine, Christian theology may become an orthodoxy to be imposed on the authority of the Church or the Bible. It was this in Roman Catholic dogma before the Reformation, and in Protestant Scholasticism after that movement had spent much of its force. But for the Reformers the testimony of the Holy Spirit, that is the individual experience of the truth and grace of Christ, was essential. We are at one with the Reformers in vindicating a place for experience in Christian theology. But be it noted this experience is not productive,

but receptive; it is not original, but dependent. The historical fact in its evangelical meaning and worth is not made by this experience, it is understood, prized and welcomed. It is a common misconception of Ritschl's theory of *value-judgments*, that it claims that we may believe what we like or what we want. What he does affirm is that we accept the Christian revelation not because it satisfies our speculative curiosity, but because it meets our practical necessity. It is this experience of forgiveness through atonement, which is repeated from generation to generation of believers, and must receive full recognition in any doctrinal restatement.

II

There would be very little advantage in discussing the subject now before us abstractly without relation to a definite purpose to be served by such doctrinal restatement, and we may accordingly pass to the second of the psychological ideas from which it has been suggested we might derive guidance. A mark of personality is the deliberate volition of ends and the means towards them. In recent psychology this *conative* aspect of personality is said to be more significant than the *cognitive*. How man wills is said to determine what man thinks. Knowledge depends on attention, and attention on selective interest. What the artist and the angler see in the same river is not the same, for the one is on the outlook for scenery, and the other for fish. The application of this principle to the present subject is obvious. The doctrinal restatement of any age must be largely affected by its selective interest. We may be desirous of constructing a complete and consistent system of Christian theology, and yet, whether we will or not, the practical necessities of the Christian community to which we belong will affect at least our emphasis. This is not an influence to be wholly deplored; for the gospel has a practical purpose, and we do not contradict its essence in presenting it in as practically effective a form as we can. There is, however, a danger lest subordinate interests should displace its dominant purpose; and to the writer it seems that that danger is not remote to-day in relation to the two most prominent practical interests of the church, the expansion and the permeation of the kingdom of God, the growth of the mustard-seed, and the spread of the leaven, that is, the *foreign mission* and the *social reform* enterprise of the churches.

(i.) There has been a necessary reaction from the dogmatic attitude prevalent at the beginning of our modern foreign missions. It is now recognized that Europe must not seek to impose its theological systems, intelligible only in the light of their history, and determined largely by the local conditions of their origin, on Asia. Hindu philosophy and Chinese ethics claim respect, and the possibility that these may supply for India and China the moulds for their Christian thought and life is now admitted. With a self-distrust that leans to virtue's side many modern representatives of Western Christianity dream dreams of the profounder interpretations of Christian truth which Indian thought may yet afford us, or the sublimer applications of Christian grace which may appear in Chinese life. With the desire to strip the gospel of Jesus Christ of everything that is local, temporal, national, sectarian, we must heartily sympathise; so, too, with the purpose to secure the same spontaneous and original development for

Christian thought and life in other lands as we desire for our own. We must not forget, however, that there are limits to the doctrinal restatement which we may gladly concede to India or China, or any other land into which the gospel is introduced. The gospel came to us from another race, and it has made us what we are by a thorough change in us in our native beliefs and habits, and when we take it to other races, we may assume that in them, too, it must needs bring about as thorough a change. What the change should be we can learn from the gospel itself. In the gospel there is implicit the *ethical monotheism*, which was the outcome of the religious and moral development of the Hebrew nation. If God and man are not personal, and so capable of a personal relation, if God is not holy and man is not sinful, if this moral contrast between God and man does not involve a disturbance of the personal relation, as this *ethical monotheism* affirms, then the foundation of the gospel of forgiveness by atonement is removed. With the pantheistic speculation of India, which results in moral indifference and in tolerance for the grossest polytheism, this ethical monotheism cannot come to terms. With the unspiritual ethics of Confucius and his practical agnosticism regarding God and the unseen, this ethical monotheism, which roots morality in religion, duty toward man in faith in God, cannot make a compromise. The Christian's salt should lose its savour, if, to adapt itself to India or China, it became a non-moral pantheism, or a non-religious moralism. Special mention has been made of these two countries not because the problem arises only in regard to them, but because at present it presses in them in its acutest form. The conclusion of this part of our discussion may be stated thus: in the interests of the foreign mission enterprise our doctrinal restatement must not abandon this ethical monotheism, affirming the personality of God and man, the reality of God's holiness and man's sin, the necessity of atonement.

(ii.) The interest of the Christian church in social reform is not only forced upon it by the prominence of the social problem in contemporary thought, and life, but is also derived from the gospel itself. We need not go back to the Hebrew prophets for a justification of this interest in the Christian church. The Christian conception of God's relation to man, involves a conception of the relation of men to one another, which condemns the existing conditions in human society, and offers the promise and imposes the obligation of a new order. No exception need be taken to the prevalent emphasis on the social duty that Christian faith involves. Nevertheless, in the doctrinal restatement of the gospel in the interest of social reform the essentially religious character and spiritual purpose of the gospel may be obscured. The gospel lays stress on the religious good God offers in Christ, and only as its fruit on the moral task man undertakes; it bids men claim God's sacrifice on their behalf before it calls men to sacrifice themselves for others. Man's self-sacrifice for the good of society has sometimes been so insisted on as to obscure God's self-sacrifice on behalf of man, in which alone is a motive potent enough for the moral task to which man is called. The gospel, too, places the kingdom of God before meat and raiment as man's supreme concern; its aim is to make men godly and good. In some advocates of social reform as the first task of the church need and suffering seem to demand more attention, and to excite more compassion than sin. The emphasis must be kept where the gospel puts it, on man's sin and on God's sacrifice.

III

In order to maintain its identity and to realize its ends the self may adapt its environment to itself as well as itself to the environment. Man is not so dependent on nature that he is the helpless victim of its forces; but he can subordinate these to his own uses. Similarly the intellectual environment of the Christian faith does not inevitably determine its contents and character. It is an assumption not infrequently made that modern thought (to use the conveniently yet perilously elastic term) is rigidly fixed, and that the Christian faith can do nothing but submit itself to all the modifications that this arbiter of its destinies may impose upon it. It has to be pointed out that many of the conclusions that are most confidently asserted as a challenge to Christian theology are hypotheses of still doubtful validity. While *candour* demands that every change in the statement of Christian truth which assured knowledge demands should be readily made; it is *cowardice* for the guardians of Christian theology to yield to the clamour of this or that intellectual fashion of the hour. It is both the right and the duty of Christian theology to scrutinise the claims of every intellectual tendency which opposes itself to it, or demands its unconditional surrender. These tendencies themselves often call for criticism, and a correction of their defects from the standpoint of Christian faith. It will further our present purpose if we examine there of the most potent factors in modern thought, *science*, *philosophy*, *criticism*, to discover how far their demands on Christian theology need qualification, and how far these can be justified.

(i.) In the name of science it is often claimed that Christianity must abandon all belief in the supernatural. Science has demonstrated the continuity and the uniformity of nature. Every effect has its cause, and whenever the same conditions co-exist the same results follow. Not only in the physical, but even the mental and the moral realm science aims at the discovery of law and order. But in the latter its vaulting ambition overleaps itself; for when it infers that the will is determined by its motives from the continuities and uniformities which it observes in human conduct and character, it contradicts the certain testimony of human consciousness. In the will is a datum that imposes a qualification on the assumption that the whole universe is enmeshed in the network of cause and effect, as physical science defines the relation. If the human will may act freely within nature without any disturbance of its law and order, science is not entitled to deny that divine will also may. What must be insisted on is that science tells us what is, it cannot determine what is or is not possible. Because nature, as we know it in our ordinary experience, does not embrace events, which for that very reason we call supernatural, science is not entitled to affirm that such events cannot have taken place. Science may tell us that for our common observation all men are sinful, and that death is a "bourn from which no travellers return," yet that does not warrant the assertion that Jesus cannot have been sinless, and cannot have been raised from the dead. It is an unwarranted extension of the realm of science, when instead of describing the actual, it undertakes to determine the possible. But Christian faith need not be content with warning science off from the realm of the supernatural; it may claim that the natural does not ultimately explain itself, that when science has pushed its methods of

research to the utmost limits, it is brought face to face with problems which with the material at its disposal it cannot solve. Lotze, in his analysis of the conception of causality in nature, is led to postulate the absolute as the unity of all finite causes. Lodge admits that for physical science life must be recognized as transcendent. Will, as Kant has taught us, carries us out of the phenomenal into the noumenal realm. In thinking on the last questions which thought can put to itself, we must break the bounds of the natural, as science knows it. It is not intended here to offer a complete argument for the credibility of miracles. Just enough has been written to justify the statement that in its doctrinal restatement Christian theology to-day is not under the obligation to make an abject surrender to the tendency of modern science to deny the supernatural. If, as has been already argued, the Christian religion is historical, is bound up with the person and work of the supernatural, the divine Christ, to accept the denial of the supernatural, for which there is no adequate intellectual necessity, would be gratuitously to surrender its identity. To assert the supernatural in the doctrinal restatement is not to disregard or defy science, but to curb its arrogance when it exceeds its function, and to correct its defects where it proves its inadequacy.

(ii.) If modern science, when it thus fails to recognise its necessary limitations, tends to materialism, or, when it refuses to recognise light from any other source than its torch can offer, to agnosticism, modern philosphy, when it seeks to interpret the universe from the standpoint of reason, tends to pantheism, an indentification of God and the universe, and a consequent denial of the personality of God and man, and of the reality of the opposition of human sin to divine holiness. That God is a mind which thinks, heart which feels, will which acts, self which gives itself to others, that God is Spirit, Light, Life, Love, in brief that God is personal, is a fundamental article of the Christian faith. Not less so is man's conviction that while in God he lives, moves and has his being, is God's offspring, yet he is not God, but is dependent on God, and owes to God single-minded and whole-hearted submission, that nevertheless he may withhold from God the trust and the obedience he owes may thus be estranged from God, and may exile himself from his loving fellowship with God. Any attempt at doctrinal restatement with exclusive emphasis on divine immanence, the identity of God and man, must sacrifice essential features of the Christian faith. If God and man are one, and man cannot sin against God, then forgiveness and atonement become meaningless terms. Philosophy has no warrant to claim this surrender from Christian faith, for its pantheism ignores data that any adequate interpretation of the universe must take into account, man's religious consciousness of distinction from, and dependence on, God, and man's moral consciousness of liberty and abuse of that liberty in sin.

(iii.) When from science and philosophy we turn to criticism, and the demand it makes in regard to doctrinal restatement, we enter on a more difficult and delicate task. We are all familiar with the methods of the *higher criticism*, the examination of the writings composing our Bible in the same way as any other literature, to discover from themselves, apart from tradition, their authorship, date, literary character, and historical value. Recently in Germany the higher criticism has been expanded into what is known as the *religious historical method*. In addition to this criticism of the documents, two other principles are applied in dealing with the records of the Jewish and the Christian

religion, the correlation of all the phenomena on the assumption that there has been a gradual evolution of belief and worship, morals and manners, and the comparison of these religions with other religions in order wherever that is possible to correlate. To give an instance of the application of these principles, the Messianic consciousness of Jesus is explained by the wishes and hopes embodied in the contemporary Apocalyptic literature, and the evangelical records are put alongside of what are supposed to be their parallels in Buddhist legend, in order to ascribe to the Christian faith a Buddhist origin, or at least to represent it as the result of the spontaneous activity of the religious imagination. The issue of the application of this religious-historical method may be seen in such books as Bousset's *Jesus* or Pfleiderer's *Early Christian Conception of Christ*, in which the Christian faith in the Divine Saviour and Lord is transformed into admiration for, and devotion to, a wise, good, and gracious teacher and example. Is this the doctrinal restatement which is inevitable for us? First of all it may be pointed out that the sceptical attitude as regards the early Christian documents is already giving place to one of greater confidence in their substantial historical trustworthiness. It is necessary only to mention Harnack's *Luke the Physician* and *the Sayings of Jesus*. His popular book, *What is Christianity?* assigns a historical value to the New Testament writings, warranting more positive conclusions than he himself states. Only where the conclusions are affected by the *anti-supernatural bias* does criticism so deprive the New Testament of its credibility as to involve such a revolution in our Christian thought. Secondly, this principle of correlation is simply the transference into the realm of history of what has already been dealt with, the assumption of science of an absolute continuity and uniformity of nature. It is admitted even by the advocates of this method that personality is an incalculable factor in human history. This admission itself forbids such a rigid application of the principle as would exclude from history so non-evolutional a factor as the supernatural person of Christ. Thirdly, having closely examined all the alleged parallels between Christian and Buddhist literature, the writer cannot but marvel at the lack both of taste and judgment in those who see striking resemblances when to him appear only glaring differences. The Christian history has a harmony, grace, simplicity, and sublimity that make it incredible that it should be a mosaic of fragments borrowed from other religions. The products of the spontaneous religious imagination in myth and legend do not show the mental sanity, the moral purity, or the religious elevation, not to speak of the literary beauty of the Gospel records. Criticism, even in this extended form, has not excluded God as inspiring prophets and apostles, as guiding and guarding in His providence the Hebrew people and the Christian church, as incarnate in Jesus Christ, from the records of the holy scriptures. Criticism can touch and handle only the earthen vessel; it cannot cast out the heavenly treasure; spiritual things are spiritually discerned; and it is not within the competence of the religious-historical method to destroy aught in the Bible about which Christian faith is vitally concerned. As it cannot discover, so it cannot deny the supernatural and the divine in the Christian history and its literature. One service it has rendered; it is compelling the church to distinguish the heavenly treasure and the earthen vessel; it is enabling us to detach the permanent and universal truth from the temporary and local modes of thought, the duty which is for all times and places from the custom that holds for one age and

people. That the criticism of the Christian Scriptures is producing a concentration and simplification of Christian theology may be most gratefully recognised. That there is need of doctrinal restatement, to get rid of superfluities and excrescences, to emphasise only the essential and constant in Christian faith, to harmonise Christian truth with all modern thought which is true has been assumed throughout this discussion; what needs emphasis is that there are limits to this doctrinal restatement, if the Christian faith is to preserve its identity, accomplish its purpose and affect as it ought its environment in human thought and life.

Discussion

The Chairman: Now, ladies and gentlemen, the papers are before you. At 4.30 we are supposed to close. There are only twenty minutes. If anyone has anything to say, will he say it? (A pause.) It is difficult to deal with questions on the spur of the moment. Is there anybody who has anything to say?

Remarks by Rev. W. H. Gulick, Madrid

I have glanced over the programme of speeches, and I don't see that there is a discussion planned respecting the wisdom, or necessity, or convenience of evangelical missions in Roman Catholic countries. But the subject is legitimately alluded to perhaps, or may be included in a certain part of the discussion of Dr. Garvie's paper in which he mentioned the evangelical missionary idea as one of the most prominent and characteristic efforts of evangelical Christianity. That gives place for one who is a missionary, though not to a Pagan country, to allude to the suggestion that evangelical missions must be more heedful to that which they find in the different towns and countries to which they were sent. Preeminently would this apply to us who are called to preach evangelical doctrine to a Roman Catholic community. When I went to Spain thirty-five years ago, I went in a thoroughly combative and polemical and controversial spirit. I saw the way perfectly clear to establish the fact to any with whom I might become acquainted that they were wrong and we were right. But as the years have gone I must confess that I have been more and more impressed with what has been suggested by Dr. Garvie, the necessity of our recognising cordially the points of contact rather than the points of difference.

There is a great deal even in the Roman Catholicism of Spain which is common with our evangelical understanding of what Christianity should be. And now instead of frequently alluding in our sermons, and in the churches which I have the honour and the privilege of superintending in Spain, to that which is erroneous from our point of view, I have begged and besought and for years have taught our pastors and evangelists and colporteurs that they shall not do so unless they are compelled, especially in the public services of worship and religious instruction. If those about us have heard the sound of the singing in our chapels, if they have heard the echo of the preacher's voice, and their curiosity has been awakened, if they have heard that we speak irreverently of God, and of Jesus Christ, and dishonour the Virgin Mary continually, and they try to get up courage

to come and hear us preach, and the first paragraph they hear is some denunciation of their church, will it not inevitably inspire a feeling of opposition, and awaken all that is combative in their souls? Surely you would lose such a man. He would not come to you again. So in all our public demonstrations it has become our habit as ministers, missionaries, pastors, evangelists, habitually—I will not say absolutely—in our public preaching, when we invite the public to hear us, to avoid controversial points, and to press upon the people the message of God's love in the Gospel, for they have it as well as we.

Remarks by the Chairman

The Chairman, after asking if any other delegates desired to speak, said: May I, in your name, say how thankful we are to the gentlemen who have with such ability discussed the subjects brought before us this afternoon. I am sure we shall all want the three papers when they appear in the printed proceedings, and shall read them again and again so that we may more perceive the drift and catch the points. I felt extreme pleasure in listening, and I am sure we have had from them material for earnest thought, and for thought that will help us in our struggles to see clearly, to see steadily and to adjust ourselves properly as Christian men and teachers. May I say in your name to the three brethren who have spoken to us that we are deeply grateful for their words?

The Chairman then closed the meeting by pronouncing the Benediction. The Council rose at 4.30.

EVENING SESSION

The Council Sermon

At 7.30 a large audience assembled to hear the Council Sermon, which was delivered by the Rev. George A. Gordon, D.D., of Boston, U.S.A.

SERMON BY REV. GEORGE A. GORDON, D.D.

THE SPIRIT OF TRUTH

"Howbeit, when he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth."—*John* 16: 13.

Two worlds confront the religous mind to-day with new distinctness and impressiveness—the world of authority and the world of freedom. The world that stood in the great soul of Luther only half conscious of itself, stands to-day with the trumpet at its lips proclaiming its complete independence of alien restraint or compulsion; while the world that lay in the mind of Loyala, again only dimly aware of itself is in alarm, declaring with new emphasis its right to control the thoughts of men and threatening resistance as of old with excommunication from the Eternal grace. Paul's great image of the two mothers, Hagar bearing children in bondage and Sarah bearing children in freedom is a mirror of our time. There are now, as then, two Jerusalems, that of tradition, custom, authority, and that of the advancing spirit of the Christian freeman.

Protestants were born in the world of freedom, and yet that world is proving itself wider and wilder than the greatest Protestant in the past ever dreamed. The result is that many are afraid of the signs of the times. They recall the compromises in which the Reformation began, freedom from the authority of the Catholic Church and subjection to the authority of the Bible. They look with anxious eyes for some similar compromise to-day. They think that a world half free and half bound is better than a world absolutely committed to freedom. Their faith in freedom as the opportunity of all great human interests is inadequate; the vast possible peril fills them with dismay. They fear for the fate of religion itself, for the records of religion and the philosophy of religion under freedom. They cannot see that the essential lives by its own right, that it needs no sanction beyond its own character, that it depends upon nothing foreign to itself, that it is as lasting as the order of which it is a part. To these men freedom, when it is under limitation, seems to be good for religion; when under no limitation freedom seems to be the supreme peril of religion. As the men in Plato's cave feared the light, so these leaders fear the world of freedom; they like to rest their blinded

vision in the twilight of authority; they would gladly go between these two spheres, being neither wholly of the cave nor wholly of the sun-world, living a life of compromise, guided by no single consistent principle, now advancing in hope and again in retreat through fear.

In all this there is unreasonable distrust of human nature in general, unwarrantable trust in certain representatives of human nature in particular, and profound scepticism concerning the power of the Christian faith. It is unreasonable to distrust man for he is the best we know; it is unwarrantable to subject man in general to men in particular, because the particular may be inferior to the general; it is unwarrantable to subject the living to the dead because God is still in his world and is still travelling in the greatness of his strength. It is an utter and dismal contradiction to proclaim the adequacy of the Christian faith to control and transform the mind of the race, and then to forbid the surrender of the freeman to the sole and sheer power of that faith. In such distractions of the Christian intellect we return to the words of the text for guidance and hope. They are the great assurance of the religious man in the world of freedom: "Howbeit, when he the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all the truth."

I

These words recall us, first of all, to our fundamental concern as men. That supreme concern is not to be orthodox, but to be true, not to be in accord with tradition but to be in accord with reality, not to appear sound in the sight of men, but to be sound in the sight of God. Our concern according to the text is to see the truth, to love the truth, to serve the truth; to relate worthily to the truth the intellect, and the heart, and the will. To know the thing that really is, to love and serve that and nothing else is the supreme concern of man. And the words of the text recall us to the Christian religion as the life in the truth and in nothing other than the truth.

If we may trust the Fourth Gospel, the chief interest of Jesus in this world was the vision and service of the truth. "To this end have I been born, and to this end am I come into the world that I should bear witness unto the truth." So far as their thoughts have been recorded the chief interest of the apostles of Jesus was to know and declare the truth. For the apostles Jesus and his gospel were a mighty reality, a reality inexpressibly significant for human beings, and in the serious consideration of this reality they were free in their thoughts, free in the conclusions to which they came. This did not mean that the apostles sought no help beyond themselves. This they did. The Scriptures of the Old Testament came back to them with new power and aided them vastly in working out their philosophy of the person of Christ and the meaning of his gospel. Still no restriction was put upon them; they came to no forced results; their conclusions were inevitable, but the inevitableness was from within, and not from without. There is indeed in the New Testament record of apostolic thought the consciousness of a glorious liberty. For the intellect there is but one interest, to know the truth; for the heart there is but one concern, to love the truth; for the will there is but one aim, to do the truth. Salvation is a process of intellect and heart and will in unrestricted and utter freedom.

That this freedom was not unquestioned we know from the career of Paul. To this great thinker we are indebted for the broadest and

most significant interpretation of the person and gospel of Jesus. In the elaboration and declaration of his message Paul stood for unrestricted freedom. Paul refused to accommodate his intellect to any interest other than the truth. He conferred not with flesh and blood; he had seen the Lord; he had reflected long upon his vision; it had slowly risen in his understanding to its full meaning; and this full meaning born from within, and tested by a service and a sacrifice that are among the unparalleled heroisms of the world, Paul delivered freely and fully to his time. This service to the cause of the Christian faith Paul could not have rendered had his chief concern been other than the truth, and had he been other than free in this his chief concern.

From the apostolic age to our own it can hardly be said that the concern for truth has been supreme and free. A tradition about the truth arose, acquired influence, became dominant, came at length to be identified with the truth. Apostolic, patristic, medieval, reformed opinion has been a controlling, a coercive influence. Soundness of views, tested by tradition, has attained enormous power. Orthodoxies have stood in the way of original vision. The aboriginal interest of the religious soul—to know the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth—has been subordinated to the conservation of traditional opinion, safety, peace. Conformity has been the bane of the Christian Church, conformity to the standard set by the thought, method and opinions of former generations. All religious bodies are open to this censure. Our non-conformities have been shallow compared with our conformities. Like the feet of the Chinese gentlewomen, our minds have been put in the fetters of custom and tradition. In most cases growth has been impossible, and where it has been irrepressible, it has been accompanied with torture. Preconception has dealt the Christian faith a terrible blow. Bushnell speaks of the reform against nature, and the fine phrase is capable of universal application. There is an orthodoxy against nature, both human and divine, an orthodoxy against the meaning of the Incarnation of Jesus Christ, an orthodoxy against God. When one looks at the medieval castle, one can hardly escape the conclusion that it was built to keep out the light. Those immense walls were solid against the enemy; they were far too solid against the sun, the best friend of the physical life of the world. One is inclined to believe that if those mighty fortifications had been open to the healing influences of the sunshine the mortality among the persons inhabiting them would have been less. Disease is the great enemy of armies, and the world of sunshine is man's mighty ally in his fight with death. As they built the medieval castle, so men built the philosophy of the Christian faith; they built it to keep out the heretic and all unconsciously they built it to keep out the light of the prophet. If the church had been less afraid of letting heresy in, and more afraid of shutting truth out, she would have built other and better than she did.

Two results have followed. One is that there has been in the Christian church as a whole, little or no progress in the philosophy of Christianity from the days of Augustine to our own. The Christian intellect has gone outside organized Christianity for progress and freedom. In the church there was little or no chance for minds of original genius. In English theology there has been no innovator like Berkeley, no genius for progress in the philosophy of religion equal to his in the interpretation of nature. In Scottish theology there have been no thinkers of the power of Reid and Hamilton and Ferrier,

much less any single influence at all comparable to that of Hume in the history of European thought. There has been no room for such minds, no opportunity, no freedom. The loss of intellect to the philosophy of man's supreme interest is thus incalculable and until within a generation or two we have regarded as finalities the crudities of early thinkers in this vast discipline.

Paul said of the Jews of his time that they read their Bible with a veil on their heart. They refused the light of the contemporary world, and so could not find the word of God in their ancient scriptures. Jesus came to his death by the prevailing power of that spirit. Those to whom he came refused to read the past in the light of the contemporary world that held Jesus. Those who cling to the past repeat the same mistake. They refuse to read the Gospel of Jesus through the light of the contemporary world of honest and serious men; they read the New Testament as the Jews in Paul's day read the Old Testament, with the veil on their heart.

Sadder still is the second result, the obscuring of the one sovereign concern of the soul, to know and to love and to serve the truth. Can it be denied that this interest has been obscured? Can it be asserted that men have been taught always and only to care for the truth, to test all things, and to hold only to the good, to try the spirits and to see if they are indeed from God? And here again the loss is inexpressible. The honour of the intellect has been allowed to grow dim, the integrity of the understanding has not been set above all price, the capacity to lie for God has not been dragged from its concealment and shown to be the hateful thing that it is, the spirit of the true man and the freeman has not been set on high as the only spirit worthy of a Christian.

Thus God would seem to have sent doubt among us, a kind of Ithuriel's spear, touching our untrue tradition, our unreal theologies, our artificial schemes, our inadequate reports of the eternal gospel, and revealing them in their sad misrepresentation of the truth. Thus by the discipline of doubt God would seem to be leading us to recognize that the vision and the love and the service of the truth are man's first and only concern. How great will be the Christian thinker and doer when, in unrestricted freedom, he can renew the apostolic confession: "That which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld and our hands handled of the Word of Life—declare we unto you."

II

We have in the text, by implication, an answer to our supreme question, What is truth? The spirit of truth is none other than God. For Christian thinkers God is the reality or truth of the universe; for Christian thinkers the truth does not exhaust itself in a fact, in an idea, in an order of facts and ideas; its final form is a moral person, the infinite, living God. For us in our human world truth has four aspects. It means agreement of word and fact as when we take a message from one man and deliver it to another. Here truth stands for accuracy, and the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaklava is an illustrious example of the woe that may come through blunder. Again truth means agreement of thought and expression, and here it stands for sincerity. How black insincerity may be, and what tragedy it may bring forth the kiss whereby Judas betrayed Jesus attests. Still

again truth means agreement of thought and fact as when the Copernican thought of the solar system replaced the Ptolemaic or the ethical teaching of Butler that of Hobbes. Here truth means the correct reading of the natural and moral order of the world. Once more and highest of all truth means the vision of rectitude among moral persons expressed in the perfect moral life. In this supreme sense God is the truth of the universe. He is the Infinite Moral Being in relation to all finite moral beings, and his vision of rectitude, perfect in itself, is forever embodied in his will. In this supreme sense Jesus is the truth in our temporal world. He is the moral person among moral persons whose vision of rectitude, clear and complete in itself, is expressed in his perfect soul. In this supreme sense men are the truth of our world; its final constitution is soul in relation to soul. God's soul and the souls of men in relation and the great revealing, reconciling, mediatorial soul of Christ constitute the ultimate reality of our world.

Truth, then, in the supreme sense means moral beings in relations one with another and with God. The world of living souls with God in it is the truth. While it lives, and while God lives in it, we have the truth. A new version of the history of Israel cannot overthrow the truth thus understood; discredit or rejection meted out to miracle cannot touch the truth; a new scheme of doctrine, whether acceptable or otherwise, cannot destroy the order of the world. Nothing that leaves God in the world, nothing that leaves men with souls in relations of obligation to one another and to God can dismay us. Behind all research, all science, all philosophy, all records sacred or otherwise, we confess as the firm-set constitution of our world God and the sons of God in time. The winds that sweep the hills may carry much away, the flowers, the trees and the life in flower and tree, but no wind can blow fierce enough to carry away any part of the everlasting rock. After it has been girdled with tempests and storm-swept for many days the mountain will emerge some great morning calm, untroubled, entire, eternal. Such is the constitution of our world. It is among the things that cannot be shaken. Our God is the living, everlasting God, and we are his children, living in his present eternal life. The wildest criticism of sacred book or record, the most revolutionary thought of science, the fiercest assaults of the negative spirit must leave unscathed the order of the living world. This much is clear and sure. If we are morally alive in our relations men with men, if we are spiritually alive in our relations with God, our souls with his soul, our truth stands fast, and the fiercest attacks upon it pass by it like the idle wind which it respects not.

There is a contemporaneous Christianity that we have too much neglected. In our anxiety over the historic Gospel we have neglected the contemporary Gospel. We have fought for the truth that was and we have been too often unmindful of the truth that is. We have fought against ideas old and new as against masks, and we have not been pure enough nor great enough to look upon the naked order of our human world. Here and not yonder is our truth. Here and not yonder is your own soul joined to the soul of your brother in a tremendous order of obligation. Here and not yonder is your God searching your conscience this day, bringing you and your brother to the judgment of love, offering himself now to your penitence, your homage and your trust, opening before your eyes the gates and lifting up the everlasting doors of the contemporary kingdom of love. You have been disquieted

because you have not found your soul, you have been dismayed because you have refused to find the soul of your brother, because you have repeated the ancient infamy, "Am I my brother's keeper?" You have fallen into doubt and despair over the great things of the past because you have not opened your moral being in awe and trust to the ever-living and ever-present God. The contemporary kingdom of love is the only way over which we may pass to the historic kingdom of love; it is the only avenue along which we may go to the eternal kingdom of love.

If we were only deep enough in our moral brotherhood, if we were only profound enough and intense enough in our spiritual fellowship to send psalms, prophetic oracles, epistles, canticles of love and woe, litanies of nations up out of the heart of this present time, if our souls were only great enough in the consciousness of God and one another as children of God, to create a contemporary Bible, or something like a contemporary Bible, how easy it would be to recognize the greater psalm of the past, the mightier oracle, the gladder and weightier epistle, the diviner Bible. If we lose our faith it will be through contempt of the divine order of souls in which we live; if we would renew our faith in historic Christianity we must do it through renewed faith in contemporary Christianity.

Truth, in the secondary sense, is the best idea or image of this republic of souls. Here we see the Gospel as it issues from the mind and will of Jesus. His Gospel is the image, the glorious image, the image full of light and infinite cheer, of souls in relation to the Eternal Soul and to one another. This Gospel is an image in the mind of Jesus and it is a sovereign grace in his will. His version of our human world authenticated in his life, attested and glorified in his death in his Gospel. It is, I repeat, an image of God's world of souls; it is, as we believe, the divine image; it is an image borne through history by the virtue that resides in it; it is an image fitted to grow in the thoughts and experiences of men through all time; it is fitted to assimilate to itself all the valid ideas about man and his world that later times may discover. It is defended against whatever is alien to itself by its moral spirit, by its religious worth. It is in the world to take up into itself all other images or ideas and to fill them with its own spirit. It is the Alpha of the complete image of the world; it will be the Omega of that complete image because its moral spirit and religious worth will be sovereign in man's final account of his world.

Our Gospel is here an organism of ideas. It is vital in every part and cannot die. It is in the world of research, science, political action, philosophic thought, ethnic religions not to condemn the world, but to look upon the world as food. It will feed upon all attested results in all departments of the intellectual life of man; it will feed and grow upon the whole valid intellectual product of the world; it will reject all that is alien to its own organic life; all that is unfit for food, all that cannot be reconciled with its vision of a republic of souls. Our historic Christianity becomes contemporary Christianity, and our contemporary Christianity goes forward in ever greatening compass to take possession of the entire world of man. There is nothing that our faith cannot assimilate except atheism and inhumanity, the denial of the infinite soul and the denial of the soul of man. All between these two extremes of incredible negation that attests itself as true in history, in nature, in thought, flows into the eternal welcome of our faith. "The earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof, the

world and they that dwell therein; for he hath founded it upon the seas and established it upon the floods."

We must beware of claiming too much for the Gospel as it left the mind of Jesus; we must beware lest we fail to recognize its genius for growth. We must convict ourselves of disloyalty to our Lord when we make of the living power of his word something fixed and unexpensive. We must repudiate in his name a small Gospel, a Gospel arrested in its development, a Gospel no longer the organism of the spirit of truth. Above all we must guard against the false reverence that mistakes even the divine beginning for the end. The Lord's parable of the mustard seed applies here with a signal force. The teaching of Jesus is put in the intellectual soil of the world, and it is there at first as the smallest of all seeds. But there is the divine spirit in it, and it feeds upon all that is fit in the intellectual life of the world. It draws up into itself the virtue of all bodies of thought, the excellence of all systems of ethics, the power and beauty of all great religions, the whole truth and worth of man's world, and it presents man's world perfected and transfigured in its own truth and grace.

III

We have in the text an answer to our supreme need in a free world. Our Christian faith in confessing the spirit of truth confesses an invisible guide into all truth. The world is great; it is forever unfolding its mysteries and more and more we need the guidance of the spirit of truth. We guide our children in their studies and in their thoughts about themselves and the strange world in which they live. We seek for them the best teachers that they may be guided in the growing endeavour of their life. We commend to them authentic sources of knowledge and books full of wise thinking that they may continue their quest in good hope. We try to maintain a kind of ascendancy over our children when they have ceased to be children. Doesall this mean nothing or indicate nothing in the heart of our faith? After the death of his mother we find in Carlyle's journal one of those entries that so often light up life to the heart: "O pious mother! kind, good, brave and true soul as I have ever found, and more than I have ever elsewhere found in this world, your poor Tom, long out of his schooldays now, has fallen very lonely, very lame and broken in this pilgrimage of his; and you cannot help him or cheer him by a kind word any more. From your grave in Ecclefechan kirkyard yonder you bid him trust in God, and that also he will try if he can understand and do. The conquest of the world and of death and hell does verily yet lie in that, if one can understand and do it." From one of our own prophets there is the revelation of man's need and help. Heart and flesh fail; parents vanish, teachers of our youth cease to be adequate, the wise book is no longer availing, the philosophy of our faith is unequal to the hour, and thus we face the pilgrimage of the soul in a vast and confused time. What shall we do that we may advance, and that the wilderness and solitary place may rejoice and blossom for us? What shall we do but cover the essential principle of our faith, and trust in God, in God as the spirit of truth who guides men into all truth.

A world arrested in its development is easily mastered, a definite civilization may be adequately summed up in its great representatives,

the Homeric age in the Iliad and the Odyssey, the mediæval world in Dante, Puritanism in Milton, the philosophy of the Greeks in Plato and Aristotle, the faith and wisdom of ancient Israel in her prophets and psalmists, Christianity as it stood in the mind of Jesus and his apostles in the New Testament. If the world is incapable of growth beyond the boundaries marked by these epochs, if thereafter it is a world standing still, the object of intellectual endeavour is immensely simplified. It is to master, assimilate and hand on this treasure. And without doubt this is one of the great objects of intellectual endeavour, In many epochs it is the chief, although never among living men the exclusive, object of endeavour. In times of swift transition and sudden expansion the mastery of the past must be a subordinate aim. The words of Milton are not only for our first parents, but also for their descendants:

> The world was all before them where to choose
> Their place of rest, and Providence their guide.

We go forth into the world undefined, beautiful with order and terrible with mystery, unexplored, unmastered, so swift in its changes, so vast in its growth that we cannot master it. We go with the spirit of truth to guide us into all the truth.

The world of science is undergoing constant revision and expansion; new facts and new ideas in every department of science are the continuous surprise of the time; the hope of fresh discovery in fact and in law is the perpetual incentive of the scientific mind. History is rewritten in every new century out of larger knowledge and wider vistas of man's world. Philosophy, the world of man's deepest thoughts, is in continual movement, and the sympathetic mind discovers in this movement the possibility, at least, of a richer and vaster issue. Religion is a living experience, and among thoughtful men it must seek to bring itself into accord with general knowledge about man's world. Religion as feeling and as character is growing, is bound to grow wherever it is alive; religion as insight into the ultimate meanings of existence and the universe is also bound to grow where the religious intellect is not the victim of despair. Upon all aspects, therefore, our human world is provisional, incomplete, awaiting revision and expansion. If we could have stood in the morning of time and seen the primitive fire-mist whirling, and under law, taking form and substance, passing from phase to phase in its richer development, making ready for the advent of life in ever higher character till man appears; or if averse to this exercise of the scientific imagination we could have stood with the Hebrew poet as in the opening verses of Genesis, and have watched as he saw it, the unfolding drama of creation, first the brooding of the dark and formless void by the almighty spirit, then in bright succession have witnessed the appearance of light, firmament, land, sea, the world and its lesser light by night, and its greater light by day, the coming of life in all its rich variety, the making of man as the lord of the fair order, in either case we should have a picture of the intellectual process now going on in all civilized nations and among all men responsive to the spirit of the time. Our intellectual world has freed itself from the error that it could never mean other or more than it meant to men of old; it has freed itself from the bondage of its beginning conceived to be its final form, and to-day it goes along its great free path singing a thousand songs of growth and hope.

How shall we behave toward this our world thus freed from servitude? Believe that the spirit of truth is in the intellect and will of the world. Believe that all attested truth in science is one with all essential truth in religion. Believe that it is no more of a disgrace to revise religion by exact science, when that becomes necessary, than it is to complete the scientific view of the world by the religious. Believe that the sin against the holy spirit is to reject the vision of truth wherever it is offered. Believe that Christianity, in the history of man, is first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear; that as it left the lips and life of its divine founder it was an organism of ideas with the power of infinite growth in them, and that the complete and perfect Christianity is that which shall issue at the end of time from the Christian intellect of the race under the discipline of the spirit of truth, under the guidance and inspiration of the Holy Ghost. Believe that the endless confusions in all departments of thought are not only a burden and sorrow, but also an evidence of life and growth. When the new city is laid out in the great American west, when the streets are drawn and the building of homes and places of trade begins the confusion seems to be endless, and the sweet face of nature appears to be broken in perpetual distress. It is not so. Life arrives, the town takes shape, public buildings, schools, churches begin to rise, a college, a museum of fine arts, and in fifty years a vast city with ten thousand happy homes, potent in a potent land, a servant of the servants of God has come up out of the dust and distress of that first morning. So it is with our city of God. It is being resurveyed, it is the subject of vast changes and expansions, and in consequence the confusion is great and the distress is deep. These calamities will not always continue; some time they will be over past; and from these dire confusions in a millenium or two our city of God will loom in the understanding and heart of men with a mightier grandeur.

IV

We are here recalled to the free world in a vast confidence. We are reminded that the free world is a world in the holy spirit. The unquenchable thirst for truth is the best evidence that the spirit of truth is in the intellect, the daring search for the greater truth is the deepest confession of faith in the divine reality. The lover of truth is under the inspiration of the spirit of truth; the toiler for the truth is an impressive confessor of the existence and the attainability of the truth. In the desire and endeavour of the free world we must note the presence and power of the Holy Spirit. Not to our poor achievements, not to the meagre results of our activities must we confine the operation of the divine spirit. The best witness of his presence is the living aspiration after the truth, and the unceasing and undiscourageable endeavour. When Paul cries, "I count not myself to have apprehended," was not that cry a sign of the spirit? When he added, "One thing I do, forgetting the things which are behind, and stretching forward to the things which are before, I press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus," was not that resolve, that movement of life a sign of the holy spirit in his heart? That indwelling spirit carried Paul into ideas and ideals that seemed strange and sad to many in his day. We see in that great movement only the witness of the spirit of truth. And shall we not apply this comfort to our own time? We are happy when we see in our children sound appetite and

the sane passion for exercise. We know that then the spirit of health is in them, and that they are in movement toward a potent manhood. We should be glad when we see the pure love of truth working in the human mind, when we see it impelling men to free and fearless search. Then we may be sure that God is with men conducting them toward greater things. Indeed, it is impossible to see how there could be, intellectually considered, more impressive evidence of the presence of God with men than is to be found in the inextinguishable love of truth, and the ceaseless and serious search for it. The hope of the return of the carrier-pigeon is in the first flash of its eye and the first beat of its wings as it leaves the hand that sets it free. Let that eye still flash, let those wings still beat, and home it will come. Look upon it ascending and sailing onward; and in the power of flight see the force of life. In the mind lighted with the pure love of truth, winning its freedom from authority, and winging its way to the eternal truth, there is the impressive witness of the presence of the eternal spirit.

The truth is great, greater far than the consciousness of man at any particular stage of his quest, and how shall it be won in ever greater fulness except in the world of freedom? The truth is great and for man it has been appointed to attain it through struggle and amid perplexity. The truth is great and along a thousand vocations brave men are toiling to attain the larger vision of it. There is an international, a cosmopolitan industry in the service of truth, and from this industry the truth is slowly issuing in ever increasing majesty. If we arrest this industry we surrender the scientific ideal; if we arrest this industry we refuse to allow the religious community to clear itself of error and to move into the vision of the greater and purer truth. Indeed, the free world is the only world to which truth is offered as an object of ever richer achievement, of ever ampler possession. Here, as elsewhere, the kingdom of heaven suffereth violence and the violent take it by force. For mere passivity there is finally nothing but the beggar's fate. For intellectual stagnation the world of truth can never go beyond the achievements of the past. And while knowledge is growing with amazing swiftness and sureness in all other spheres of interest, it is astounding that any educated intellect should be content with the present state of religious knowledge or religious ideas. Here is the sphere of supreme interest, and here is the Spirit of Truth with his promise to guide into all the truth. How shall we know more about our Christian religion and about the religions of our fellowmen, and how shall we think more worthily and truly, if we are not free to follow the spirit proceeding from the father and the son?

Men are frightened at the disintegrations wrought in this world of freedom. When Luther denied the authority of the church he fell back on the mightier authority of the Bible. Now the Bible has been decomposed, and as a book its authority is dissolved. In the free world men no longer believe because the belief is offered by the Bible, but because it commends itself to reason. Men who are without clearness do not see that this is the logic of Protestantism. They do not see that Luther was inconsistent when he substituted a strong authority for a weak, they fail to recognise that the eternal spirit of Protestanism is given in the great Reformer's declaration at the Diet of Worms: "Here I stand, I can do no other. God help me. Amen." The case is carried for decision to the judgment of a free man. Men who are without fundamental clearness fail to see this and timid men tremble at the boldness of the position.

Look at what has come to pass. On the whole has any interest of Christian faith been injured by the prevailing power of the scholar's view of the Bible? Take the churches of Scotland or America, as examples. Has the work of A. B. Davidson and that of W. Robertson Smith, in the judgment of any competent person injured any essential interest of Christian faith? Is the work of their successors injurious to faith? Have not these men done much to brush aside dead formulas and introduce the people to the authentic record of ancient life in God's world and under the guidance of his spirit? Is not the record easier of access, more human in character, closer to the life of our times, and more evident in its meanings, tender and sublime, because of the work of the free scholar? This is true in Scotland, this is true in America. The Bible through the work of the scholar is gaining a new ascendency over the religious mind, the ascendency that always belongs to the best insight, the deepest feeling and the greatest character. Men are now able to believe in the Bible, not on account of a tradition as to its mode of production, not because of what the old formalism like some Samaritan woman says about it, but because they hear its voice for themselves, and know its supremacy in the depth of the sore struggle of existence. Through the work of the scholar the Bible within the Bible, the best in the recorded spiritual life of the race, has gained its freedom and is to-day speaking for itself. Let not the timid soul fear; the greatest of human thoughts will fight their own way to ascendency, and when seen they will be welcomed by freemen as a sovereign by the divine right of truth.

Thus much is clear to competent observers. What is following in the path of free scholarship is not so clear. W. Robertson Smith, while a pioneer in Biblical scholarship, remained a traditionalist in dogmatic belief. The same is probably true of A. B. Davidson. Much the same is true of the first generation of free evangelical scholars. Here is the limitation, the sad limitation of their service. Their work as scholars is surely noble, but it is not entirely indispensable. Laymen with strong intellects have wrought for themselves, far in advance of scholarship, similar results in their view of the Bible, by the rough methods of common-sense, and inalienable Protestant independence. The greater service of giving to Christian men and women a conception of God worthier than that contained in the traditional scheme, and a conception of man truer to the facts of existence is only beginning to be performed. The great object of belief is God and the world waits the rendering of the supreme object of faith in profounder, more adequate, worthier forms. The Calvinistic idea of God has become the supreme incredibility; the whole crude scheme that goes with that original incredibility has fallen with it. Religion is alive in the heart and in the will, but it waits for intellectual form, such as shall give it a new ascendency over the mind of the world.

This is the meaning of the disintegration of the traditional forms of belief. Freemen have found them inadequate, unworthy, incredible, and in the name of God and of Jesus Christ they are saying so. Their voices are not the dirge of a dead faith, but the great Hallelujah chorus of the fresh advent of the Lord. From a multitude of brave and jubilant thinkers that no man can number, translating faith as feeling and conduct into faith as vision and thought comes the vast song: "The Lord God omnipotent reigneth. The kingdoms of this world have become the kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ; and he shall reign for ever and ever, King of Kings, and Lord of Lords."

There is the further fear that this freedom may degenerate into universal license. Our freedom may become unchartered, and sink into another name for the most galling bondage. Here again let us take counsel, not of our fears, but of our faith. Wordsworth was a freeman; like all freemen he doubtless failed at times of the life equal to the privilege of his freedom. Where was his Redeemer? In the vast and stern courses of experience. In life itself he found the Invisible Teacher who convinces of sin, who opens men's eyes to the distinction between names and realities, to the distinction, too, between good apparent and good essential and everlasting, and who guides the free soul into the freedom wherewith the truth makes free. Wordsworth spoke by inspiration of the Holy Spirit working in his moral being, working as illumination and conclusion in his experience as a human being, when he said:

> Me this unchartered freedom tires;
> I feel the weight of chance desires;
> My hopes no more must change their name,
> I long for a repose that ever is the same.

The younger son in the parable of our Lord carries his conscience with him into the far country among the swine, and the husks; and wherever you find man with conscience there you find man under the discipline of the Divine Spirit. The world cannot go beyond God, any more than a man can outrun his shadow or break away from it; that is our faith, and the freedom that becomes license becomes at the same time labor and sorrow, and we trust in the discipline of life, under the Spirit of truth, to bring freedom to itself. Authority is for minors; freedom is for men, and full manhood without freedom is inconceivable. We grant that the freedom may be abused; we trust the Eternal Spirit through the sorrow which the abuse inflicts upon the doer thereof, to bring the wanton soul to itself, as in the parable, the lost boy who abused his freedom, and who, through the horror of that abuse, under the guidance of a great memory and a great vision, came to himself.

It must be said that among Christian people the presence of the Holy Spirit in the life of the world is more talked about and less believed in than any other truth in our faith. We confess the presence of the Holy Spirit, and we trust him when he is orthodox in belief and practice. We confine his work largely to the preservation of traditional opinion and conventional conduct. We seldom think of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of revolution in ideas and in ideals, as the light in the prow of the ship and the impulse in her heart in the navigation of hitherto unexplored seas. We do not lay to heart the greatness of our Lord's promise. We are not apt to think of the intellectual activity of the world, in all normal men, as in the strength of the Holy Spirit. We are not wont to consider that the Spirit of truth is the sovereign influence in the genuine intellectual life of mankind, and that the great objective Spirit of truth is conserving and increasing this mighty hunger and thirst for reality, and through the discipline of success and failure leading men to the perfect day.

Normal men love the truth and they need a guide into all the truth. When we see the love of truth working pure and strong within their hearts, let us be sure that the Holy Spirit is with them. Their conclusions are at best provisional, their love of the truth, the whole truth

and nothing but the truth is the witness of the immediate presence of God in their souls. Nor can we conceive of a more hopeful mood in the search for truth. For ourselves if we love the truth, if we cease to identify any scheme or tradition however precious with the truth, if we refuse to be satisfied with any idea that does not expand, if we lift the old lines and carry them on into the wide wilderness of being, if we break with all that is arrested in development and unfruitful, for explorations in the great and growing world of God, we shall see new meaning in our faith in the Spirit of truth, and when we appeal to him for help in mind and heart, and undertake nothing without imploring his guidance, we shall know that we are advancing into all the truth.

We return to the eternal substance of our faith, the soul, the souls of our fellowmen, the soul of God, and the great revealing, mediatorial soul of Jesus Christ. Of this republic of souls all literature, all liturgies, all confessions, all philosophies of belief, all most sacred books and Bibles are but the expression, as the leaves of the forest when summer is green, are but the expression of the abiding life of the tree. This extreme position admits of all high solicitude for the dear possessions of the race, of all true veneration for the most sacred things of faith, and at the same time, provides for the peace that passeth all understanding. Our faith in the primary and fundamental sense is a faith in souls, each man in his own soul, in the souls of other men, in the Infinite Soul, and in the divine mediatorial soul of the Lord. Here is our world of truth given, attested, under discipline in the solemn and majestic courses of experience; and therefore we will not fear though the earth be removed. Because our world is a republic of souls under the illumination of the Infinite Soul as revealed in the soul of Jesus, our Lord, it must be free that it may grow, and all its most sacred things must be held as servants, and not as sovereigns, of this our free advancing world in God. We look for revision, expansion, revolution in the intellectual life as knowledge grows and insight deepens; we are prepared for the autumn with its falling leaves, and for the spring with its fresh apocalypse of beauty; we expect to carry with us the precious things of the past attested in the experience of all time and supplemented by the precious things that are to be; we believe in the world beyond time and the republic of souls there; we use litanies, confessio , our most sacred possession, our Bible, as they do who will leave th m in the time-world; we expect the life through symbol to end in the life that lives in the direct and immediate vision of God; and therefore we hallow our devoutest industry and our dearest achievements here with the vast anticipation: "When that which is perfect is come that which is in part shall be done away." "Here we see in a mirror darkly, but then face to face." "And the city hath no need of the sun, neither of the moon to shine upon it; for the glory of the Lord did lighten it, and the lamp thereof is the Lamb."



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Boston, Mass.



REV. A. GOODRICH, D.D.,
Manchester.

Thursday, July 2, 1908

MORNING SESSION

The Session opened at 9.30 a.m., with Dr. Russell of Glasgow in the chair.

After the singing of the hymn "Though lowly here our lot may be," the devotions were conducted by the Rev. John Wilkins, Auckland, New Zealand.

The Chairman: I may be allowed a single remark before proceeding with the programme of the morning, and that is to say how highly I appreciate the honour of becoming one of the vice-presidents of the Council, even if it does involve a duty this morning. I do not want to split hairs—as we Congregationalists are apt to do—and I shall not attempt to decide whether I or the Congregationalists of Scotland are the most highly honoured.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. Dr. Goodrich (Manchester) to deliver an address on "The Effect on the Church Idea of Independency."

Address by Rev. A. Goodrich, D.D.

MODERN TENDENCIES: THEIR EFFECT ON THE CHURCH IDEA OF INDEPENDENCY

In the troubled waters of our modern life two streams of tendency at least are discernible, viz. the modernistic and the socialistic. To these two many other tendencies are contributory, and become merged in them. What effect have these two tendencies upon our church idea of Independency?

I

The set of tendencies summed up by the word Modernism, which the Roman Church has lately given us, are active outside, as well as inside, that church. The so-called New Theology is one form of it. This modernism appears to be a resultant of the varied forces of historical criticism, scientific evolution, idealistic philosophy, and the popular impatience with theories, abstraction, dogmas. In the alembic of historical criticism modernism has dissolved the leading facts of the Gospels and expelled the supernatural. By the aid of evolution it has reduced the great sayings of Christ into developments of a later age. Abandoning documentary authority, modernism retreats to the religious sentiment, the immanent God in man, as the source and authority of all spiritual faith. Pope, Council, Bible have been, and still may be, useful, but as authorities they, as the Druids, have had their day and ceased to be. There is no revelation to us, only a

revelation in us. There is no Christ who outside knocks at the door, but only a Christ within, sleeping, who, indeed, is but our better self. As idealism creates the world out of its own ideas, so modernism creates religion out of its own soul. It brusquely brushes aside dogmas and theologies, asking, what is their use? What do they work? How do they help? What bread do they bake? This modernism is thus self-poised, self-contained, independent. It has a note which we independents rather like. Its emphasis on the soul and experience strikes a chord to which we respond. Its word as to the church seems to be the voice of our Jacob, for it says that the idea of church life is not a subscribed creed, but a religious experience, not agreement on the intellectual conceptions of Christianity, but possession of a Christian disposition.

True, the church idea of Independency is that the bond of Church life is a common experience. But here is the point: What experience? Is the experience our church idea demands an ethical experience and nothing but an ethical experience? or a religious experience and nothing but a religious experience? It is neither. Our church idea demands something more than an ethical, or theistic, or pantheistic experience, it demands a religious experience of the supreme type, viz. a very distinctively Christian experience; an experience, not so much of the religiousness as of the sinfulness of the soul; not so much of its ability to develop its salvation as of its inability to save itself, and an experience of the Christ, who died for its sins, coming to it with the gift of forgiveness and life eternal.

Our history gives this distinctively Christian experience as our church idea. Our fathers dwelt much, we may think too much, on the radical evil of the heart and on its exposedness to condemnation. They knew the burden of sin. They spoke of Christ as one here alive and active. They knew the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe. Between a soul united to Christ and a soul not united to Christ they felt the difference was immense. But into the church of their day all parishioners, Christian and vicious, were forced. Archbishop Whitgift, in 1587, pleaded against Cartwright that it was "impossible to permit the churches to elect their own pastors, for the churches were composed of hypocrites, dissemblers, drunkards, whoremongers, and the like, so that, if any election were committed to them they would be sure to take one like to themselves." From such a church our fathers separated; not because of its union with the state, not because of its ceremonies, though to them, as to the Puritans, they were an offence; but because in the church there was no attempt to realize the Church as the body of Christ by receiving into its fellowship those only who gave credible evidence of being living members of Christ.

But did not the fathers exaggerate the Christian experience? Was not their experience forced, distorted? Be it that to a degree it was; yet the New Testament, the great Christian biographies, the chief Catholic hymns being witness, are not the sense of sin and the feeling of guilt, the joy of forgiveness through Christ, and the throb of holy love essential elements of the Christian experience? These are apostolic, catholic, symbolic, however much they in different persons and periods may differ in form and expression.

But it may be said this experience involves certain beliefs, and where, then, is your freedom from creed? We gladly admit the Christian experience involves the belief that Jesus is the Eternal Son of

God, sent by God to die for our sins, and that whosoever believeth in him shall not perish but have eternal life. But there is, I submit, a world of difference between belief fluid in Christian experience and belief fixed in subscribed creed. Given the real Christian experience, and our church idea leaves the person to formulate the belief implicated in his experience as best he can. United to Christ we possess alike in thought and conduct the gift and guide of freedom. We being with Christ, God trusts us, and we should, and do, trust one another, bearing with patience wide divergences of Christian thought and great plainness of speech.

What, then, is the effect of this modernistic tendency upon the church idea of Independency? As far as the modernistic tendency blurs the essential distinction between right and wrong, between holiness and sin, between God and men, between Christ and the better self, as far as it reduces the living God to a cosmic process, incarnation to immanence, sin to a negation, Christ to a man, extra good and salvation to development, so far, it is plain, it is contrary to that Christian experience, the essential constituents of which are among these things blurred or reduced. In time past the nobility of human nature may not have received in Christian thought its due place, but can the consciousness of the soul's nobility alone give it that sense of sin and guilt which finds with joy in the cross of Christ the atonement for its guilt and the power of its, with him, dying to sin and rising to righteousness? There is a better self, a latent recuperative power in the soul; but can development of that latent power of self salvation give us that Christian experience which rejoices in the sense of a great saving presence coming to us, and of salvation as something given, a great gift, a new life, breathed into us, a supreme act of grace? A Jesus who did not say such words as, "No man knoweth the Father save the Son," or, "Come unto me all ye that are weary and heavy laden," who did no miracle, who if he were in any sense the Son of God did not know it, who died for our sins only in the sense of being wishful by his example of persuading us to do good at some sacrifice, and who rose from the dead in no other sense than did Elijah—how can such a Jesus give us the distinctively Christian experience of one, mighty to save, standing before our soul, offering eternal forgiveness and life, entering, we opening, into the mystic place of our personality, cleansing and replenishing its fount so that evermore it rises up in reverent and benevolent life unto eternal life?

But without this Christian experience our church idea as Independents cannot exist. Our church idea is very great, very high. We claim Independency because we believe the individual church is a body of Christ, a body of which Christ is the Head, so that the will and action of the church, acting as a church, is the will and action of Christ. Against Christ's will there can be no appeal to any court, civil or ecclesiastical. To attempt to patronize and control the body of which Christ is the Head, be it by state or person, is an impertinence, indeed, an outrage. To claim to stand thus in church action independent of because above subscribed creed, collective jurisdiction and state control; to claim to be thus independent of man, the seat of authority and the channel of grace, is a very great claim. Nothing can warrant such a claim but that vital union with Jesus Christ, the living present Saviour and Lord, which renders the society the organ of his will. Without this union with Christ, this Christian experience, real and active, as a church theory our Independency is an imbecility, our

Congregationalism a contemptible conglomeration of self-will, ignorance and arrogance. Without this union with Christ, ever maintained, an Independent church hitherto has failed to fulfil the functions of a Christian church; it has become divided against itself; it has, as a spiritual body, gradually died, and not having large endowments to keep its dead body above ground, mankind has been mercifully saved from its corruption. Or should it be that in place of the Christian experience there is as the bond of fellowship common religious interest, with a certain Christian flavour, then there may be societies, somewhat intellectual and useful, giving an agreeable change and rest from the dust and din of secular life, and a pleasant stimulus to the better self; but there cannot be Christian churches of the independent order as hitherto known. To the integrity and vitality of our church idea as Independents, the distinctively Christian experience is indispensable.

II

The modern socialistic tendency should, I think, both extend and intensify our church idea. In loyalty to our church idea our churches have sought first to quicken and sustain the Christian experience, or life. We have concentrated upon the individual soul. We have contended to the death for personal liberty in the State. We have done much to make the world realise the worth of the individual with its corollaries of the sanctity of life and the wrong of oppression. We have successfully demanded room for the individual to stand and work out his great destiny. We have taught the world to stand in something like awe at the possibilities of the individual soul. We have, however, lacked faith in the world and in the body. We have been somewhat out of touch with earth. We have left society to be raided and looted by financiers, capitalists, land grabbers, demagogues, and the like. We have now to supplement our truth of individualism with the truth of collectivism. The hour has struck for us to contend for equality of opportunity whereby every person may have a fair chance of living a godly and decent life. The call now is—and is not the call divine?—that we penetrate and control the social life so that its economic conditions shall be more favourable to the distinctively Christian life. Our churches are responding to the call. In London, Manchester, Leeds and elsewhere we have our institutional churches. Our people are not becoming State socialists, but they are becoming passionate social reformers.

The socialistic tendency should also strengthen our fidelity to our church idea. Our church idea does not commit us to any social theory or system; but it gives no countenance to the position that a man will be godly and just according as he is paid by a State official or an individual capitalist. In social reform our church idea does not put the emphasis upon material conditions, but upon moral character. Without the spiritual ideal the social ideal can never be realised. In working together for social reform we may be tempted to lower our flag, we may be tempted in order to make our churches more effective for social reform, to admit into them persons who are not in union with Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the soul and the Leader of life. We have need, therefore, to grasp our church idea more resolutely and to apply it more fearlessly. Around a university and its colleges there have sometimes gathered social clubs, theatres, concerts, sports,

gambling—a life of roaring pleasure which has quite ignored and nullified the proper purpose of university life. The culture of the social life has o'er-mastered the culture of the intellectual life. Is there no danger that likewise social life, secular matters, games, sports, massed about our churches, may depress their spiritual life? Caring for these things, the Christian experience of life may be ignored and die of neglect. There are, moreover, things that look like an attempt to capture our churches for socialistic purposes. As Andrew Melville told King James VI., we must tell our modern King Demos that in Christ's kingdom he is neither a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member, and, indeed, God's silly vassal.

The Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, minister of Stamford Hill Congregational Church, London, and a member of the Welsh Church Commission, followed with an address on "The Effect on the Church Idea of Church Establishment."

ADDRESS BY REV. J. MORGAN GIBBON

THE INFLUENCE OF ESTABLISHMENT ON THE IDEA OF THE CHURCH

The church, of course, is the church of Christ, the congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached, and the sacraments are duly administered according to the teaching of Christ. But establishment is a more elusive term.

"Wherever we have a certain legal provision," says Dr. Chalmers, "for the ministrations of Christianity, there we have an establishment of Christianity in the land. It is this which forms the essence of establishment." But that definition clearly does not quite fit the subject. Establishment is both less and more. It is more than provision, for it controls and monopolises. It is less, for Christianity is greater than a church.

"An established church," says Professor Waterman, "may perhaps be defined as a church to which the state grants protection in the possession of property allocated to religious purposes and a certain measure of official recognition, which, in return, undertakes to provide the ministrations of religion freely to all in the nation who are willing to avail themselves of them." That definition is too generous. It includes matters foreign to the idea of establishment. For establishment constitutes all members of the state members of the state church, as Hooker contends.

An established church, according to Professor Brewer, is a body of Christians over whom the nation, or the Crown on behalf of the nation, exercises peculiar jurisdiction expressed in the ordinary phrase of the royal supremacy. Every church is subject to national control and requires the protection of the state on its temporal side. Every church may sue or be sued for breach of contract, and have its case tried by the common law of the land. But, as Professor Brewer says, the state exercises peculiar jurisdiction over an established church.

In England where the matter is acute, and of which alone I speak, the Crown claims the right to appoint the bishops of the church, to assemble

and dissolve its convocation, and to take from it the right of determining matters of doctrine and of discipline. Here, I think, we see the very pulse of the machine. Establishment is an act of politics. Before everything else it means the control of the church by the state, of one species of society by the laws of another. Endowment, monopoly, protection, follow in varying degrees.

Now, in the first place, what is the influence of establishment on a church, *i.e.* on its self-consciousness and self-manifestation, on the idea it has, and gives others, of what it is? That is my subject. Why should not this influence be entirely good? Why should a nation not establish a church? Even though there may exist several churches, each with a different method of working the religion of Christ, why should not the state be free to select, protect, and patronise the one it judges best? On *a priori* grounds it appears to me impossible to answer any of these questions in a negative sense. If we cite scripture, we shall soon find that we have no monopoly of the Bible. Men like Hooker, Warburton, Arnold, and Gladstone, equal at least in erudition and piety to any that can be opposed to them, have held that it is the policy and the duty of the state to establish the church. They look upon any proposal to dissolve the union as fraught with danger to the church and the nation, and in speaking thus they voice the conviction of vast numbers of devout and earnest Christian men and women. However simple, therefore, the matter may appear to us, we cannot in honour ignore so large a volume of adverse opinion.

For my part I confess that *a priori*, nothing seems more reasonable and natural than the political establishment of religion.

It is almost an instinct of human nature. We find it wherever religion and politics meet. It is as natural as the Ptolemaic astronomy or any other first impression of the universe that once held the belief of mankind. To this day our senses are against Gallileo. By nature we are flat-earth men even as others. And as it was inevitable that men should first believe that sun, moon, and stars rolled round the earth, so was it natural that the state should seek to control so great a force as the church, and that the church should welcome the patronage of so rich a power as the state. What happened in science and religion was very natural and—*wrong*.

It took a long time and many experiments to detect the error in both cases. But science has carried her point, even against our senses, and history, I think, leaves us in no doubt at all that religion is one of those things that the state best helps by leaving alone. Pragmatism may not be a perfect philosophy. But how a thing works on the whole is as sure a test as we can apply. If, after long and varied experiments under widely divergent conditions, we find that the alliance of church and state steadily yields an undesirable result, we are bound to prefer the evidence of fact to the opinions of men, however worthy the men and however plausible their opinions.

Hooker, the great apologist of the English church, grounds the royal supremacy in England on the authority given always to godly princes in the Holy Scriptures by God himself. Now the full answer to that is not the notorious fact that the epithet "godly princes" conceals rather than reveals the moral physiognomy of too many monarchs, nor that the church and nation are no longer co-terminous, nor, with the late Dean of St. Paul's, that the church when she submitted to royal supremacy contemplated a person and not a mere state or government, a person having a conscience, owning personal responsibility, and one

with her in faith, in practice, in sentiment, in purpose; one bound in fact to be a member of the Church of England, receiving his consecration from her bishops, baptised, confirmed, married, and buried according to her rites; and not a cabinet of politicians, many of whom are not, and not one of whom need be, a member of her communion. The full answer to Hooker is that in reading scripture we must read text and comment. The event is an integral part of the revelation, for consequences are the commentaries of God on human things. And what was the event? Why this religion, that throve like a happy child on the patriarch's hearth, and even grew strong under the oppressor's heel, well nigh died of the godly princes! Abraham left an established church in Assyria and found another in Egypt, but a religion like the wild free thing that sang about his path he found nowhere. Persecution broke every string but one in Israel's harp, but from that string the captive church drew forth the psalms that still feed the devotion of the church universal. But under royal supremacy, the church became stiff and stilted, secularised and cruel, till it could not be that any prophet died out of Jerusalem. In fact, the godly princes, many of them with the best will in the world, helped to bring things to such a pitch that in the eyes of the prophets the abolition of church and state was the only hope of religion in Israel.

Then came our Lord, turning water into wine and putting the wine into skins, that half scandalised and wholly astonished all men. For three centuries Christianity was a world's wonder. With an organisation as loose as the solar system's, it held as closely together; its principle of cohesion defied the strain of the longest and most terrible persecution ever witnessed on earth. It was a true body for Christ's spirit. Its members lived, walked, spoke, and wrote, suffered and died well. It knew itself and its business in the world, nor ever doubted that its Lord was near.

Then Constantine became a Christian—such a Christian as he became. Of course he established the church. No one protested, all men being human. Paul was dead, Dante unborn. It was natural to welcome the turn of the wheel. Persecution is very wearing, and men, of course, were glad it was over. It was natural that the emperor should wish to show his faith by his works, and only too natural that the works should be official rather than moral. He delayed baptism: "nice customs curtsey to great kings." But he made haste to endow, to favour, to enforce, and alas! good men imputed it to him for righteousness.

The fall from heaven is the swiftest of falls. Emperor and people took the line of the least resistance, which is the main line to perdition. The church conceived of herself as a sort of state beside the state, and that is as the letting in of waters. All the baser elements latent in the community drew to the front. Thorns sprang up, goodly things died. Royal supremacy issued in acts of uniformity, for so a state must rule, and then, since there are always some men who must be free or die, the history of Jerusalem was repeated in Rome and Constantinople.

As the godly prince Josiah persecuted in Jehovah's name, the good Constantine persecuted dissenters in Christ's name. The penal regulations of Diocletian against all Christians were actually copied out for the use of established Christians against heretics. Paganism had fallen—paganism had risen again. Christianity was no longer itself. The church had become a sorry double of empire. The spirit had departed. The body was corrupt. The way was prepared for the Pope.

But the Reformation cashiered the Pope, brought back the king, and gave us the National Church as it exists among us to this day. "Establishment," says Brewer, "was a political necessity of the period." That, also, was natural. Henry the VIII. was a very natural man. He had worsted the Pope, he grasped the spoils of war, and the church, to escape the fate of the monastic orders, paid ransom by submission.

On the whole, Establishment has worked better in England, I think, than in most places. For one thing, it fostered Protestantism till Protestantism ought to have been able to go alone. Up to a point, it was one of the boldest acts of Nonconformity ever accomplished. Churchmen in our time scarcely do justice to the dissenting character of their community.

The act of supremacy and many of the articles shore through the Roman claim. Their words, like Luther's, have hands and feet. England took a line of her own. Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Communion in one kind, Celibacy of the clergy and other similar importations made in Italy were tossed unceremoniously overboard.

But there is another side. Establishment in England played its usual rôle. It possessed the favoured church with the idea that it was a kind of state beside the state, having state rights in things spiritual, and that is a root of all evil.

"Happily, it is not true that an evil principle radically vitiates an institution, nor that it is the cause of all the evil it carries in its breast. Nothing falsifies history more than logic."

Still, what is written remains. Here, in Britain, which the greatest of American men called the best of actual nations, Christians were soon busy practising those 'gentle severities' which Hooker counselled, and of which Barrow, Greenwood and Penry died. I am not making out a case. I hate to dwell on old unhappy things, and battles long ago. Here is no case for stone-throwing. All have sinned, Cromwell as well as Charles. Establishment hid toleration from all eyes until, as Lord Acton says, "a few humble independents in proscribed meeting-houses caught a glimpse of that great evangelical principle of Freedom, which is the root of all our liberty."

It is not that the Anglican Church has done worse than another would. Probably she has done better. It is not that at the Reformation the state chose the wrong church, but that Establishment of any church is wrong. The nature of things is against it. History shows that here we have a spiritual law. A state church is a false species. Religion is one of those things that the state cannot help, except by leaving it alone, and to-day it is religion only that suffers in England. Dissenters with, alas! but little help from the premier church have won toleration, and reduced persecution to a policy of pin-pricks in large towns, though heavier weapons are still used in country places.

But the wrong to religion remains. Christianity, faced by great hostile combinations, finds its own house divided against itself.

Here are two great churches. The Anglican, with its magnificent organisation, its wealth, its learning, piety, eloquence and zeal. Truly a noble church!

Here is Nonconformity, also one church, with great wealth of money, men, and gifts. Even in their separation these two have done a great work. But they seem to have touched the limits of what is possible to

them in their divided condition. The situation in England demands to-day not a regimental advance, but the mobilisation of the army.

And what hinders? Establishment chiefly, and the ideas and feelings which establishment has fostered. Not even in the presence of the enemy, not even when the Spirit of God is manifestly abroad and a great revival in full flow, would our official church in England and Wales allow her claim to spiritual monopoly to stand over.

You who have come to this council from America, Canada, Australia, and Africa, are, I doubt not, a little surprised, and not a little saddened at some features of British life.

Sin and poverty assault your gaze as you walk our streets. Tales of sordid crime force themselves on you when you take up our papers. But the greatest sin of all, the most prolific in evil, so great because not many even of the good feel it to be a sin, is to be found, not in the tavern or the street, but where Jesus found it—in the temple, in the breach Christians have made and still make in the only commandment their Lord laid on them.

The ecclesiastical weather signs give but little hope. Disestablishment will, of course, come. For Wales it will come next year, thus auspiciously ushering in the first of Dr. Gordon's two millenniums. But the political redress of a great political wrong will not now suffice our turn. The evil has struck too deep. Separation, as we see in Ireland, survives the establishment. John Stuart Mill said the improvement of religion is one of the tasks of humanity. We need an improved religion, a better and much Christlier Christianity, and I think it is coming. Christ is never twice incarnate in the same flesh, but "Jesus Christ of Heaven in poor man's apparel pursueth us ever."

Looking at the noble churches of Edinburgh, you might think that Christ fared well in Scotland, but the little ones, bare-footed in the gutter, show how poor He is still.

> The pallid children at your gates
> Are hungry for your bread and wine.

And that human problem, instant, urgent, palpable, contains, I think, the duty and hope of all the churches. The will of God is written in the needs of men and these needs call for a better Christianity, and without a doubt, the call is heard and responded to by increasing numbers in and out of the churches. Pity,—not a weak sentiment, but the manly compassion of strong men,—is spreading and rising towards the point at which the love of God becomes intelligible and credible.

In all the churches there are Christians already descending from the height of exclusiveness, leaving behind them the abstruse doctrines which men have spun around the greatest and simplest thing in the world and humbling themselves to walk with Christ their God, not in old Jerusalem, but in London, Manchester, and Edinburgh; and when the church comes back to the simplicity of Jesus she will once more know him as her Lord, and herself as owning allegiance only and wholly and for ever to Him; and in that consciousness she will receive from his hands, from the pierced palms that lifted the gates of empires off their hinges, liberty, equality, fraternity.

The service of man is not the whole of religion, but it leads to the whole, and the restatement of Christian doctrine will follow easily on the re-instatement of Christly practice.

Discussion

The Chairman: I hope the discussion will begin at once.

Remarks by Rev. Professor Duff, D.D., Bradford

The Rev. Dr. Duff, of the United College, Bradford, after paying a warm tribute to the work of the Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon on the Welsh Church Commission, and expressing the hope that he would still lead in the splendid work that he had alluded to in his magnificent utterance to-day, said: I cannot sit down without saying how last night we saw a flash—nay, a great blaze of light. You cannot reduce Incarnation to Immanence. You cannot reduce the whole to a part. Verily last night God let us feel that he was in our midst. Friends, I felt as if the lockjaw had been taken off my lips. I sat ashamed of myself when in gracious words Professor Moore said thanks were due to Mr. Selbie for that masterly paper. I felt ashamed that not one of us in England had said how delighted we were with our masterly young historical critic. I want also to acknowledge a neglected duty, for our English philosopher, our masterly Dr. Mackintosh, was allowed to give us a handling of the question that was entrusted to him without one single word of the deep thankfulness that every man of us felt who was privileged to listen to him. But I want to say, too, that some of us felt paralysed, overpowered. We love Dr. Forsyth with all our hearts, but we cannot always be represented by a doctrine of the atonement which has no content. I am not discussing the things of yesterday, I am merely anxious to say that some of us have felt tongue-tied. And I want to say that we all love Dr. Garvie, but students of Scripture in England are not all Buddhists. I want the Americans to feel that we are not tongue-tied, and that our preacher last night opened our mouths and our hearts, and let us feel what we want to let the Americans feel, what we want to let men feel from all over the land, that we are with Dr. Gordon and all men who thus preach the republic of souls.

Remarks by Mr. G. K. Smith, J.P., Dundee

As a humble layman who is seldom heard in Church courts, you might allow me to say just one or two words which I feel of heart-felt thanks for the last two papers. The successive papers yesterday were all over the head of a man who got no education when he was young, but last night a Scotchman, and to-day Dr. Goodrich and Mr. Gibbon—I had almost believed that Mr. Gibbon was a Scot, after the way he talked—were plain and to the point. You know, ladies and gentlemen, that in Scotland we like people who can bring down their talk to every-day life. The first day there was, to me, far too much in the clouds—all good enough to you theologians, but the humble laymen—and there are a few of them here—were left out of it. But to-day my heart warmed to these two papers and to what I heard last night, and I could not sit still without thanking these gentlemen for their excellent papers, papers which to me have gone to the root of the matter, and I hope that Mr. Gibbon, when he goes back and talks about the army and the general, will be the general himself and will lead that army to victory. If he only makes up his mind there is no fear but what it can be done.

Remarks by Rev. H. C. Herring, D.D., New York

I want to say just one word with reference to the very lucid and masterly analysis of the situation in the first paper. It seems to me that the two papers we have just heard, which have swept us off our feet, are one in essence. When we were reminded that the very principle around which our Church life is organized, is the principle of the living union of the individual with Christ, and of every church with Christ, it seems to me that we were put far on the road towards the solution of many a problem that is upon us, the answers to many questions which confront us. That is to say, it faces us with the real issue of our day. That issue is not freedom. Our hearts responded last night to Dr. Gordon, I am sure, but freedom has not been our word from the beginning—we have always had it in the main. Here and there we have troubled our neighbours, but we have long since ceased to do it save in most minor ways. Freedom is not the issue within our fellowship, the word so eminently needed with reference to the state of Christendom at large, not for us. Theology is not the issue in our time. We have given to one another large bounds of liberty, and we have come over in the main to a new footing. We are standing upon ground that has been chosen by the free consent of many, many different hearts and minds. Theology is not the burning issue, though I share in fullest measure in the high estimate that has been placed upon it in the utterances of this Council. But the issue among us is the issue of living religion, of the power of the Spirit of God in our hearts and in our Church life, and in the whole length and breadth of our country. Without that there comes true that which was said with such force and such truth, that our independency is our imbecility. So may God give us out of this Council the great new birth of a living relationship with Jesus Christ, and of holy power for his service.

Remarks by Rev. J. E. Flower, M.A., London

I should like to add just one word, sir, in agreement with the last speaker. My heart has been deeply moved at the evidence of the lack of fidelity to our own principles in the administration of our Church life, in the witness that we were giving alike in cities and in villages. My belief is this, that while we have the noblest and most glorious ideals of the Church—because we have them from the New Testament—we are oft-times sadly lacking in their actual and vital presentment even to our own people. What I mean is this: that whereas our forefathers were undoubtedly often straight-laced, they laid down the law, and they adhered to it very closely. They were, perhaps, too straight-laced in their conditions, for instance, of Church membership. Our greatest perils to-day arise from the very opposite. The doors of the Church are wider open. Almost anybody with a little desire, a little evidence of Christian sentiment, a desire for a better life, a desire to do a little good, is admitted. But do we as pastors and teachers, as leaders in our churches—do we seek to adhere to this, that unless there is this personal relation to Jesus Christ, unless there be the converted heart, the New Birth, church membership is of little avail, indeed is worse than of no avail, for it stands in the way instead of being a help? And unless we maintain that, throwing the

onus, of course, upon the person who desires church membership—unless we lay emphasis upon that, where is our hope for the future? Our churches will be as nothing. We may have splendid preaching, we may have splendid organisation, we may have great influence as individual members of our communities, but as churches we shall fail, and we shall deserve to fail, unless we still maintain a high standard. And it is all the more necessary, as those of us who live in England especially feel, because the very word "church" has a content which to-day is degraded and debased amongst us. We want to get rid of the ideas that many people associate with the very word "church," and to show it in its glorious proportions as they have been indicated to us to-day. There will be our strength, in the future as it has been in the past, and all over the world, as we found in our last week's Inter-Colonial Conference in London—a most valuable conference—all over the world, the same difficulties and dangers confront us. They can be met, they can be overcome, only as we are true to our great glorious ideals of the Church drawn from the New Testament.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Garvie, London

I do not rise at all to defend myself against the criticism that Dr. Duff has indulged in. I am not going to follow him in the attempt to re-open yesterday's discussion, but may I say that if he will be kind enough to read the whole statement of my views when printed, he will find there was no intention to suppose him, or any higher critic, to be necessarily a Buddhist? I had to read my paper in a very condensed form owing to time; and I am very sorry there should have been any misunderstanding.

Now may I be allowed to pay a debt of personal gratitude to Dr. Goodrich? It was a great delight to me to hear Dr. Goodrich, because he was the pastor of my student days in Glasgow, and it is a very great pleasure after the lapse of a number of years to find that the keenness of his mind is in no way dulled. I am sure we feel very thankful to him for having spoken so forcibly upon "the effect of Independency on the Church idea." With regard to the question of church establishments, I think I may say that in no land has an established church, on the whole, kept in so close and cordial co-operation with the other churches of the land as in Scotland. Mr. Morgan Gibbon and others who come across the border find it very difficult to get up the same amount of enthusiasm for disestablishment as can very easily be raised in England. I can look at the matter now entirely from the English point of view, and I can quite understand the intense passion that Mr. Morgan Gibbon put into his presentation. And I entirely agree with him as to the great principle, even in Scotland. As the number of dissenting churches undoubtedly proves, the establishment of the church has wrought evil. But it seems to me only just that we should in Edinburgh pay this tribute of courtesy to the Church of Scotland, which in its dealings with dissenters has always shown a degree of courtesy and consideration such as no other established church, as far as my knowledge goes, has been in the habit of showing. There is just one point I want to make, and it lies in the word Independency. It seems to me that one of the great dangers of Independency to-day is that we do not take entirely a New Testament view of the church. We take the restrictive

sense of the idea of the church and not the expansive sense of the idea of the church. In the New Testament there was undoubtedly the local congregation with its own management of its own affairs, but there was also the universal church, and that universal church recognised its unity in a way in which I fear our independency, when it is overdriven, as it is sometimes overdriven, leads us not to recognise. I hope we are rising to a larger conception of the common Christian brotherhood, not only for the churches which have the local congregation as the unit of church government, but I venture to say that our ideal of the church is the most inclusive of all, because wherever there is a gathering of Christian men in the name of Jesus Christ, we as Congregationalists welcome brothers and sisters in the Lord. And, therefore, I may say, that we do not exclude any from our fellowship, because our idea of the Christian Church is so simple, that it is composed of that company, who confess Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. And I do believe we could impress the imagination and capture the sympathy of the country far more if, instead of emphasizing our narrower idea of Independency, of each church standing by itself, we emphasized our idea of spirituality, and showed that in so emphasizing it, we pride ourselves in a living, brotherly, helpful relationship with all those who love and serve the Lord Jesus Christ.

Remarks by Mr. John Leith, J.P., Aberdeen

I wish just a word, friends, to agree entirely with Dr. Garvie in the remarks made on these two papers, and to express my own gratitude to the writers. In reference to the remarks of Mr. Flower of London, I think we must not do anything to hinder or to retard in any way the entrance into our churches of our young men and young women; that we should throw our doors absolutely open; that we should present no restriction; that we should remember that those who were added to the church were those who were "being saved"; that we should do everything we can to encourage and to guard the young men and young women who come into our churches and offer them the fullest freedom and the warmest welcome, and present to them no hindrance or restriction of any kind. Then one word in reference to the most valuable paper by Mr. Gibbon where he refers to Socialism and to the condition of our cities and to the appalling evil that confronts us, the squalor and intemperance which prevail in our midst. I am grieved to think that when our American friends come to a city such as Edinburgh and from a country where they see so little in their streets that shocks or hurts their feelings, they find in our large cities amidst culture and wealth and much that is good and excellent, scenes so trying and hurtful, our children being cheated of their childhood and defrauded of their youth. We have this terrible evil in our midst and the problem of to-day is how we are to face and to remove this evil. I am glad to see that these papers have led to something of this kind, and that we have had so much before us that is stimulating and helpful, and I add my thanks to those who have already spoken.

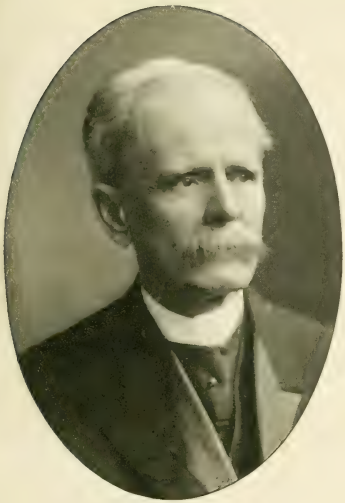
Remarks by Rev. Dr. Munson Hill, Montreal

I should like to express my gratitude to the committee for the wise combination of good papers we have had in the work of yesterday and

to-day. The tendency has been—I noticed it yesterday—to criticise somewhat for trying to get a philosophical basis for our life, and to criticise them because they did not go out so much as they ought into the lines of social service. To-day the reverse is heard, that men here feel that too much time was spent yesterday in getting a philosophical basis for our life. And our committee has wisely put the two days together. In the enthusiasm for social reform which is expressed in the admirable papers to-day we have very fittingly followed the work of yesterday. We find the proper relationship to God in a right understanding of the great principles of religion, and we find an expression of that in the forms of social service which are mentioned and are yet to be heard from. And if there is any dissension within our body it is rather that dissension which is superficially expressed in making a distinction between the saint and the scholar, as though there could be one set of men who are trying to understand God and another set of men who are trying to express God in social service, and the two were diverse. And so very wisely we had our day yesterday in thinking the great thoughts of God in that scholarly way of getting a rational basis. Now to-day we find the expression of it. There is a mistake in feeling that if you get your philosophy right the conduct will follow and there is also the great mistake that our socialism needs no rational, no religious, no scriptural basis and so, wisely, we got our basis yesterday and go out into our work to-day. I want to thank the committee for the combination of things. The mistake of the great lines of social service which are being magnified perhaps within the church is the feeling we do not need any philosophy, we do not need any religion, we do not need any special relation to God. I am, therefore, expressing my gratitude that in our lines of thought here we first try to get the knowledge of God, and then with that knowledge can go out rightly and wisely into the lines of social service.

Remarks by Dr. Forsyth, London

There is a remark I should like to make in relation to one or two observations which have fallen from certain speakers this morning. I am induced to make it now, partly because of what has just fallen from Dr. Munson Hill as to the relation mainly between our theology and our faith and practical life. If our theology has no direct relation with vital and practical life it has very little true place within the church. Its proper place then is the university. But I am bound to express my dissent from any voice which arises to throw anything like contempt or depreciation of any sort upon those who are doing their very best to find a foundation of belief in these days when it is not so much belief itself that is shaking as the foundation on which belief shall rest. And that is a shaking which will have its effect chiefly in the next generation or the generation after that. The question which is most relevant at the present moment, I venture to say, in multitudes of men, is not, What shall we do? but What or why should we believe? And the more one moves about, even among preachers of the Gospel, the more one finds either asking this question, What is it that we really believe? or, Why is it that we should believe it? If the time is not yet come, it is coming before very long, when that is the question which shall take precedence of all practical questions whatsoever—practical so called—because that will be a practical question, for our persistence and our beneficence in Christian action must in the long run



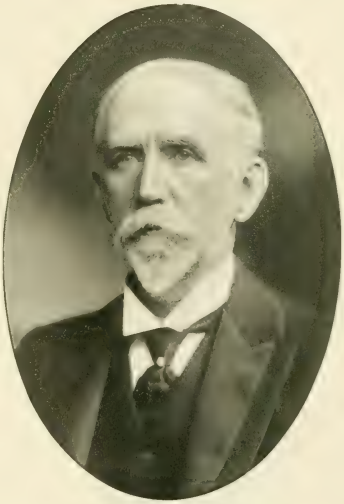
REV. AMORY H. BRADFORD, D.D.,
Montclair, N.J.



REV. J. MORGAN GIBBON,
London.



MR. C. E. PRICE, M.P.,
Edinburgh.



REV. JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.,
Brookline, Mass.

depend upon our essential Christian belief. I hope, therefore, that it will not go out from this Council or from any gathering of the Free Churches, that there is anything like a tendency to place a gulf between the things that we believe most fundamentally and the things that we do most energetically. For they are but the obverse and the reverse of the same faith. If the one perish, the other must perish with it. The life of the one is impossible and the prosperity is impossible without the vitality and the vigour of the other.

There is one other thing that I crave leave to say, and I attach it to a remark which fell from Dr. Garvie, namely, that here in Scotland we are in the enjoyment of the blessing of a communion which is unknown on the other side of the border and that anything we have to say about the effect of establishment must undergo a proper modification before it is directly applied to the Scottish situation. When I come to this side of the border I preach as often in Established Church pulpits as in Free Church pulpits. And I think I ought also to mention this in support of what Dr. Garvie has said: in my own University last year a great celebration took place, the celebration of its four hundredth anniversary. There was a great function at the time, and there was a service in the College Chapel. The theological faculty of the University is entirely in the hands of the Established Church. The theological faculty had the appointment of the conduct of that divine service in the chapel. It was distributed most generously and fairly amongst the alumni of the University. No regard whatever was had to ecclesiastical distinctions. A High Church Episcopalian read one lesson, a Free Churchman offered one prayer and an Established Churchman offered another prayer. Other members of other churches took further part and a Congregationalist preached the sermon upon that occasion. I think that ought fairly to be said when we are taking due account of the bad effects of church establishment, firmly as we may hold the principle of the separation of church and state.

Remarks by Rev. J. Morgan Gibbon, London

I will not occupy more than a few minutes: there is very little to answer, a good deal to acknowledge and be thankful for in the number of kind references which you have made to Dr. Goodrich's and my own paper. Will you allow me to say this with regard to my silence on Scotch Establishment? I thought it on the whole wiser to say nothing about it. I went to the University and read it up, with the result that perhaps I was in a rather more confused condition of mind than before. I entirely agree with what Dr. Garvie and Dr. Forsyth have said. I always find it good policy to agree with both of them. But I do want to take exception to the closing sentence of Dr. Forsyth, where he speaks of the situation in Scotland to-day, a situation inconceivable to us south of the Tweed. I want to take exception to the suggestion that this is in any degree to be considered as the effect of establishment. It is the effect rather of disestablishment which has been coming about piecemeal for centuries. Thank your good stars, your fortune, and your God that you have got here, not an establishment, but the mere fag end of it. But I do want to enter a protest against that as mitigating anything I have said as to the principle of establishment. Why should principle boggle at the Tweed?

Remarks by Professor Paterson, Edinburgh

I desire as a member of the United Free Church of Scotland to thank Mr. Gibbon very heartily for his remarks. I must confess I was somewhat astonished at Dr. Garvie's method of putting things, also at Dr. Forsyth's. Why, the mere fact that the Established Church of Scotland is coming forward and asking us to take up part of her duty in some of the parishes and cities of our nation is a proof that so soon as the disestablishment bill for Wales is introduced and is being discussed, the heather will be on fire here. And I thank Mr. Gibbon very heartily for declaring that justice requires north of the Tweed as well as south the same solution.

An Invitation for the next Council

At this stage the Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., of Brisbane, presented to the Council an invitation to hold its next assembly in Australia.

Remarks by Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A.

I have very great pleasure in advancing this invitation at the present time. It is not the first time that this Council has been invited to meet in Australia. You will remember that on the occasion of the Boston Council such an invitation was addressed to you. The Council, or the Provisional Committee, did not see its way to accept that invitation. However, we present it once more. Then, it was simply an invitation from the New South Wales Union. Now it comes to you as an invitation from the combined Unions of Australasia—that is, of the Unions of the Australian Commonwealth, and the Union of the Dominion of New Zealand. From all these Unions combined we ask you to hold your next assembly within our borders. We would remind both British delegates and those from the Eastern portion of the United States that by that time we hope the Panama Canal will be opened, and therefore your journey will be considerably facilitated and shortened. We very much desire to have you amongst us in Australia.

We should like to have delivered to us such utterances as we have already heard in this Council, especially those which fell from the lips of our friends who spoke this morning. We have, as you know, already solved some of these problems, and I venture to think that you yourselves—at any rate friends in Britain and Scotland—if not in the United States—could learn some very important lessons from us. May I just say that in our own country we are neither afraid of the Labour Party nor of Socialism. I think you will find, if you come amongst us, that the extremes of Socialism are in no sense likely to be reached by Australian politicians; whereas, on the other hand, I think you would discover that both for the Labour Party and for the Socialistic movement many practical reforms arise which, perhaps, are hardly possible at this present time in the old country. Therefore, I venture to think that not only would you confer a benefit upon us, but we might possibly confer some degree of enlightenment upon you. And if we could not have such a large delegation from Britain as we should like to have, nevertheless, from the Western States of America,

and from South Africa, and from the missionaries in the Polynesian Islands, and even from India and China we might have a large representation of Congregationalism. We all feel, brethren, that we are a household of the great Congregational clan, and we want to have a great family gathering for once under our own roof-tree.

Mr. Griffith then read the following letter of invitation :—

To the President and Members of the Third International Congregational Council, assembled in Edinburgh, N.B.

Dear Brethren,—On behalf of the above Union, we beg respectfully to extend to you a very cordial invitation to hold the Fourth Assembly of the Council within our borders. The particular city in which the Assembly would meet will be decided at a later date. We are a federation of the Congregational Unions of the Commonwealth of Australia, together with that of the Dominion of New Zealand. On behalf of the Churches of these Unions, we can assure the Council of a very warm welcome should its officers and members be guided by God to accept this invitation.

We remain, Yours in the service of Christ,

J. C. Kirby, *President.*

George Campbell,
A. Gosman, D.D.,
G. W. Sharp,
W. J. L. Closs,
} *Vice-Presidents.*

W. Warren Kerr, *Hon. Treasurer.*

A. J. Griffith, *Hon. Secretary.*

Remarks by Rev. R. J. Wells (Secretary)

I am quite sure we receive this invitation with much gratitude to our friends. I am certain that we should gain knowledge if we went to Australia. As to the rapidity of transit across the isthmus, having been there within the last six months, I doubt very much whether the canal will be completed within the period suggested. But I have to move that as there is now a business committee of this Council, the letter be referred to them to report.

This course was agreed to.

THE EFFECT ON THE CHURCH IDEA OF DEMOCRACY, LABOUR AND SOCIALISM

A paper on this subject, by the Rev. A. Gosman, D.D., of Hawthorn, Victoria, Australia, was read by the Rev. J. W. Jones, of Elsternwick, Victoria.

Remarks by Rev. J. W. Jones

The Rev. J. W. Jones, before reading, said : *Mr. President and Brethren*,—It is my privilege to convey to this Council the affectionate

greeting of what we call the " Grand Old Man " of the Congregational Churches in Victoria, the Rev. Dr. Gosman, whose paper I am about to read. He deeply regrets his inability to be present at this Council owing to family troubles, and also to his duties as Principal of our Victorian Congregational College. Although in his eightieth year, he is still hale and hearty, and in mind and intellectual powers like a young man twenty-five years of age.

Mr. Jones then proceeded to read Dr. Gosman's paper, which was as follows:—

Paper by Rev. A. Gosman, D.D.

THE PERILS OF LABOUR, DEMOCRACY, AND SOCIALISM TO THE CHURCH

These words, Labour, Democracy and Socialism are more closely and organically related than one would at first suppose. Labour is the disturbed centre and source of nearly all our industrial storms; when that becomes anti-cyclonic, a calm will prevail over the whole surface of our industrial and economic domain.

The democratic tide is flowing in upon us with an ever-increasing volume, and its relation to labour is this, that it is by many regarded as a possible solution of the evils that cluster round the labour problems.

Socialism is the despair of democracy, for its advocates believe that society cannot find a solid resting place until production over the whole field of industry is in the hands of the people themselves, and distribution made to everyone according to his needs.

The strength of socialism lies within the labour circle, for the industrial strifes that are at present breaking up the community into discordant factors, and threatening civilisation itself, nearly all have their origin within this circle.

MAN IS MADE TO WORK

Labour is laid upon us as one of the inseparable conditions of our existence. It is the source of wealth, and money is its representative, whether in the form of current coin or fixed and floating capital. To the vast majority, labour is the only means of subsistence, and voluntary idleness is denounced in pretty strong language by one who belonged to the labouring classes himself. He says:—" If any man will not work, neither let him eat." That is a plank in the platform of organized Labour.

WANT OF EMPLOYMENT

But what of those who are willing to work, but cannot get it? The growing want of employment is the greatest problem and peril of our times. To it may be traced directly the vast extent and variety of our social ills. That problem cannot be solved or that peril evaded until we lay our hand on the seat of the disease, and find out an effectual remedy.

CAUSES: I. MACHINERY

One cause, if not the main one, is the evolution of the implements of production. The hand of man, comparatively unaided in primitive times, has a million of appliances in our day to aid him in his work. Every day for the last fifty years, to go no further back, new methods of saving manual labour and increasing the volume of commodities have been discovered and applied, with the result that man has now little more to do than to look on. Machinery sweeps our streets, makes wholesome our dwellings, prepares our food, weaves our clothing, builds our houses, prints our newspapers and our books, and hurls us along on land or sea at an ever-increasing speed, that enlarges the sphere of life and the period of personal existence.

And the end of invention is not yet, nor can it be stopped any more than the revolution of the earth on its axis. Nature is too strong for us, and along the path of industrial development we must go to whatever goal is reserved for us in the progress of the race. If in our present state, with the powers of nature working for us in every direction, there was work for all and food for all, there would be no outcry in our streets. But the fact is that never before in the history of civilisation have our streets been more crowded with unemployed seeking work, while thousands of homes have been made bare for the want of clothing and food. A machine that does the work of a hundred men, with the superintendence of ten out of the hundred, immediately throws ninety men out of employment, and similar operations to that may be seen every day, and it is that fact more than all others that is responsible for our present impoverished condition amongst those who have nothing else to depend upon for the means of subsistence but the labour of their hands.

Want of employment in this class means poverty where it prevails, and poverty tends to mendicity on the one hand and crime on the other. It is not in the nature of man, nor yet in the heart of a saint, to sit down meekly and submissively under the pressure of wolfish hunger and the sighs and cries of wife and children in his ears, and not fall a victim to the first scheme that promises relief.

II. CAPITALISM

But there are other evils besides poverty that may be traced to the multiplication of machinery. The increasing complexity of the methods of production necessitates the accumulation of capital in more and more restricted hands to the multiplication of trusts, non-ethical companies, and at last to the millionaire—one of the most pernicious sores of the present day on the body politic.

When hungry eyes look upon fabulous wealth and its not unfrequent accompaniment, its vulgar display and wasteful extravagance, it is not to be wondered at that the troubled spirit is distracted by problems he cannot solve, and that he becomes an easy prey to any remedial scheme that promises relief from his sorrows. In the seething caldrons of industrial strife there are ingredients of the most diverse kinds thrown in, but the nutriment served out is in most cases neither wholesome nor healthy.

To avoid these perils there are, however, three remedies that have been proposed, and have something of hopefulness in them, namely, Unionism, Democracy and Socialism.

TRADES' UNIONISM

The combination of workmen to protect and advance their own interests is the natural outcome of confederate capital. Unionism exists to aid its members against the evils of unrestricted competition, against the ascendancy of capital, the injustice of class legislation, and for the overthrow of freedom of contract. During the course of its history it has pushed up wages in many departments of industry above the line of bare existence, and helped to shorten the hours of labour.

It has been objected to Trades' Unionism that it engenders strife, lays the axe at the root of personal independence and freedom, and rules by tyrannical methods rather than by persuasion, and appeal to the highest ethical considerations. This indictment is not without foundation, but what associations of men are free from similar charges? The Church of Christ is theoretically a company of saintly men, and yet how frequently has the Church fallen into persecuting ways, and excommunicated those for whom heaven's gate has been thrown widely open? Against this charge of union levelling and tyranny may be put the spirit of self-sacrifice which the more skilful workmen cheerfully submit to for the sake of their less skilful brethren.

The perils of unionism to society and to the church lie along two parallel lines. The first is its death-struggle with capital on the question of freedom of contract. The enemy of unionism is not so much capital as the free labourer. So long as he exists in any considerable number, unionism is powerless to effect its purposes. Modern strikes are not now so much a question of wages or hours as of the employment of non-union men. Many a battle has been fought on that question, and the conflict still rages. If competition must exist, and one does not see how it can be avoided, it seems hardly fair or just that the union of capitalists should demand the right to deal with individual men when it is obvious to the most discerning that no single man can stand in the presence of a strong capitalistic power where individualism has been abolished within its own borders.

The second peril is the development of unionism in many directions into socialism, which will come up for separate consideration when we treat of its perils to the nation and the church.

DEMOCRACY

By democracy we mean, of course, government by the people, by all the people, and for all the people.

Although democracy can hardly be said to be a realised form of government anywhere, the spirit is abroad, and under its influence the course of legislation has become of late years both social and ethical. Parliaments, although still much given to talk, have shown a laudable desire to prevent oppression and check injustice. Sweating, as now understood, consists of these three industrial evils—(1) Inadequate remuneration for the purposes of life; (2) Unduly prolonged hours of labour; (3) Unhealthy or dangerous surroundings. Legislation of late years has attacked these evils, and its history for the last fifty years, though its progress has been slow, has many satisfactory results to chronicle. Children have been taken from the mines and mills where their young lives were being crushed and crippled, and

sent to school and the playground. Wives and mothers are forbidden to leave their homes, where their duty lies, to earn a miserable pittance in the interests of belligerent capital. There is some security that the food we eat, and the medicine we administer to ourselves, are really what they profess to be, and not some adulterated compounds. Those who go down to the sea in ships have a sense of security when they know that overloading is a crime, and that the captain of the vessel and his officers have certified competency for the duties of their office.

There is more hope than peril, perhaps, from democracy when intelligently represented in Parliament.

The true path of progress is the well-known one of recognising existing evils and endeavouring to eradicate them by the force of public opinion and of the law. By this method, slavery has been abolished, inequalities of representations have been adjusted. Taxes have been removed from food and the necessaries of life, and more and more shifted by ethical legislation to the shoulders of those abler to bear them. The masses of the people in fairly regular employment are better fed, better clothed and housed, and better educated than the same classes were fifty years ago; and there is no reason under enlightened democracy why improvement and reformation should not go on, and with even more satisfactory results.

INDUSTRIAL LEGISLATION IN AUSTRALIA

The progress of industrial legislation in Australia, and particularly in the State of Victoria, has been more rapid, and is more extensive in its operation and more definite in purpose than in any other part of the working world. The Shops and Factories Acts that have been passed from time to time have one supreme end in view, namely, to prevent sweating in all its objectionable forms.

The machinery that has been called into existence to prevent it is, or has been until lately, peculiar to Victoria. It consists of wages boards for definite groups of labour or industry, in which an equal number of employees and employers are elected by their respective sides. These Boards, for the most part, consist of ten members—five of each class. They meet and nominate a chairman, whom the Government appoints if he is approved of, and failing nomination, the appointment is made by the Government directly. These Boards have to determine wages in the particular industry over which they exercise their function within the limits of the number of the legal hours of labour; to fix the proportion of skilled workers to apprentices, and to decide on the rates to be paid for piece-work where the weekly wage is impracticable. The decisions of the Boards have the force of law, but in the event of serious disagreement, there is over all the Boards an Industrial Court, to which either party can appeal for final decision. The findings of these Boards have been, on the whole, eminently satisfactory.

It was impossible to prevent a little friction here and there, but, taking into consideration the delicate nature of their duties, and the experimental character of the legislative powers with which they were invested, they have been of immense service in preventing strikes and promoting a kindly feeling between employers and employés, who come face to face with each other at the same table.

The writer of this paper has been chairman of one of the Boards since the inception of the movement, and he can speak out of his

experience and testify to their beneficial results. In his Board all its decisions have been unanimous, and the findings of the Board have wrought harmoniously, requiring only to be modified from time to time to adjust them to alterations in the incidents of taxation or the increase or diminution of tariff duties.

PERILS OF DEMOCRACY

But notwithstanding these hopeful gleams in limited areas, there are perils in Democracy which we cannot with safety overlook. The first may be said to be that inevitable tendency to extremes which characterises large bodies of men, and which may be described as a kind of hydraulic law. At times the multitude is calm and dull, refusing to respond to any call, whether of pleasure or duty, like a dead sea in whose heavily-loaded waters there is no movement or stir. At other times there is an impetuous rush and excitement that break loose from all control, and are not without danger in their issues. Closely connected with this is the want of education in the Democracy. There is here a sad lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles that underlie true Democracy. It is said—"Let us educate our masters;" but it must be obvious to everyone that such a task is surrounded with all but insuperable difficulties. There are vast numbers of men who are incapable of receiving education, although that is the last thing they are willing to acknowledge, for almost everyone has a theory of government of his own, whose merits the rest of the world is blind to, otherwise things would in his estimation be different from what they are—and here, at all events, he is right.

It has also to be acknowledged that Democracy is ever in danger of falling into the hands of ignorant demagogues, whose denunciations, on the one hand, and brilliant hopes under impossible conditions, on the other, draw multitudes after them, with that innocent trust that too frequently leads to bitter disappointment.

Further, it can hardly be called in question that Democracy is not infrequently crucified between political parties. Between Liberalism and Conservatism there is a perpetual warfare, and the party that for the time being secures the sympathy and support of public opinion, leaps into favour. But it does not follow in all cases that its primary aim is to give effect to the principles of enlightened Democracy. The swing of parties is, however, manifestly lessening—for the life of the democratic movement is never for any length of time crushed and defeated.

It has to be regretted that the progress of Democracy has not been more rapid, both in relation to its end—the welfare of the people as a whole—as well as by actual achievements. No doubt it has had, and yet has, many formidable difficulties to overcome. There is the inertia of numbers; deep-rooted vested interests that underlie the centuries; the impatience of the suffering masses that are thrown out of employment by the ever-enlarging area of machinery, and whose demands have little influence in hastening the leaden footstep of tardy legislation. It is this, more than anything else, that has in our time given life and energy to Socialism, to the consideration of which we now turn.

SOCIALISM

Let us not misunderstand what Socialism really is in the minds and mouths of its advocates. Its objective is as definite as a mathematical

proposition, but there are different methods proposed by which to reach its practical realisation. Socialism does not mean state or national action over a more or less limited area of industry. The post office, the railways when owned by the State, or any system of national education, partly or wholly under government control, and without the taint of sectarianism, are not instances of Socialism as they are sometimes represented. They belong to the competitive system, which it is the aim of Socialism to overthrow—for when Capital is borrowed and expended in national enterprises, it is expected it will yield an income or return, not only for the remuneration of labour, but in payment of interest and rent. The only exception is a national system of education, where no fees are paid by the scholars and no education rate levied on the taxpayer, and where the teachers are paid directly out of the public revenue. The objective of Socialism as expounded by its professed advocates is, first of all, State Capitalisation in opposition to Capital in the hands of private individuals, companies, or trusts. With the sole possession of capital the State originates and controls all industries that depend on capital, and, as the State is the sole producer, it must necessarily be the sole distributer. Under Socialism, as thus understood, the nation becomes one vast industrial community, and out of its unlimited resources it rewards everyone who contributes to the general wealth, according to his needs.

Under this system, there is no place for the idler, and poverty and crime—if the ideal should ever be embodied in fact—could have no existence. The millionaire could have no place in such a commonwealth, and the sweater and sweated would both be extinct. Socialism is gravely and honestly advocated as the only effectual remedy for the evils that are inseparably associated with the competitive system. These evils cannot be denied, or waved away by the optimism of anyone that sees the coming light on the horizon, but is indifferent to the shadows that darken his path. The question is open for impartial treatment and dicussion, and it now may be asked—Is Socialism the remedy for our present ills and the regeneration of Society ?

OBJECTIONS TO SOCIALISM

The first objection to Socialism is the fact that it is a speculative remedy for really existing evils. As to the existence of the evils there is no room for doubt. The social inequalities in our present civilisation are simply appalling. To go down to the root of the matter the members of this Council will have no hesitation in finding in the deterioration of human nature the want of conformity to the moral order, or, to express it in the language of religion, disobedience to the law of God, and want of conformity thereto. Society sins as well as individuals, or perhaps it would be more correct to say that the sins of individuals, in their social relations liberate the penalties that follow transgressions; but the penalties do not fall exclusively on those who have originally provoked them. If, then, all our ills and social wrongs can be traced to the violation of the moral order, which is governed by law, as certain in its operations as any demonstration in Euclid, it is evident that no remedy can be effective or permanent that does not include a return to the obedience of the law that has been trampled underfoot. This speculative remedy may have deep moral convictions at its heart, but it is conspicuously absent from its lips, for

its ideals are not so much character and a moral community radiant in moral beauty, but where there is an abundance of food and bodily comforts. Experiment can hardly be eliminated from the healing art, whether of body or mind. It is one of the open pathways to knowledge. Still, the experiment should have some evident relation to the end proposed. In remedial schemes for the social salvation of man, there are principles that cannot be ignored without invalidating the efficiency of the remedy. But Socialism as advocated by its leaders has no point of contact with human nature in its deeper wants, but simply throws out a possible remedy before removing the causes of the evils it proposes to eradicate. It finds poverty and starvation in the world, and its remedy is an equitable distribution of wealth. It finds belligerent capital crushing down private enterprise, and it proposes to disarm capital, and place all weapons of war in the hands of the State. It finds, on the one hand, increasing wealth in the hands of the few, with the exploitation of labour, and an ever-increasing multitude sinking below the line of reasonable existence, and Socialism says that this must stop, and cease to be, but it is a fair question to ask whether the remedy it proposes can cure the evil it professes to lament. Suppose we abolish rent, make loans and interest impossible, let the land, and let the mines and the shops, and all become State property, that is, belong nominally to all the people, what guarantee beyond an indefinite hopefulness is there that society would glide into an industrial millennium, and poverty and want be no more? What security have we against idleness and crime? Will any change in our social environment crush the evil habits of men whose vicious and degenerate lives spring more from heredity than choice? At the present time crime abounds in all our civilised countries, and although not rampant, it bursts out occasionally with startling destructiveness. And yet it is hardly possible to imagine more repressive measures for its punishment and prevention than we have to put in force under criminal law. But it may be said, and it has been said, that with the abolition of the competitive system the temptation to theft and robbery would be removed; but to remove a temptation is no guarantee that a virtue will be created to take its place. It is not his environment that is the sole cause of the disease. It lies deeper than the surface, and society under an industrial system and an equal distribution of wealth would invent other forms of crime and oppression which may be more difficult to deal with than those we have to deal with at present. It is not poverty alone that is responsible for our social evils, nor would its removal put human happiness and contentment within the reach of all. But as Socialism as an end does not commend itself to our judgment, still more hopeless is its achievement when we come to consider the methods by which Socialism proposes to embody its policy in practical legislation.

METHODS OF SOCIALISM: REVOLUTION

There are two methods existing in the Socialistic camp, and each has its advocates and followers. We may call the one the revolutionary method, the other evolutionary. The former means civil and international war, with all its accompanying horrors and uncertain issues. That this revolutionary method is advocated and urged is made apparent wherever Socialists meet for conference and the propagation of their principles. In his appeal to the young, Kropotkin, one of the

fiercest of his class, tells the slaves and down-trodden toilers of our modern civilisation that they are a multitude which no man can number, an ocean that embrace and swallow up all else; and he concludes with these words :—"When we have but the will to do it, that very moment will justice be done—that very instant the tyrant of the earth will bite the dust."

There are revolutionary movements that are inevitable, and more than justify their revolt. When a people with all the elements that constitute a well-governed State has its liberty trampled upon, its language prohibited, the practice of its religion forbidden under pain of death, no one could blame that people for rising up against its oppressors, and hurling them from power in the interests of the cause of freedom. It has been done before in the history of the English races, and under similar conditions it would be done again. But Socialists have no just or adequate cause to warrant a revolution of blood and fire. They are not denied freedom of speech. The right to meet and organise for common purposes is not restricted unless where violence is threatened, or treason is indulged in, or resistance to law encouraged. Personal contracts between employer and employé in the larger industries are almost unknown, and trade unions are not without the means of enforcing their demands even upon confederate Capital. In the face of these advantages, and the hopes of a progressive reformation, it would be criminal madness to appeal to the sword, and bring down our present civilisation to the dust, in the hope of building up upon its ruined materials a structure of which no detailed plan exists, and whose stability and permanence no one can guarantee.

The diabolical war that is being carried on against crowned heads and men in authority, is not directly allied with revolutionary Socialism, but it would not be difficult to connect it with the fiercer form of anarchy. The crime of blowing up public buildings, shooting in cold blood kings and princes, and the presidents of democratic nations for the avowed purpose of calling attention to the multitudes of the hunger-bitten, who are worse fed and housed than the dogs or the horses of the wealthier classes, cannot be commended as a wise policy, while it is absolutely wanting in the elements of humanity. Society has the means of protecting itself from such outrages, and their continuance can only lead to repressive measures and the tightening of the reins of government, to the injury of freedom and the disadvantage of all. The most charitable view of this class of crime is that it is the outcome of madness or frenzy, which, perhaps, would put on milder forms were it not for the social tyranny and exclusiveness of some sections of the wealthier classes and the growing discontent of the poorer, under a suspicion that haunts their breasts that the ostentatious luxury of the wealthy is from the profits of sweated labour, and resources for which they have not toiled.

The perils of revolutionary Socialism must not be struck on the alarmist key; still, little clouds no bigger than a man's hand are apt to spread and overshadow the landscape.

But this fact cannot be overlooked, that if the proletariat ever gets armed, and succeeds in getting the upper hand for a time, there are two classes that will receive the full measures of its class hatreds, namely, the bourgeoisie and the prominent leaders of the churches. It is one of the saddest facts of our time, and one fraught with no common danger, that the churches are not in full sympathy with the better side of Socialism, and that Socialism itself, in its advocacy, is so

destitute of those ethical and religious forces, without which no movement can be beneficial or permanent.

EVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM

From the methods of revolutionary Socialism, let us turn to the consideration of its evolutionary methods. Between Socialism under this form of propaganda, and the methods of Democracy, there are striking resemblances, but they differ in their fundamental aim. Socialism, under the evolutionary process, aims at the amelioration of the individual, by endeavouring to place society on a permanent and satisfactory basis.

It is the environment that is wrong, says this class of socialists; rectify that, and the individual will rise out of his sorrows and the distressful limitations of his life, and feel the glow of a new life, as if he had been redeemed from slavery, or let out of some damp and doleful prison. The democratic method aims at the removal from the individual of everything that retards his progress or development.

The perfection of society can be reached only by the multiplication of those who cease to do evil, and conform to the moral order. Society is for the individual, and not the individual for society, and although these cannot well be separated, for they mutually depend on each other, yet Democracy is more on the line of the divine thought, for the increase of the kingdom of heaven is by the addition of individual converts to its service and laws.

The evolutionary process may be fully recognised as one of the divine forces working for the amelioration of Society. Men, in organised communities, are subject to its laws, and although human nature may modify results, it cannot destroy them.

Ambition may for a time turn the current of national life from its natural channels, and bring it within the rush of Niagara, but the evolutionary process will ere long assert itself, and when associated with reformation, that nation's history will be one of peace and progress.

The evolutionary socialists know there is such a law, and they are not backward in taking advantage of it when it works in the direction they wish to go. They fully recognise that it is not possible to revolutionise a nation by Acts of Parliament, unless the will of the people is behind them, and every agency is laid hold of to influence public opinion, and to advance step by step towards the socialistic consummation. The inequalities of our present competitive system are expressed with merciless severity.

Hunger and want they say are the results of this modern form of war between Labour and Capital, which is spreading in every direction and increasing in bitterness. Landed proprietors hold the soil in possession by law, but not by equity; and the people are deprived of their natural rights.

All these evils we are assured would cease with the adoption of Socialism, and the down-trodden and the unemployed are exhorted to make haste and aid this movement that promises all good things to them and to the world at large. It is a tempting picture when there shall be abundance of work for all, when labour shall have its full share of the profits of industry to which it is justly entitled, when there shall be bread enough and to spare in every household of the land, and when the luxurious idle, should any of them survive, should be held in the least repute in a community where honourable

citizenship consists alone in the conscientious discharge of honest labour.

The perils arising out of this form of socialism are not many nor formidable. From some points of view the movement is full of hope. The great healer, time, is closely identified with it, and it is the unexpected that always happens. This divine factor cannot be eliminated from human affairs, and it frequently happens that what we set out to obtain is not what we come ultimately to possess. Columbus set sail to the West to reach by this route the East Indies. He discovered America. The farmer's sons who are told to dig up every inch of ground in search of hidden treasure did not find the gold, but they reaped a harvest more precious than any hidden treasure. So we may hope out of the turmoil of political parties, the million voices of the press, the dreams of ambition, and the shoutings of the multitude, something entirely different will find its place amongst the regulative principles of life to which all parties alike will then give a willing submission, while each may lay the flattering unction to its heart that it is the result of its principles and advocacy.

Here we have to recognise the fact that there is a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them as we may. Evolutionary Socialism is at work in the process of rough hewing, but the divinity is there also. We may, therefore, console ourselves with the reflection that while it does not yet appear what the final shape shall be, it will be in accordance with the highest art and the highest practical utility, and will bear evidence in every line of the Divine artist.

CONCLUSION

The perils of Labour, Democracy and Socialism are not to be overlooked, and in pointing them out there is no use or benefit in ringing the alarm bell to supply the despairing with material for indulging in doleful predictions. Society was in never less peril than it is to-day.

Intelligence is spreading and deepening; the area of poverty, still too large, is manifestly contracting, and crime is not so prevalent in proportion to the increase of population as it was a hundred years ago. Our very unrest and discontent are the birth throes of a new creation. The Christ ethics are slowly entering into every social institution, and that invisible representative of the people is present in every legislative assembly.

Acts of Parliament take the force of law when crowned heads or their representatives affix to them the signatures of their authority, but now many acts of legislative bodies have to spiritual vision the sign of the cross, which, being interpreted, means that the Spirit of Christ has largely entered into modern legislation. The Son of man is also King of men, and the Kingdom he came to set up, and over which he rules, is the mightiest social and ethical force in the world to-day. It is to his ministry the visible and organised churches are called, and that demands consecration here without reservation. The churches are weak when their best efforts are directed to aid in the accumulation of wealth, to encourage the spirit of social ambition, or otherwise to forget the prime object for which they exist. The churches are strong when they realise that object, and seek to give expression to it in liberating the Spirit of Christ from traditional bondage, to deliver his message, not in the language of the schools, but in that of the living speech of the day, and to cast aside all useless formalities that impede

the development of healthy Christian character. There are no perils to churches in whom the living Christ dwells, and who set him forth in all his power and fulness.

For such a Christ the great world waits with an undying yearning, for the spiritual unrest that is everywhere apparent is its convincing evidence. Let us seek to meet that yearning, to allay that spiritual thirst, for our commendation at the last will bear some proportion to the number of those we have been instrumental in bringing to Christ for healing and health.

The Rev. Amory H. Bradford, D.D., of Montclair, New Jersey, spoke on "The Effect on the Church Idea of Culture and Philanthropy."

ADDRESS BY DR. AMORY H. BRADFORD

THE EFFECT ON THE CHURCH IDEA OF CULTURE AND PHILANTHROPY

This subject may mean much or nothing according to definitions. What is the church idea? And what are Culture and Philanthropy? If by the church is meant a society claiming infallibility and insisting that to it has been committed a body of truth which can neither be diminished nor added to, then the church idea is in peril from culture and philanthropy, and in quite as much danger from science and common sense.

If, on the other hand, the church is composed of those who, in the spirit of Christ, are trying to do the work of Christ, then the church can have no more loyal helpers than culture and philanthropy, unless they are given definitions foreign to their nature.

We will begin, then, with a definition of the church. This might be gained by turning to the Fathers, or to the standards of various religious bodies, but we should then have only a series of divergent and discordant opinions. We might inquire of the Master, but Jesus gave to the subject not a single recorded word. The church is mentioned but twice in the Gospels. There have been speculations concerning the nature and function of the church; but an examination of them would furnish no definition more satisfactory than the following: The church is the society of those who in the Spirit of Christ are trying to make the Kingdom of God prevail. It is equally important that we have accurate conceptions of the nature and ministry of culture and philanthropy. If culture is what Matthew Arnold calls it "A study of perfection inspired by the moral and social passion for doing good"; if its object is "to render an intelligent being yet more intelligent" so as "to make reason and the will of God prevail," then culture is now, always has been and always must be the friend of the church.

As to philanthropy I do not like to raise the inquiry. The idea that the church can be in peril from its fairest fruit is preposterous. The church, in large part, exists for the promotion of philanthropy; and where it is not there is no true church. A group of human beings which does not exhibit philanthropy may be a lodge, a club, a society, but it has no right to assume the name of him who said: "A new

commandment give I unto you, that ye love one another as I have loved you."

The aim of the church is to make reason and the will of God prevail.

The aim of culture is to make reason and the will of God prevail.

The aim of philanthropy is to make reason and the will of God prevail.

But this subject may have been selected with reference to a different issue, viz.: the means by which the church idea is to be realized. If so, then the question might be stated as follows: The church says that perfection is to be attained by way of the new birth; and culture teaches that all that is required for the completion of manhood is education, a balancing of the natural powers, a process of discipline which shall remove "all impediment and bias, and leave nothing but pure power." The church holds that the first step in the upward movement is inspired and impelled from above; the other theory regards it as the choice of the individual to live for ideal ends. But when these definitions are analyzed there is found to be little difference between them. The birth from above is in response to the choice of the human will, and men are under obligation to make that choice. Culture on the other hand implies that a similar choice should be made, and that the movement upward does not begin until it has been made. The separation at this point is more apparent than real. Those who are inspired by the loftiest ideals of culture are seeking ends similar to those of the church and by practically the same processes. The difference is important, but chiefly one of emphasis. The church emphasizes the new birth; culture emphasizes the choice of perfection. Between the church at its best and culture at its best there is little difference as to essential ideas. But there is a wide distance between the church idea and mere individual improvement for selfish ends. If that is culture the gulf can never be bridged. The church holds that individuals and society, political institutions and human conditions may manifest the motives and be inspired by the spirit of Christ. Those forms of culture which have no outlook beyond the individual are hostile to the ideals of the church. What is usually meant by culture when this subject is discussed is a knowledge of *belle lettres*, a smattering of certain languages, ancient and modern, some enthusiasm for art, an appreciation of the Greek spirit and contempt for Hebrew interpretations of duty and of the universe. But that is counterfeit culture, and ought never to be dignified with the name. Probably no two men of the last century, in the minds of most people, were more utterly unlike than Matthew Arnold and Mr. Spurgeon, and yet if they could have spent a day together talking of their ultimate aims, and the spirit in which those aims should be realized, I do not imagine that any very vital differences would have been developed; but that they would have separated with much the same feelings as did Cromwell, the man of system and order, and George Fox, the man of the spirit and the inward light, after they had spent an hour in each other's company.

Now as to the church and philanthropy. Philanthropy has the same relation to the church that fruit has to the tree. The one implies the other. No philanthropy, no church. "He who loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, cannot love God whom he hath not seen." A church which did nothing but make creeds might exist in the polar regions, but not where the currents of humanity sweep

toward the tropics. There is no peril to the church idea from philanthropy, but there is much from its lack. The real danger to the church idea is from such aberrations from a pure type of philanthropy as are seen in those who denounce the church because it does not use secular methods for social betterment. The social settlement is almost the best form of Christian work among the lapsed classes; as a rule it is wise, sane, and intensely, and devoutly Christian; but certain individuals among the workers, and, possibly, those whose work otherwise has been beyond praise, have so little appreciated the sources of their power as to imagine that it is not in the church. They will wake up on some fine morning and find that they are in harmony with him whom they have denied with their lips, but confessed with their service. The church had much better bid them God-speed, than worry itself about the peril which may come from them. No danger ever comes to a good cause from those intent on doing good.

The perils which threaten the church are all from its own household; it need have no fears concerning any forces from without. The Ingersolls, the Bradlaughs and the Blatchfords are all helpers of the church, because, like the outriders of our stage-coaches in new countries, they keep whipping it into the road in which it ought to travel.

It may be well to consider at this point the dangers which threaten the church from too little culture and from not enough philanthropy. Those are very real.

The church has been slow in recognizing and utilizing progress in various departments of knowledge. Science is making astonishing discoveries. It has at last developed a consistent, though, no doubt, an inadequate, conception of the universe. This is its greatest contribution to the thought of the modern world. It has shown that a principle of unity pervades all things, and that while God cannot be outside the universe he may be its soul. This is now a truism. The man of culture thinks in universals; the church as a whole does not do so. In many quarters its theology implies that the Father Almighty is the Jehovah of the Hebrews: that he is imprisoned within human limitations; that he has prejudices and passions; that he must be appeased like an angry man. It speaks of the moral order in judicial rather than in vital terms; it thinks of laws as synonymous with legal enactments, rather than as the methods by which the universe realizes itself. This is not true of most intelligent Christians, but it is true of large numbers, notably of many who are in official positions, and, especially, of some of the editors of such newspapers as regard themselves as ecclesiastical organs. The average man of affairs, who reads the creeds to learn what the church teaches, believes that to this day all Christians think that the story of the creation is literal history; that God is a King who may be angered by his subjects, rather than the Father who is seeking his children: that the atonement is an expedient for maintaining the majesty of outraged law, rather than the manifestation of the divine nature in terms of time and humanity, for the purpose of drawing all intelligent beings into unity. The intelligence of the church believes in the universe, in the spirit of truth and love which pervade it, in the universality of the moral order, in a real incarnation, and in a vital atonement in the inevitable consequences of right and wrong conduct; that all men are being drawn upward, and that the consummation of

history will be the kingdom of God. This is not by any means all for which the church stands, and yet it does stand for these truths; and when its teachers, or its creeds, ignore, or belittle this fact, they repel those who think. The man of culture repudiates, as he ought, narrow and irrational theological teaching, He has learned to keep the windows of his soul open to all the points of the spiritual compass, and he will follow the gleam wherever it leads. The church is in no danger from those who with the aid of all possible helps are seeking truth, or who are trying to conform their creedal statements to the facts of the universe. Some time there will be ecclesiastical realignment and those will be called orthodox who accept the results of science and the teaching of revelation which are one, and those heretical who are unwilling to learn. Every year new discoveries are confirming the large conceptions of the creation and of the moral order which have so slowly been dawning upon our minds. We must learn to spell the doctrines which distinguish the church such as Sovereignty, Incarnation, Atonement, Responsibility, Penalty, Redemption, Regeneration, Eternal Life, in Capitals. They are sublime statements of eternal truths and ought not to be belittled by unworthy interpretations. I would not imply that all Christian teaching is lacking in the elements which appeal to the cultured classes; but I do mean that far too frequently the claims of culture are ignored by those who formulate creeds and determine the policy of the church. Far too often by its lack of harmony with the spirit of the age the church repels the cultured classes and thus causes reaction in those who ought to be its strongest supporters. The church is in more danger from its unwillingness to learn than from the arrogance of those who presume that the new is always the true.

On the other hand the church is in peril, because while it professes to be "the continued incarnation," it so often fails to manifest the spirit, of the Christ. The implication in our subject that there can be any danger to the body of Christ from philanthropy illustrates the insidious nature of this peril. Jesus was never more positive than when he said: "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one toward another." The ideal of Jesus and the ideal of philanthropy are identical. But the church is not yet a brotherhood. The Roman, Greek, and Anglican churches call many persons "master" beside "the Christ." They are built on the models of earthly kingdoms; they are ruled over by those who have monarchical, if not tyrannical, tendencies; they are more like political despotisms than like spiritual households. Some of them even dictate the books and the papers which shall be read and the schools which shall be attended. The spirit of authority is foreign to Christianity. The church is intended to be a brotherhood of free souls united in the worship of God and the service of humanity; as a matter of fact it is often an organization of intelligent men and women dominated by a dictator. Even in some so-called free churches similar inconsistencies appear. Many of them are not brotherhoods; the best place in them is still reserved for the man with the gold ring; more attention is given to wealthy families than to hungry souls. Church buildings with fatuous frequency are located so as to accommodate the rich, rather than to reach the depraved. Whether rightly or wrongly, many of the very people who need the church most feel that Lodges, Labour Unions, and Social Clubs provide more tangible benefits. The church is

not yet a battery for the generation of philanthropy, and, what is more, it is not seeking to be. In that fact lies danger. I have no sympathy with those who denounce the church as entirely failing, or as a hindrance to progress; and I do not believe that it is to be supplanted by any other agency for ameliorating the human condition. It is doing more for men than any other institution; it is not, as a rule, manipulated by millionaires, even in New York or Chicago; it has reached the lowest classes and blessed them as no other form of social service: but its most loyal supporters should not fail to recognize that, however unjustly, it is believed by many to be a safe haven for the vicious rich, rather than a fountain of spiritual and social regeneration. A poor fellow shot a priest at the altar of a Roman Catholic Church and then shot himself in Denver. Before he died he said that he did so because the church was against the poor man. He was mistaken; but there must have been some reason for his mistake, and it is our business to find out the secret of such mistakes and to remove them. The free churches of the world are not invariably examples of brotherhood. That fact ought not to be evaded. How can it be when even men as good and brave as Mr. Moody and Campbell Morgan conduct gospel meetings in cities of the southern states of America from which all, even decent coloured men, are excluded solely because of their colour. Evangelism which appeals to white people alone is hardly Christian. That so few coloured people are Christians is not a matter of surprise; the wonder is that they are not all infidels. The best way to conduct evangelistic services is to be brotherly. Many rich, unprincipled men, who ought to be in prison, and whose names are synonymous either with the oppression of the poor, or with attempts to evade the laws of the state, are allowed prominence in the church. This indictment cannot be evaded. It naturally gives rise to the suspicion that the church is administered in the interest of one class alone.

I dare to hope that some time the church will not only keep abreast of the thought of the world, but actually lead it: that it will write its creeds in universals and not in the small characters of one land or one time: that it will realize that the deity who pervades the universe and manifests his eternal nature through it, needs not to be appeased like a sublimated and an angry Tzar: that his purposes which are always beneficent are as sure of accomplishment as the movement of the constellations.

And I dare also to believe that the day will some time come in which the church will be an actual brotherhood; in which distinctions of wealth and class, of colour and nationality, will disappear; in which all men will love one another with the very love which shone from the cross, and present to the world a society which shall be unconquerable because inspired and impelled by that love.

But let us not deceive ourselves. Our plans are handicapped by our unbrotherly spirit. The work of foreign missions is hindered in nearly every land by the tendency to discriminate against races. A revival for white people alone creates infidelity among coloured people. Missions in Africa supported by those who would not eat at the same table with a coloured man, and who send him to the gallery in a church at home would be grotesque, if they were not alarming.

Philanthropy is the condition of the church's growth. It may as well go out of business if it is to become suspicious of that. No one will long believe in any institution for human betterment which is not

broad as human need. The future belongs to that institution, called by whatsoever name it may be, Lodge, Labour Union, Church, which most truly impersonates human brotherhood. It is that for which the masses of the world are longing and for which they will sacrifice most to realize.

I conclude, then, that the church is in no danger from a large and generous idea of culture, but it is in danger on the one hand from that phase of culture, or lack of it, which overlooks the need of every human soul for the light and help which comes from above; and on the other hand from the tendency in the church to ignore the fact that, other things being equal, the man of culture will have truer spiritual vision and a more consistent Christian character than the man who has not.

Again the church is in no danger from too much philanthropy, but it is in danger on the one hand from the implication that philanthropy is the whole of Christianity; and in a vastly greater peril from failing to remember that the surest and most enduring evidence of the presence and power of Christ in any human society is found in the spirit of brotherly love which pervades and inspires its members. Philanthropy is a vital part of the church idea. With no true culture and no genuine philanthropy the church would become anæmic and sooner or later die; and men would write above its grave: "This church died because it was not fit to live." But that will not be its fate, for it will yet take for its chief helper culture and with that will go forth to make reason and that will of God prevail, and men will believe in it and flock to it because of all human institutions it will best illustrate the service and brotherhood of men.

A Gift to the Delegates

The Rev. R. J. Wells announced that the Hope Trust had presented to each member of the Council a copy of Mr Michael M'Carthy's book, "Priest and People in Ireland."

Discussion

The Chairman: We have still a little time left for discussion. I hope members will not hesitate but will begin the discussion at once.

Remarks by Mr. R. J. Bennett, LL.D., Chicago

I would like to say a word on one of the topics—the matter of labour unionism. We have been told by professors of political economy that this is one of the panaceas for every trouble in the commercial world to-day. It has been forced upon me during recent years that the position taken by these men is due more or less to lack of practical knowledge. I believe that in a general way the better things that have been contended for by the unions have generally been well and freely accepted by good business men. But the unfairness of the position that is held by these labour unions along certain lines is a thing that no sensible business man can condone. Thus they get together and say that the wages for a certain class of service must be so-and-so, and they make their tariffs, claiming that in the interests of

labour those who are benefited by labour shall pay a fair equivalent for that labour. Then, when an employer is willing to take up all the help he needs, and to give them the hours they ask, and treat them in the way they say a labourer ought to be treated, then they say, "You must not employ some other man outside the ranks of our Union although you may be willing to concede to him all the terms and grant all the privileges we have asked." They are not broad enough to accept their own doctrines and apply them practically in the commercial affairs of life. These are things which, as consistent and honest business men, we oppose from start to finish. Now possibly I am talking to more professors and ministers than it generally falls to the lot of a layman to speak to. I listen to about 104 sermons a year and I am greatly indebted to the ministers. And I think if these professors and teachers in our universities and colleges and these exponents of truth from the pulpit would listen a little to the pews as represented by practical business men they would be benefited, as we laymen are benefited by what they utter to us.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Merrick, Boston

I wish to express my sincere debt of gratitude to those brethren who have given us these illuminating addresses this morning. And especially, may I make a personal remark in regard to my good friend and brother, Dr. Bradford? He will pardon my saying it in his presence. He lives, in his beautiful parish in New Jersey, the doctrine he has presented to us this morning. And it is something to have a man, whether layman or minister, not only say the word "brotherhood," but live it everywhere. That is what we need, and that—with all due respect to my old friend who has just spoken—is the whole crux of this matter, with regard to labour unions, with regard to churches, with regard to lodges, and every other social expression of the people's life. I have had a small part—a very humble part indeed—in getting our American churches to take some interest in the labour question, and I have one note of criticism in regard to the way in which some of our brethren speak on these subjects. They bring in what are essentially war measures, and these are questions to be laid aside from the standpoint of the churches' discussion. They insist upon speaking upon strikes, lock-outs, closed shops, injunctions, and things of that kind. Now these are matters that to my mind in the first instance, are matters for the state. The church's duty is, first of all, not to speak upon these matters, but upon these questions on which the best employers and the best employés, and the churches alike are agreed, namely, that there shall be a shorter working day, that there shall be a larger participation relatively in the rewards of industry, that there shall be a larger share in determining, on the part of the labourer, on the conditions of the industrial order in which he works; and, may I not add—because this has been a part of the Presidential message in America—something of employers' liability, or if you choose it, public compensation for the worker in cases of accident where there has been a maiming of his body, or he has been prematurely worn out in the pursuit of his industry. Now we have contended for certain things in which churches and labour unions, and all people who are interested in social questions—for international peace, so that the workers of the land are no longer going to stand up

to be shot down. Furthermore, they are saying their word in reference to industrial conciliation and arbitration. No longer will it be possible for men—employers or employés—to say, "This is none of your business, we must conduct our business on our own plan." It *is* your business. It is the whole people's business. "You are workers and employers, but we are far greater than the rest of you; we consume your goods, eat your stuff, wear your clothes and your boots; we have something to say, and we are going to be heard, too." Forgive me for saying one word further. I have no desire to enter into any controversy regarding Democracy, Labour and Socialism on the academic side. I know Democracy sometimes smells bad, and that it is rude, but, nevertheless, we all believe in democracy, in England quite as much as in America. Moreover, in Socialism, putting aside the romantic feature of it, the revolutionary feature of it, there is, nevertheless, a phase of it, as well as of the labour question, as well as of the question of Democracy, in which we all believe, and that is the idea of brotherhood. Now I am chaplain of one of these lodges in the city of Boston, and the other day I stood at the foot of a casket, and the head of the lodge stood at the head of the casket. We read the ritual, and a few words were spoken by myself over the body of a man who had died. I came home and I said to my wife, "After all, here is a splendid expression of brotherhood." No wife, no children, no brother, no sister, no cousin to stand beside the grave of the man, who had died practically a pauper, yet we buried him in splendid style, with a good male quartette that cost £5. I have again and again been at funerals even of my own people where there would not be more than two or three members of the church present—shame on them for staying away from the burial service of a brother Christian. We have got to have in our Christianity a larger degree of brotherhood. When I came back and gave my family a little report of this service, I said, "If I should be so unspeakably unfortunate as to be left behind with no money, no family, no brother, no sister, no wife, no child to look after me, how glad I should be to know that someone representing this splendid organisation, that is world-wide in its beneficence, in its goodwill, in its brotherhood, would see that I had Christian burial." Brotherhood is a practical epitome of practical Christianity.

Remarks by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, Rochdale

It is said that Socialism is Christianity in practice. I am not going to contest that definition. I think he would be a very bold man who said that socialisation of manufacture or distribution or exchange was actually or politically impossible. I think it could be shown that it was feasible, and I do not quite accept the statement of the first paper that there is nothing in the general post office or in the savings bank of the state that answers in principle to Socialism. I see no private profit at all in these institutions, and they are conducted on national lines by the whole of the state for the whole of the people. I do not think there is anything, therefore, to be very much frightened at in Socialism. But the weakness of Socialism is its theoretical perfection. It is too ideal to catch on in a wicked world. There are so many people who are not sanctified, converted or regenerated for Socialism, because it assumes the surrender of initiative, ownership and interest to the general good. We are a long way off being Christian enough to have

reached that standpoint. It is 2,000 years since Christ came, and we are only now beginning to answer it theoretically. I consider the realization of Socialism to be more difficult than the abandonment of war. And any attempt to force organized Socialism upon a country would most certainly, if it were done prematurely and in anger, let loose the forces of war upon the country. It is a remarkable thing that no Socialist in any legislature has ever proposed a socialised state in that legislature, has ever brought in a bill for the socialisation of the state. The tentative and cautious steps of Socialistic reform are eloquent of the immense difficulties that confront the Socialists. Just think of the financial readjustments, transferences and compensations involved in the socialistic state. The change of moral feeling is something like a moral miracle. And then the buying out of private ownership and holding would leave such a vast number of leisured, wealthy, aristocratic people. If you bought them out on honourable commercial terms you would leave so many wealthy and aristocratic people that you would be faced with the old problem again. It is a very serious matter. The changes which the state would have to meet to bring about that change would absorb a vast proportion of the profit of the collective state. But I am not here to pile up discouragement. If Socialism is in the line of God's thought about man, it will have to get into line with man's thought about man. If it is what God means the world to be under Christianity, neither you nor I will be able to prevent it ultimately. To the Socialist I say, if in your opinion Christian Socialism is the permanent remedy for human wretchedness, deteriorated manhood, wasted and victimised womanhood, neglected childhood, if it is, be a little patient with the world. Be as zealous as you like, but you will require to be very patient. Do your work in stages and portions. Do not think you can accomplish the whole work at once. Then you will accustom the world to the idea of socialised effort. You will form in individuals and in classes habits of surrender to the general good and you will hasten the time nobly prefigured in both papers this morning—both papers breathed a noble spirit, were lustrous both of culture and philanthropy—you will hasten the time when a man will not say that any of the things he possesses are altogether his own, but will rejoice to say that they are his brother's and his God's.

Remarks by Rev. W. Reason, M.A., London

May a Socialist have one word? I have appreciated very greatly both the papers we have had on this matter, but there is one thing I do want to say concerning Dr. Gosman's paper. It contained a statement which one often hears in Christian circles and which fills one with amazement. It is that you do not hear, on the lips of the advocates of Socialism, morality. Why, Mr. President and brethren, the whole root and ground of Socialism is the question of justice or injustice. When the claim is made that an alteration shall take place in the ownership of the sources and the resources of the nation, what is that but the question of justice or injustice? It may be that a great many of those who feel the pinch are asking for their own rights, as we say, rather than seeking the common right. But whenever the cry is raised for the poor and distressed who feel the pinch, it is a question of morality, and it is a challenge to the Christian church to consider the cry on the basis of morality. But the majority of Socialists are not those who

themselves feel the pinch, but who look upon those who are suffering. And I say as one who is not only at home in Christian circles, but also at home in Socialistic circles, that I find among the Socialist circles an enthusiasm for the cause which is certainly not begotten of any selfish regard for their own enrichment, but a deep compassion for the suffering of others, and indignation at the wrong done to morality by our present social system. There are young men and women giving all their time in a way that you do not find too commonly in our Christian churches for the spread of a cause which they know will not triumph to benefit them, but which they hope will triumph with the general well-being. The whole question is one of right and wrong in the mind of the Socialist and it is quite time Christians ceased saying, "We do not hear much about morality."

As to our friend Mr. Hirst Hollowell, may I first say this?—he says we are not Christian enough yet for Socialism. It seems to me that it is far more impossible to expect the world to accept the whole of Christianity than it is to expect it to accept Socialism, and if you are going to tell the socialist they are not to be impatient, the Socialists turn to you and say, "Well, you Christians want so much more of men and women; don't you be impatient either." The fact of the matter is, it seems to me, that there are some of our friends so deeply impressed with the beauty and the glory of Socialism that they are afraid to help us up the hill. If a thing is good, it does not matter how hard it is to get there. Help us to get there. Don't tell us because there is danger of running down the hill on the other side you will not help us to climb the hill on this side. There is no danger yet of any nation I know of rushing into Socialism, and what Mr. Hollowell has said of the difficulties of the Socialist members of the different parliaments illustrates that amply. We want to take it as a question of right and wrong. In this Christians and Socialists may go together a long, long way.

Remarks by Dr. Sheldon, Belfast

I should like to say a word in regard to what Mr. Hollowell has said with reference to the enormous expenditure necessary to buy out the capitalists, and the danger we should thus have of the wealthy classes. The best method that has been put forward of attaining the property of capitalists and landowners is the one put forward some years ago in reference to the land by Dr. Wallace. Dr. Wallace used to start his argument by saying that the land of the country does not belong to the dead. The land of the country does not belong to the unborn. Now let us go a little further, and say that the land and the capital of the country do not belong to the dead; the land and the capital do not belong to the unborn. The unborn may be born into a new set of circumstances. Then all we have to do is to see that no living owner and no living heir suffers. And that is practicable. We can take the shareholders and the landowners of the country and deal with them according to their present income, and there would be no financial trouble. It would be practicable to do it and nobody could be robbed, and there would be no danger of a wealthy class existing in succeeding generations which would be a menace to the race. I should say that the present difficulties of individualism are greater and more monstrous than those prophesied by the opponents of Socialism to-day.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Mackintosh, Manchester

In regard to the statement in Dr. Gosman's very, very fine, and fine spirited paper, as to what he missed in the Socialist movement, I presume he spoke from his own considerable Australian experience. One accepts fully the fact, and is thankful for it, that there are many Socialists whose interest in this matter is mainly moral, though as we think mistaken. But I think in fairness we may also recall the position taken up by the man who has hitherto been the brain of the Socialist movement, Marx, who told us that he was working along the lines of materialistic construction, and that it was inevitable that questions of justice and injustice were to be wiped away. I think we are greatly indebted to Mr. Hirst Hollowell for what he has said about the practical difficulties of Socialism. I believe the practical difficulties are insuperable, but I confess I thought that line of remark is open to the retort that it is not altogether satisfactory for Christians to say that the ideal is fair, but we cannot reach it. Is the ideal fair? It was said with immense force by Mr. Hollowell that it must come if it is in the will of God. But is it in the will of God? Is the surrender of individual initiative the line upon which God is going to perfect his human children? or, amid the imperfections which we see in the present system, are there some things unspeakably precious for the working out of the Kingdom of God, which, in our impatience and in our slowness to believe, we cannot understand, but which are moving along the line of God's purposes? Let us beware lest we are fighting against them and against God.

This concluded the discussion, and the Council rose at 12.50, the Chairman pronouncing the Benediction.

The afternoon was spent in a series of rambles round Edinburgh, many places of historic interest being visited by the delegates.

EVENING SESSION

PUBLIC DEMONSTRATION

Mr. Charles E. Price, M.P., of Edinburgh, took the chair at the public demonstration in the evening at 7.45. After the hymn "When wilt thou save the people" had been sung, prayer was offered by the Rev. E. Munson Hill, M.A., D.D., of Montreal.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting. He said:—

Address by the Chairman

Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am very proud of the opportunity of presiding at this gathering connected with the body to which I am personally proud to belong, that is, the Congregational body. I am glad also that there are so many representatives from all parts of the world here. And I think we may say that although it is possible to choose a city where there are more Congregationalists than in Edinburgh, I question whether the Congregationalists could choose a more charming city, than the city of Edinburgh. As one who has travelled a good deal, perhaps I may say that whilst our guests will undoubtedly go back with a fair impression of our city, I sincerely trust they will go back also with a fair impression of the kindly hearts of our people. I should like, therefore, if I may take this opportunity, to say that I sincerely trust the citizens of Edinburgh will give our friends a very cordial welcome and show them every attention whenever they shall meet them, because when they get back again to their own country the attentions they have received, the kindness which has been shown to them, is better remembered than anything else that they can have. I remember that when I went to Chicago I went there for two or three days, but I found so much to learn there that I stayed there a month. Very few tourists would ever think of going to Chicago to stay there for a month, but the fact of the matter is, that the people were so exceedingly kind that, although it is not the fairest city in the world, still I have nothing of it but the very kindest recollections.

Now I notice that there are several speakers down for this evening, and as they have come a long way to speak I shall occupy a very short time indeed. There is nothing worse in this world than for speakers to follow a chairman who has taken the subject which they want to deal with, and therefore I shall do nothing of the kind. I may say, however, that when there was brought to my attention the first subject which is to be dealt with to-night, "Will the moral leadership of the world rest with Christianity?" I confess it gave me a shock as I read the question, because to my mind there could be no doubt

as to where the moral leadership of the world will rest. At the same time when I came to think of it, I found that in different periods of church history there had been doubt as to whether Christianity would lead the world in morals. It was asked in the early part of the eighteenth century, and it was questioned right through it, and the response to the enquiry was the evangelical revival of Whitefield and Wesley. And we have the same question cropping up to-day, and in my judgment it will largely depend upon the people as to whether they are true to the essentials of evangelical faith, as to whether they retain that leadership.

Just now there are a great many questions being dealt with in different ways which test to a very large extent our attitude to them. Take for instance the Licensing Bill. A great many people were very pleased when the Church of England decided to give support to that measure. Speaking quite frankly, I should have been surprised if they had given any other response to it. The Chairman went on to refer to the important problems with which we are face to face at the present time, and expressed the opinion that their solution depended on the attitude of Christian people towards them. If the present leaders, he said, fail in their duty, they will be pushed aside, others will arise, because Christ is the only one who can lead the people into true progress.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. James L. Barton, D.D., of Brookline, Mass., U.S.A., Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Missions, to speak on "Will the Moral Leadership of the World rest with Christianity?"

ADDRESS BY REV. JAMES L. BARTON, D.D.

WILL THE MORAL LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD REST WITH CHRISTIANITY?

It requires no exhibit of evidence to prove to this audience or to any other that the world is in the need of moral leadership. But a superficial glance backward over the history of nations and races and a passing acquaintance with present conditions of society in different countries are sufficient to establish the fact that without moral leadership the tendency is downward. We assume, therefore, that we are a unit in our conviction that the world is and will ever be in need of moral leadership.

This moral leadership must be exercised by persons and not through precepts alone.

Precepts have no executive power. All human laws must be executed by men. Moral codes and carefully constructed laws governing the acts of individuals and society are a dead letter until put into operation by men of force and conviction. They can have little influence upon others until humanly propagated.

We may assume that the moral leadership of the world is to be exercised through living, breathing, thinking man, himself a part of the society he would lead, an element among many elements that constitute the living world in need of such leadership.

Whatever shall constitute the moral leadership of the world must be human in its agency, finding in man that force which shall be competent to inspire new moral impulses in hearts tainted by the miasma of immorality and to lead others to aspire after a moral life to which they have been strangers. Moral leadership must manifest itself in the exalted moral life of living men moved by a passion for moral reform.

Moral leadership must find its source of power in religion. We need to dwell briefly upon the definition of religion in order that we may move together to the conclusion to which this paper leads. Professor Jastrow defines religion as "a natural belief in the power or powers beyond our control upon whom we feel ourselves dependent, which prompts us to organization, to specific acts, and to the regulation of conduct in order to establish favourable relations between ourselves and the powers in question." The standard dictionary gives as a definition of religion, "a belief binding the spiritual nature of man to a supernatural being on whom he is conscious that he is dependent; also the practice which springs out of the recognition of such relations, including the personal life and experience, the doctrine, the duties and rites founded on it." Robert Flint's definition is, "Religion is man's belief in a being or beings, mightier than himself and inaccessible to his senses, but not indifferent to his sentiments and actions, with the feelings and practices which flow from such belief." President Tenny says "religious forces shape conduct and life." Professor Albert Marshall tells us that the two great formative agencies of the world's history have been "religious and economic." Professor D. S. Cairns (in "Christianity in the Modern World") says, "What is wanted is something which will appeal not only to a desire for moral beauty and perfection, but something which will invest the ideal, in its loneliness, *with awful and commanding power*. The work to be done is too vast to be accomplished by anything but by the power which has been the great historical force in the making of the nations—the power of religion. Historical investigation has only brought out in increasing clearness the immense part which religion has played in the past in the national and social life of man. It has shown that the classical civilizations rested upon the religious basis and that they fell in its disintegration." Again—"religion has always been the mother of nations. Every new religion has either created a new type of society or has transformed the old. No strong or enduring form of society has ever existed without religion." Benjamin Kidd declares that, "religion is a true cause in social evolution," and Herbert Spencer traces many mistakes in sociological reasoning to "ignorance of the truth for which religions stand." President W. Douglas Mackenzie declares that "religion is the manifest force through whose influence the spirit of man becomes released from the selfishness of individualism."

These quotations selected from a multitude which might be given show the general opinion that it is religion which is shaping conduct, forming character, and putting its stamp upon society. All agree that conduct eventuates from religion and that religion crystallizes into character. Given a religion, and the social life which will spring from it can with accuracy be predicted.

It goes without saying that we do not mean by "religion" as here used "creed," "profession," or "ritual," but the true belief of man in "the supernatural being or beings on whom he is conscious that he is dependent and the consequent character and resultant action."

It is this consciousness or belief which creates character, that shapes action and in which are the springs of thought and moral being. As religion is the ruling factor of man and of society we must look to it for that which will constitute their moral leadership. Religious forces operating through human leaders have always revealed their power either by the moral elevation of the races they have dominated or by their degradation. Great national triumphs as well as overwhelming national tragedies have resulted under the impulse of religious faith and zeal. The power and destiny of leadership are constituent elements of every religion. That religion to which the world must look for its moral leadership must possess moral dynamics adequate for anticipated results. Religion is the author and executive of moral precepts and, to command leadership, is compelled to possess within itself adequate force. Not all religions have equal powers of leadership, much less are all qualified to exercise a directing force for the elevation of the moral life of their followers. Some religions, like demonology, exert an influence that is almost wholly evil. Starting from that low standpoint we can trace the rising scale of the moral directing force of the different world religions.

Before proceeding further with our subject it will be well to consider for a moment some of the main characteristics which a religion must possess in order to entitle it to claim for itself the right of exercising general moral leadership over men and races.

1. A religion claiming the right of universal moral leadership must teach an exalted moral being or beings higher, better and stronger than men, capable of commanding the admiration and love of all worshippers.

2. It must impress upon men their need of assistance from without themselves to give them moral strength and power to overcome the evil which threatens their happiness and moral life.

3. It must provide for a way of approach by which man in his extreme need can draw near and secure that aid without which he will be left in helplessness.

4. It must be able to adapt itself to all nationalities and be capable of transplanting to every clime, unaffected by previous conditions and unchanged by passing centuries.

5. It must be equally valuable and applicable to the ignorant as to the enlightened, to the great of earth as well as to the most lowly, a true friend to the untaught and the promoter and patron of sound learning.

6. It must hold before the longing eyes of humanity compelling ideals of conduct and being which, in themselves, shall afford a motive force to exalt character and make complete deformed lives, giving courage to the discouraged, pleasure to the sorrowful, and inspiring hope in the breast of the disheartened.

In fine, that religion which is to constitute the ruling moral force of the world must possess within itself those distinctive characteristics which will persistently appeal to all men in all ages and under all conditions. It must, in other words, be a universal religion.

We next inquire, then, in the pursuance of our theme—What religion is destined to command the moral leadership of the world?

We reply, one of the many existing religions or a religion that is yet to be. Since this alternative is too uncertain for discussion, at this time, we will assume that it must be one of the present religions which is already recognised among the great religions of the world. Under

the limits of this address we can refer to only six of the so-called great religions of the world in our quest for that one possessing in itself those elements of power which qualify it as a commanding moral force to meet the needs of humanity.

In this enumeration we need not dwell upon Confucianism, for it is readily conceded that this is not a religion, since it points to no supreme being or beings upon whom its followers are dependent and demands no worship. While in its treasure house it cherishes a greater abundance of exalted moral precepts than any religion save one; in the absence of religious teachings, practices and convictions, the most of these have long since lost their force upon those who most repeat them, and, in the absence of an executive, remain a dead letter upon the statute books of a morally depressed people.

With perhaps as few words we may consider the claims of Hinduism as a moral leader of the world. There can be no question that Hinduism is a religion. It sets forth in vivid and striking forms deities which control the lives of men and it makes these gods many painfully real to its devotees. One needs, however, but to confer with learned Hindus from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin to learn that they do not for a moment believe that in their religion there exists a moral or even religious force that can be applied to races other than the Hindu and that even for these, as an organizer of society along lines demanded by the advance of intelligence and the spread of science, it is proving itself largely a failure. Hinduism may possess power in itself to absorb the dark-skinned races which come within the range of its domination; it may and does materially modify the religious practices and beliefs of the non-Hindu races with which it comes in contact, but even in these cases it fails to exalt the moral character of the people and its powers as a religion wane as it departs from its ancestral centre and practically ceases when it touches foreign shores.

Mohammedanism has done much for pagan races in the early dawn of their mental and commercial advance. That it is a religion there can be no doubt, but as a permanent and aggressive moral force it is a failure. Sir William Muir says, "Islam stands still, and, thus stationary, so far as the lessons of history avail, it will remain. Swathed in the bands of the Koran, the Moslem faith is powerless to adapt itself to varying times and places, keep pace with the march of humanity, direct and purify social life, or elevate mankind." Lord Cromer, in his "Modern Egypt," declares that "The Moslem has for centuries past been taught that the barbarous principles of *Lex Talionis* are sanctioned and even enjoined by his religion. He is told to revenge himself on his enemies, to strike them who strike him, to claim an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. Islamism ,therefore, tends to engender the idea that revenge and hatred rather than love and charity shall form a basis for the relations between man and man." Islam has never been able to lift a pagan people above a certain degraded type of civilisation and there all advance ceases. It has put its stamp of moral and intellectual paralysis upon every form of society it has dominated and wrought moral disaster into every Moslem state. Surely we can expect from Islam no adequate moral leadership for the world.

Buddhism has much more in its favour. It knows no limit of race, caste, or nationality. It can be proclaimed in every language and in every land. The "Everlasting Buddha" has come to watch over all creatures in all spheres of life, the healer of man's sicknesses and his

deliverer from sin. He has come to be the father of the world to whom vows and prayers are offered and temples are erected. In its instruction, however, it teaches no choice of the good over against that which is evil on the ground that there is a duty owed to one's fellow men. Its moral code is selfish and without fervour and its end annihilation. Adopted as a national religion it has never advanced a race or people, but, as in Siam and Thibet, it has hastened their intellectual, material and moral decay. In Japan and China it has provided the needed element of worship to the other religions practised, but, as these countries advance in modern education, the first great religious change taking place is the casting off of the customs and forms of Buddhism. In no country has this religion been able to endure the advance of education. Its only legitimate sphere of control and leadership has been and is among peoples who are strangers to modern learning.

It is hardly necessary to dwell at length upon Shintoism, so limited in its sphere of operation and, according to recent official utterances among some of its sects in Japan, tending rapidly to disintegration as a religion. Few if any would be so bold as to claim that in this decadent form of worship, back of which exists a belief so circumscribed that it has little vitality to arouse the dormant religious faculties of men and inspire them to earnest endeavour to reach moral attainment hitherto unexperienced, there are elements of sufficient vitality to suggest even the possibility of moral leadership for a single race, much less for the world. The Japanese themselves would not make so ambitious a claim for their primitive faith.

It has been claimed by some that there has recently been discovered in Japan a source and power of moral leadership hitherto unrecognized which threatens to rival all other moral forces. This mystical moral energy is called "Bushido," and to this is attributed by a few the marvellous advance made by the Japanese in recent years. These advocates of a new found moral force fail to realise that the author of the work upon Bushido, from which they have gained their knowledge, is himself a Christian Professor in the Imperial University of Tokyo, and that, perhaps unconsciously, he has massed as the substance of this mysterious power the best that Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism can offer and clothed it all in terms taken from Christian literature attributing to it as its substance much that is distinctively Christian. Even the scholarly and devout Nitobe would not claim, as some have done who have read his charming book, that in Bushido alone there exists a moral force adequate to meet the needs of Japan to say nothing of the great nations outside.

Positivism has little ground for expecting continuance, except as it finds for itself that which will answer the native cry of the human soul for religion. It can hope to become a moral leader of men only through religious ideas, ideals and practices.

There remains but one great religion to which we may apply the test of world leadership. If this fails us we shall be forced to declare that among all of the religions of the world not one is calculated to assume the moral leadership of all men and for all time. In that case we must wait for another that shall be sufficiently exalted, broad, inspiring, transforming and recreative, to command the position, while in the meantime, for the lack of sufficient moral leadership, the character of the world must decline.

In judging the qualifications of Christianity for this exalted position, as in the preceding instances, we must not base our conclusions upon

the acts of those who have been mere professors or who have misinterpreted its teachings or who have attempted to use it for personal ends. We must judge of its moral power by the internal evidences of its inherent moral values and by the external evidences of the realisation of those values in the exalted moral life of individuals and races dominated by its sway. Without question in Christianity we find in abundance each one of the six characteristics suggested at the outset, as necessary in any religion before it can aspire to the moral leadership of a race, let alone all races.

1. Christianity presents as a deity an exalted being beyond the power of man to comprehend, clothed in majesty and power, arrayed in garments of light and beauty, the former and upholder of all that was or is created, and yet the loving Father, filled with infinite compassion for all his creatures.

2. Christianity presents the highest conception of man known to the race. Created in the image of his God, receiving his higher spiritual nature from the breath of the Almighty, and endowed with attributes and characteristics which have their source in the eternal, man stands upon earth but little lower than God, the masterpiece of the Creator. However much he may by his own act have marred this handiwork, yet that which differentiates man from other created beings is the divine element, always appealing to the individual to recognise the dignity and worth of his being, and to order his life accordingly.

3. Christianity meets the native consciousness in the human heart of utter helplessness by a clear declaration of the fact that man has not the power in himself to exalt his own moral character. It teaches that the unrest of men, the fears that distract them, and the incompleteness of their life, of which all are aware, are real factors in all human existence, demanding that some adequate force from without enter into that life and make it complete. We may call this sin, or whatever else we please, Christianity deals with the fact as a real element in human life.

4. Christianity provides a way of approach by which humanity in its fears and weakness may unite itself with deity in its strength, so that a measure of divine power may be imparted, and thus humanity made partaker of the elements of divinity. It provides for the completion of all human life by rounding it out in genuine satisfaction, and giving it a moral perfection and spiritual repose that constitute it a sharer in the nature of deity itself.

5. Christianity addresses itself to no race, but freely presents its exalted principles and privileges to men of every colour, clime, or name. It does not possess characteristics which make it more suited to the west than to the east, to the dwellers within the temperate zones than to those who inhabit the tropics. Neither do the overwhelming changes, political, social, religious, and intellectual sweeping over the nations of the world, in any measure disqualify those nations for enjoying the privileges of this world religion. In whatever land it is planted, there it takes root, and in perfect naturalness, produces its fruit after its kind.

6. Christianity makes its appeal with equal force and persistence to the ignorant and to the enlightened. It is not the exclusive religion of the mighty of earth, although among its devout followers there have ever been many who wear the crown of authority and who wield the power of wealth. It is not a religion intended only for the poor and ignorant, although to the down-trodden, the oppressed, and the outcast, it is to-day, and has ever been since the days of Jesus Christ, their

inspiring source of comfort, joy and hope. Christianity in its purity has been the patron of sound learning, commanding alike the allegiance of those highest in scholarship as well as the most ignorant. Whenever its principles have been accepted in their simplicity, Christian leaders have never failed to be the promoters and patrons of genuine scholarship, not only for the few, but for the multitudes. Christianity is characterized, not only by its places of worship, but by its schools of learning, thus aspiring to develop both the mind and the soul into their most complete and perfected form.

7. Christianity holds before the world the most lofty ideals of life and conduct, having their source in the character of God himself, manifested in a special form to men in the person of Jesus Christ. Its supreme standard of fellowship is not the outward act, but the inner life; not conformity and ritual, but character and being. In the light of its ideals moral deformity appears supremely revolting, sin becomes abhorrent, and to deny the brotherhood of man a manifest crime against God.

Christianity does not demand right living in order to be Christian, but provides for right being from which only can permanent right living result. It aims at the purification of all the springs of human action, deeming none exempt from its jurisdiction, or too insignificant to command its energies. It can never rest content until moral deformity has been eradicated, and the heart of man beats true with the great heart of his God.

8. Christianity commands constructive and self-propagating leadership. While its fundamental aim is to produce right being, it demands that each life that has once entered into these transforming relations with God shall touch, in a vital way, other living souls, that they too may be made to embrace the same privileges, and come to live in the same spiritual atmosphere. The extension of its influence and the world propagation of its exalted principles and teachings, are as much a fundamental part of the Christian faith as are its doctrines of deity. It cannot cease in its outward thrust so long as a single soul remains in spiritual darkness and any part of the earth is out of sympathy with the sanctified and transcendent life of Jesus Christ.

9. Christianity has the power of self reformation from within, sloughing off errors and evil practices, and inaugurating new eras of activity. The history of our religion is full of illustrations of this significant fact, which is so conspicuously wanting in the other great religions, and which indicates the superior and vital spiritual power of the Christian church. It is inevitable that impurities shall fall into the stream as it flows upon its prolonged course to the sea; these defile its waters but for a time, but the chemistry of the sunshine above and the earth beneath, and the breezes of heaven playing upon its surface, clear it all away, while, augmented in volume and power, the purified stream continues its unchecked progress. So it is in a large measure with the Church of Jesus Christ among the nations. Evils that have crept in are seized upon by protecting agencies, and are either made into active forces for righteousness or are thrust aside. The self-reforming power of Christianity without spiritual or moral loss is one of its guarantees of perpetual power of leadership.

10. Christianity is the promoter of the doctrine of obligation and service which has been called the "*ethical ultimate*" for man, for society, and for the nations. The standard of greatness held up by Christ was the amount of service which one could render to his fellow-



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men. Make this standard of Christ the standard of all men, and the most if not all of the evil and sin and the awful burdens of society would be removed, and the day of moral triumph inaugurated. The law of indebtedness and of service is the only foundation upon which a safe, pure, and moral society can be constructed, and the only law by which it can be maintained. In order to make this and all other of its teachings effective and abiding, Christianity puts the responsibility for character and conduct upon each individual, and makes him stand or fall according to his own inherent worth, measured by the divine standard alone. This demands moral men, and moral men create a moral society.

We are not discussing Christianity as a religion, but as a religious moral force in the world. Space forbids even an allusion to the directing power of Christian eschatology, nor have we been able to dwell upon the personal power of Jesus Christ as a moral dynamic in our religion.

There is but one religion that has in itself the spiritual forces capable of commanding the moral leadership of the world. Christianity need fear no rival. Everything that is worthy in the other religions—and in them all there is much to commend—will abide. But their ability to lead nations into an exalted moral atmosphere which will satisfy for all time the highest conceptions of the mind and the deepest longings of the heart, is conspicuously wanting. Christianity stripped of its superimposed creeds and rituals, its adopted provincialisms and acts, in its purity and simplicity, possesses in itself the compelling moral force that must command the moral leadership of all men and for all time.

The Rev. Caspar W. Hiatt, D.D., of Cleveland, Ohio, followed with an address on the same subject.

ADDRESS BY REV. CASPAR WISTAR HIATT, D.D.

WILL THE MORAL LEADERSHIP OF THE WORLD REST WITH CHRISTIANITY?

This question is a product of the times in which we live. Times which have witnessed the apotheosis of matter and of force, shrinking the world to the dimensions of a human hand and bringing the nations into the reciprocal contact of the fingers and the thumb. Times which have demonstrated by comparative theology that there is a universal moral code, and that the founder of each ethnic religion was a priest after the order of Melchizedek. Times when the little brown Buddhist of the East teaches his gigantic Christian adversary two lessons, one in the use of arms, and the other in the practices of "magnanimity, self-restraint, ethical intelligence and equity." Times when Max Müller is saying, "There is no religion which does not say 'Do good and avoid evil,'" and when Mr. Harrison is offering humanity as a substitute for God at the altars of our faith. Times when with a psychic intoxication, the English have imported a sort of denatured Buddhism called Theosophy, and the Yankee has invented a something or other, called Christian Science, which denies the existence of disease and devotes all

its energies to showing how to cure it without the use of medicine. Times when the four scientific angels, standing at the four corners of the earth, have let go the winds of their doctrine in destructive fury upon every myth and superstition which have glossed the realities of the natural world, when a new Psalter is being written by the philosopher and economist of France, to the effect that the heavens declare not the glory of God, but the glory of Galileo and Newton and La Place, and the earth is the Anglo-Saxon's, and the fulness thereof, when judgment is beginning at the house of God. Times moreover, when criticism has laid the Bible on Paul's heap of magic books, subjecting it to the ordeal of fire. Times when the institutions of religion—churches, seminaries, colleges, and even missionary boards—are charged with consenting with the princely thieves of the market-place, by transforming their unholy plunder into sacramental use. Times when seventy-five per cent. of the labouring classes never go to church and never care to go, regarding the Sunday bells as an infernal clangor announcing the new parable of the poor man in hell and the rich man in Abraham's bosom. Times when "a limp and lavender Liberalism," of so-called broad churchmanship, lets go of the essential things of the Christian life and holds fast to the essential things of the ecclesiastical living. Times when Tyndallism challenges the church to pray, and the church leaves it to George Müller and Hudson Taylor to take the challenge up. Times when the archæologist sees a sermon of goodness in the stone of antiquity, and the sociologist a book of tragedy in the running brook of modern city sewage. Times, in short, when eyes erstwhile clarified by the ethics of the dust, are being blinded by the dust which has accumulated upon our ethics. In these times the question is being raised, will the moral leadership of the world rest with Christianity?

In general we might answer this question with a waive of the hand. We might say the map of the world is the apologetic sermon of the moral splendour of the kingdom of heaven. We might say that the new thought, in so far as it rejects the moral leadership of Christianity, is as old as the court of Caiaphas, the camp of Julian and the palace of Aurelius. We might say that the Japanese morality exhibited in the Russian war was in truth a twentieth century Christianity over against the Christianity of the middle ages in the despotism of the Czar, a result of the new awakening started by that missionary of the Cross of 1840, Commodore Perry, whose cross was the hilt of his lifted sword, and perfected in institutions like the Doshisha and personalities like sainted Joseph Neesima. We might say that the golden reed with which the apostle of agnosticism measures temple, altar and worshipper, is the Golden Rule of that very Christianity which he rejects. We might say that much of modern criticism like the demoniac of Gadara, while denying Jesus with a legion of voices, is unconsciously yielding to his mastery. We might say that the sociologist who studies the garbage heap from the back door-step of Anglo-Saxondom, and says that the world is growing worse, would do well to call in the student of history to remind him of a time when the garbage heap was in the front door-yard, as a proof that the world is growing better. We might say that it is as absurd to think that a man may lose all of his religion and keep the commandments, as it was for the negro-preacher to declare that he had broken all of the commandments, but, thank God, he had never lost his religion. But our purpose is not to emulate Mr. Podsnap's putting this important question behind us with a gesture of disdain, but rather to suggest the value of discrimination and the wisdom of holding fast that

which is good in these times when the popular passion is for letting everything go.

It is safe to say that our question may be answered by a Yes, and No. It all depends upon a definition. What is Christianity? If by Christianity is meant the complicated, divisive and expensive mechanism of one hundred and seventy-five denominational titles, which we misname Church, the answer is emphatically, No. The only institution left to the world by Jesus Christ, was a table spread with two memorial and prophetic elements, which stands four-square with society, centripetal with the magnetism, centrifugal with the altruism of the Cross, a table bearing the inscription, "Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man." Whatever else the church employs is expedient of convenience, and will perish with the passing of occasion. If by Christianity is meant a series of dogmatic propositions which we misname Theology, inelastic for adaptation to uneven conditions of society, incapable of growing harmonious with the growth of knowledge in every field of study and experiment, the answer is emphatically, No. Dogma is the embalming linen in which the life of faith ever turns to mummy. If by Christianity is meant a set of superstitious rules, the exhibition of a venerated casuistry, misnamed Piety, with its terminal "Thou shalt," and "Thou shalt not," fetich worship of a book named Bible, special reverence of a man named Priest, and timorous observance of sacramental formulæ—if Christianity is the tithing of mint and anise and cummin to the neglect of weightier matters of the law, the answer is emphatically, No. If by Christianity is meant Christendom, with its commercial and political corruptions, its individual aggrandisements, its social contrasts, inside and outside of the church—its steeples rising to heaven, its cellars sinking to hell, its chauvinism and jingoism, its mammon worship and irreverence for law, the answer is emphatically, No. Civilisation is not the secular name for Christianity. But if by Christianity is meant the procession of the Christ-life, recorded in an ever-increasing book of Acts, in the temple to-day, out of it to-morrow, an abundant life of God added to every-day existence, fulfilling the law in priesthoods of human kindness, vested in unordained Samaritan with wayside inn for synagogue, the answer is empathically, Yes. Christianity is the life of the Golden Rule, expressed in the teachings of Jesus, demonstrated by his own conduct, and inspired and promoted in his disciples from age to age, under the superintendence of his own abiding grace and wisdom and power. The one distinctive feature of Christianity is Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever. Of whom Renan could say, "Jesus, therefore, cannot belong exclusively to those who call themselves his disciples. He is the common honour of all who bear the human heart. His glory consists not in being banished from history. We render him a truer worship when we show that all history is incomprehensible without him." There, in the figure of Jesus, is essential Christianity and as it is transmitted by his followers into every age and place, reproduced in the regenerated individual, the root of regenerated society, it is the power of moral leadership, efficient and sufficient, before which all the world must bend its knee.

With this answer, Yes, upon our lips we ask, What form will this leadership assume, and how will this affect the fortunes of the church? What, then, must be the essential moral leadership of Christianity? Not revolution of the human constitution, orientalizing occident, and occidentalizing orient; building new Jerusalems on the Congo, the

Ganges, and the Yang-tsi-kiang on the ground plan of London and Chicago; not forcing an invention nor airing a theory, but revealing a life. I see a hundred illustrations of what this leadership is. When Father Damien immolated himself in the lepers' colony of Molokai, perishing with a greater courage than the soldiers of Balaclava and Gettysburg, that he might bear a heavenly message couched in human friendship to the helpless and hopeless victims of disease, that was the moral leadership of Christianity.

When John Paton resigned the stocking loom of Scotland that he might weave a garment of civilization for the nude and shameless savagery of the Hebrides, that was the moral leadership of Christianity. When the Earl of Shaftesbury proved his nobility to be something more than titular by carrying down his escutcheon to where the lowest member of society might read upon it those mutually interpretative words, "Love and Serve," that was the moral leadership of Christianity. When Thomas Chalmers, at the age of sixty-five, when most men quit their labours, and when, according to the New Jersey professor, "We all of us ought to be shot," descended from the loftiest pulpit in all Christendom to bury his life in the lowly parish of St. John's in Glasgow, and later in that of Westport in Edinburgh, thus emphasizing the truth of his own great utterance that "every man, now and for ever, is a missionary for good or for evil, whether he intends it, or designs it, or not. He may be a blot radiating darkness to the circumference of society, or he may be a blessing spreading benediction to the length and breadth of the world, but a blank he cannot ever be, that was the moral leadership of Christianity. And in all these I see but a dim reflection of him with grace upon his lips and whose garments smell of myrrh and aloes and cassia, that lowly one of Nazareth, who came not to be ministered unto but to minister, and whose moment of proudest exaltation was when he girded himself with a towel and knelt at the feet of Judas Iscariot, Christ, in whom ever and for ever, this great truth appears, "the servant of principle is the king of men."

If leadership rests in Christianity, what will happen to the church? It is evident that such a moral leadership will not rest in Christianity if Christianity itself remain at rest. The church must demonstrate its right to represent this Christianity, and this will mean a reconstruction amounting in time to revolution of its processes. To adapt itself to its responsibilities, this institution must exhibit the courage of Hezekiah. The brazen serpent which had become the fetich must be given over to the dealers in old brass. The temple will not stand the test if it have no other excellence than its sculptured marble and its beaten gold. We must look well to our ecclesiastical pottery. There is such a thing as carrying the earthen vessel round long after the treasure has leaked out. The church which will maintain the moral leadership of the world must take the step of progress, which is in reality a step of regress to Jesus, the Son of Man. It must be more real in its professions, more simple in its teaching, more democratic in its government, more humane in its philanthropies, more sceptical in its thinking, more courageous in its testimony, and more liberal in its gifts. It must, in short, return to the splendour of its founder in whom were vested all the virtues of humanity. Let us not think that because the church has advanced from Jerusalem to Constantinople, and from Constantinople to Rome, and from Rome to Geneva, that there is no further advance. There is yet a golden city to attain

where thought and deed shall move together in the symmetry of the new Jerusalem. There and there only the church may rest. Happy among men is he who can say: "I am a member of this advancing church." This church, my friends, is the essential church of history. It has not always been identical with the visible church. While monumental iniquity has been calling itself "Catholic Church," this essential body of Christ, very often hiding from the other, has been keeping alive the spark of goodness in the earth, has been preserving religion pure and undefiled. It is a dull eye that cannot see through the course of history, an essential and a pretential church. That was the pretential church which put indulgencies for sin on sale; that the essential church which nailed its thesis with thundering blows against the gate of Wittemberg. It was this essential church which first stood against the iniquities of Antioch, encountering the sneers of the populace as they cried, "Christian! Christian!" It was this church which later fled with Peter Waldo from the city of Lyons to the sheltering hills, there to shine "like a candle set in a socket of rocks." It was this church which was nicknamed "Lollard" in the days of Wyckliffe; and when the flames of Constance gathered upon the body of John Huss, it was a member of this church whose spirit went up like Elijah in a chariot of fire. And when hands of rudeness scrawled in derison on the pavements of London the stinging epithet, "Puritan," it was this church that was treated with contempt. Often creeping to the caves for its hour of worship; at times seeming all but extinguished by the fury of its adversaries, in spite of all, it has flourished bringing on to its better development this cruel world, as insensibly as the mustard seed puts out its tiny spike and pushes its way through oppressive clods, rising in the glare and heat of summer days to its maturity, stretching out arms of invitation to the fairest creatures of the heaven to come with flashing wing and trilling song and abide in the shelter of its shade.

That church represents essential Christianity and with it the moral leadership of the world will rest.

The Christian morality is the common law of humanity marked plus, and this plus is not an addition of certain statutory provisions of the kingdom of heaven, but the addition of a mighty moral energy. This plus is not the arbitrary sign of dogmatic algebra but it is the providential sign of the cross, and over this cross as in the beginning the superscription shall evermore declare in the language of beauty, the language of sympathy, and the language of power, the truth of age-long, world-wide demonstration,—

This is Jesus of Nazareth, the King.

The next speaker, the Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D., of Bournemouth, took as his topic, "Is Church Life necessary to Christian Civilization?"

Address by Rev. J. D. Jones, M.A., B.D.

IS CHURCH LIFE NECESSARY TO CHRISTIAN CIVILIZATION?

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—My subject is so large and my time is so short that with your permission I will dispense with all preliminaries and come straight to the matter in debate. My two colleagues, who have preceded me, have given us conclusive reasons for believing that the moral leadership of the world will always rest with Christianity. They carried with them the unanimous assent of this assembly. They did more, they carried with them the assent of the vast majority of the thinking men of these Western lands, even of those who are outside the churches altogether. Men no longer challenge and antagonize Christianity; they look to it, and build upon it. From one point of view, there has been no development more significant than the change in attitude towards Christianity, and especially towards Jesus himself, which has taken place within the last five-and-twenty years. It is true there is stil amongst us a certain school of social reformers who say that religion must be abolished altogether before real progress can be made and the world's golden day can really dawn. But, speaking broadly, the old blatant and blaspheming atheism that used to trumpet itself forth from halls of science, and used to indulge in coarse and disgusting caricatures of Jesus, is hopelessly discredited. Men no longer attack Jesus, they pay him homage and respect. They no longer represent him as the enemy of the people; they represent him as the friend and helper of the down-trodden and oppressed. They speak of him as the great socialist, the tribune of the people, the comrade Christ. I may think, and I *do* think, that these representations of our Lord are sadly one-sided and defective. They jar upon one's nerves more than a little. Still, it is significant and to that extent encouraging, that men who have no dealings with organized religion have no quarrel with Christ. On the contrary, they quote him; they appeal to him; they speak of him as their leader. The great majority of these men would cheerfully assent to the main contention of the speeches just delivered! They are all for the spread of what they believe to be Christ's principles. They agree that a civilization really and genuinely Christian would be an ideal civilization. To the question, "Will the moral leadership of the world rest with Christianity?" they would return a cordial and unhesitating "Yes."

But to my question, "Is Church Life Necessary to Christian Civilization?" they would probably return an equally emphatic and decided "No." Their quarrel with Christ is past and over; their quarrel with the Christian church is still bitter and strong. They ignore and criticize and oppose the church. They tell us that the church, instead of being a help, is a hindrance to the progress of the race; that it is a clog, and drag upon the wheels; that it is an obstacle and barrier in the way of the onward march of the world. Jesus, they say, was a fearless and radical reformer; the organized church, on the other hand, has been the defender of every ancient privilege and established wrong. And so we hear voices about us saying, "Perish the church that Jesus may have his chance." There are numbers of people who

think they can achieve the Christian civilization better without the church than with it, much as a good many people—not excluding Christian ministers—think that they can retain the Christian religion while casting overboard everything in the nature of Christian dogma.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, I am here to maintain, and assert, in spite of all these deprecatory voices, that there is no chance for Christian civilization apart from the Christian church. By "Christian civilization" I mean that form of social and national life which shall be in accordance with the teaching of Jesus and the principles of the New Testament; that new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness; that glorious and blessed order in which brotherhood shall be a fact, and love shall be the universal law, which Christ describes under the name of "the Kingdom of God." And of this civilization I again repeat there is not the slightest chance of its realization apart from the Christian church. I say this, knowing well what can be said by way of criticism of the Christian church. Its past history is stained with the record of many a disastrous blunder and tragic crime. I know that again and again it has persecuted the prophets, and cast out pioneers and reformers. I know that again and again it has been the mightiest bulwark of "vested interests" that were not the interests of the people. I know that again and again it has championed the wrong side. I know that again and again it has seemed to thwart that kingdom it was meant to further. I know that before to-day it has defended slavery, and in these times of ours by the consecration of army banners it gives its blessing to war in the name of the Prince of Peace. I know that the present condition of human society is in a very real sense the church's condemnation. After nineteen centuries of life and work on the part of the Christian church, so-called Christian countries are burdened with enormous and ever-growing armaments; our merciless business methods are almost untouched by the Christian spirit; we have in our midst extremes of wanton and wasteful wealth and squalid poverty, which are our disgrace and shame. And all these constitute what Mr. Peile, in the latest Bampton Lecture, calls "the reproach of the Gospel." I know that at this very hour great sections of the church seem more concerned about ecclesiastics than about religion; they tithe mint and anise and cummin and forget the weightier matters of the law; I know that in this land of ours the church, instead of leading the way in the work of the kingdom, is in danger of trying to hinder and thwart those who are striving, in however mistaken a way, to bring in earth's better day. I know this terrible impeachment can be brought against the Christian church, and I agree with Bishop Gore, that the whole church might well unite in a solemn act of contrition and penitence for the failures and blunders and crimes of its past. And yet that is only one-half the story, and one side of the picture. It is also true that if there is an improvement in the social order of the twentieth century, as compared with the first, that improvement is to be attributed largely to the influence and labours of the Christian church. In our vivid sensitiveness to the glaring wrongs of our own day, we are apt to do less than justice to the advances made in the centuries that are gone. But it is not too much to say that we live in a new world as compared with the world of pre-Christian days. And it is the men bred and trained by the Christian church, and inspired by the faith of the Christian church, who have brought about the change. They have turned the world upside down. Indeed, there is no need to appeal to ancient history.

With all her faults, every honest man will admit that the church is the mightiest redeeming and regenerating force in the world to-day. It is the church that inspires and maintains our charities. It is the church that prompts our philanthropies. It is the church that sends her sons to humanize life in the dark places of the earth. And so when I turn to the future, I put my faith in the Christian church. I look to men nourished by the life of the church, and inspired by its faith. It is through the church, and only through the church, that the new social order is to come. The church possesses a gospel and a life that can change and re-make the world. But those who dream of "the kingdom," but despise and neglect the church, sterilize and make vain and fruitless their own fair dreams.

Now let me for a few minutes further give some of my reasons for my belief in the necessity of church life if ever Christian civilization is to be realized.

THE AUTHORITY OF CHRIST

I appeal first of all to the *authority of Jesus*. The first point to be quite clear about is this—that Christianity contemplates a *social* as well as an *individual* salvation. It is quite possible that in our strenuous insistence upon the truth that religion is essentially a personal affair, we have obscured the *social* aspect of the Christian Gospel. But no one can read the New Testament with any sort of attention without seeing that the social aspect is there. Christ did not come to snatch this individual and that "like brands from the burning" out of the dangers of a corrupt and rotting society. He came to redeem and recreate society itself. This social aspect of our Lord's redemptive work is set forth in his teaching about "the kingdom of God." That phrase, as every one here knows, was continually upon his lips. The idea for which it stands was one of his ruling ideas. And without putting it forward as a complete account of what Christ meant by "the kingdom of God," I do unhesitatingly assert that he included in it the idea of a better social order. The kingdom of God, as Jesus thought of it, meant a *society* in which all men should enjoy free access to God, and in which also filial trust and brotherly love should be at once the test of membership and the bond of union. Social justice, social peace, social joy—they are points in the programme of Christ. He came not simply to save individuals, but to create a Christian civilization. And how did Christ propose to create this civilization and to establish this kingdom? By means of his church. "The church," says Dr. Adams Brown, "is the divinely appointed means by which the kingdom of God is to be realized among men." It is not true to say—as some assert—that Christ was anti-institutional, and that the church, as we know it, is rather Paul's than Christ's creation. From the first Christ contemplated the creation of a society to give effect to his teaching and perpetuate his work. He himself, indeed, laid the foundations of his church when he called the twelve apostles to be "with him." Only through such a society could he hope to establish his kingdom. The great Caesarea incident is full of instruction upon this point. Our Lord, you remember, had been asking his disciples what men said and thought about him. And they had replied that some said he was John the Baptist, and some said he was Elijah, and some said he was Jeremiah or one of the prophets. Then Christ made the question direct and personal, and asked *them* who he was,

and Simon Peter replied, "Thou art the Christ, the son of the living God." Whereupon, you remember, Jesus pronounced this eulogy upon him, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Now, out of this much controverted passage, two facts clearly emerge. This is the first. Christ had it in mind all along to establish his church. The church was, indeed, the instrument by which he proposed to bring in his kingdom. His overflowing joy at the confession of Peter was due to his discovery that at length he had found men of such a faith that he could build his church out of them. And the second fact is this: The church was to be, so to speak, the defence and safeguard of Christ's cause. The forces of evil might have been too strong for isolated individuals. But they would be powerless against this divine society—"the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." That is to say, Christ was filled with radiant hope for his kingdom, because at last he had got a church. The one secured for him the other. "I will give to thee," he said to Peter, speaking to him in this case as the representative of the church, "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." Now to those who accept the authority of Christ as final, the fact that he created the church and looked to it for the establishment of his kingdom, will be sufficient answer to the question, "Is Church Life Necessary to Christian Civilization?" They need no further witness. The church *is* necessary. Christ says so. But our Lord's authority is never an unreasonable authority. And I think we may with a little consideration discover wherein the necessity consists.

THE CHRISTIAN LIFE A SOCIAL LIFE

I pass by the fact that I believe the church to be blessed with special gifts of *wisdom and insight*. I am a high churchman. We Congregationalists all are, if we are worthy of our name. We believe in the abiding presence and inspiration of the spirit of God. We believe the church is in very truth the body of Christ; that through a consecrated church, Christ will pronounce his own judgment and express his will. Even to settle social problems aright, you need other standards and motives than mere worldly ones. Even these things are spiritually judged. You cannot deal wisely with our present disorders unless you deal with them religiously, or, as Professor Peabody puts it, unless you approach them from above and deal with them from within. I believe a holy consecrated church is the best guide for human society, because such a church speaks with the unerring wisdom of Christ. But I pass that consideration by with the bare mention to come to two or three others, which in these days of ours need to be specially emphasized and insisted upon. This is the first, the *Christian life is a social life*. The Christian civilization, I may take it for granted, is impossible apart from the Christian life. I mean that it is only by Christian men that the Christian civilization can ever be realized. But the Christian life is essentially a *social* life. It was never meant to be lived in isolation and solitude. Speaking broadly, it cannot be lived in isolation and solitude. You need the church—the fellowship of believing souls, the communion of saints—in order to create and develop the Christian man. I need not labour this point. Most of us find the

evidence of the truth of all this in our own experience. We know what church life means to us. We know how our courage is being perpetually confirmed and our faith quickened and our devotion deepened by the worship and fellowship of the church. "If God is our Father," said Cyprian, "the church is our mother," and bold though the saying is, it is a true one. According to the old Greek legend, every time the giant Antaeus touched mother earth he recovered strength for his wrestling. And every time we touch "mother church," every time we share in the church's worship, participate in the church's sacraments, listen to the church's gospel, feel the throb and thrill of the church's fellowship, we too gain strength to fight against the world, the flesh and the devil, to "speak true, live pure, follow the Christ." On the other hand, the neglect of church life is punished by decay of spiritual vigour, loss of moral enthusiasm, the vanishing of all idealism. There is no need for me to prove it. There are tragic illustrations of all this beneath our very eyes. When men neglect the church their Christian life suffers and they cease to be effective helpers in the great battle for righteousness and truth. For our own Christian living, and certainly for our effectiveness in the cause of the kingdom, church life is an indispensable necessity.

THE SPIRITUAL SANCTIONS OF THE CHURCH

But I go on to add that the Christian church is necessary, because it is the only society that exists definitely and specifically for the realization of the kingdom. Isolated and individual Christianity is not equal to the task of initiating the better order. Just exactly as we band ourselves together for the achievement of desired ends in other spheres, so we band ourselves together, and, by so doing indefinitely multiply our effectiveness for the realization of the kingdom. I do not deny that other societies exist that in some measure seem to have the kingdom for their aim. The labour church, the socialist club—they are aiming at the better order. But they are incapable of producing it. They have neither the mighty sanctions, nor the transforming power requisite to realize their own aims. But the church has both.

First of all, it has sanctions mighty enough to lead reality to its ideals.

I find that the new and better civilization of which men dream is to be marked, among other things, by *equality*, and *brotherhood*, and *love*.

Now I want to point out that these are not natural facts, they are *religious truths*. The French Revolution inscribed the words "Liberty, equality, fraternity," upon its banners. But its leaders began their work by repudiating God and setting up a "goddess of reason" in His place. But by repudiating God they sterilized the very ideas in whose name the Revolution took place. They emptied them of their meaning and content. They nullified them by cutting them away from their sanctions. And so in its tragic issues the Revolution became not the dawn of a new era, but an outrage upon decency and the bloodiest of tyrannies. Equality and brotherhood are popular terms to-day. They fall glibly from the lips of every street-corner orator. But I must be allowed to say that as popularly used, equality and brotherhood are fine but canting phrases. Outside the church, where does equality come in? The facts of life do not preach equality, they preach inequality. And the inequalities are beyond the reach of any legislative

remedy. For the inequality is not one merely of material wealth! I am all for equality of opportunity. I will go further and say I am in favour of a fairer distribution of wealth. But any one who thinks that by legislating in the direction of the socialist ideal equality is going to be secured, is simply living in a fool's paradise. For the inequalities of human life are not simply inequalities of material wealth. They strike far deeper down. They are inequalities of intellect and brain. They are inequalities of moral endowment. It is mere prating to talk about equality in face of the difference, say, between a man of giant intellect like Lord Kelvin and a Dorset peasant. Equality only becomes a reality in the church as we listen to Christ preaching the infinite worth of all human souls, and we see one another "in him" as sinners redeemed. And outside the Christian church where does *brotherhood* come in? The natural tendency of man is to think only of himself and to beat down every rival that comes in his path. Leave man to himself, to the guidance of his own unaided reason and he becomes an Ishmael; his hand is against every man, and every man's hand is against him. The struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest is the natural law. And so, when I look abroad, what I see is not brotherhood. I see men split up into classes, parties, sects, with rival and conflicting interests, divided from each other by deep chasms of difference. Brotherhood—where does it come in, with capital and labour pitted against each other, and every nation in Europe armed to the teeth? When men talk about brotherhood in the face of facts like these, they talk as the foolish ones talk. Brotherhood is not a natural fact, it is a law of grace. The only place where brotherhood becomes anything beyond a fine phrase is in the church. "Life's poor distinctions vanish here." We realize our brotherhood only as we believe in God's Fatherhood. We receive the spirit of fraternity when we receive the spirit of sonship. We become brothers to one another only when we realize we are members of the household of faith and the family of God. The church preaches that message of equality and brotherhood. Equality and brotherhood constitute the law of its own life. There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, there is no male and female, but all are one in Christ Jesus. The church in its life realizes the very spirit of the civilization that is to be. Neglect the church, ignore the church, with its mighty spiritual sanctions, and equality and brotherhood become mocking and fantastic dreams, and the ideal social order becomes a Utopia, a "nowhere." But a living and holy church has a message and a Gospel mighty enough to create a "new earth." Even as it is, men who in the church have learned the lessons of equality and brotherhood have done much to soften asperities and hates between man and man, nation and nation. And it is to the church I still look. Through the preaching of its Gospel and by the influence of its own life, the happy result will yet be brought about when

> Man to man, the world o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that.

THE CHURCH AND ITS GOSPEL

And, lastly, I believe that church life is absolutely necessary to Christian civilization, because only in the church do I find the power that can realize the new order. To secure a Christian civilization you

must first of all secure your Christian man. Before the "new earth" is possible, you must get your "new man." This is the truth that so many of our social reformers are forgetting. They are trying to build up the new earth with the old material. They want to establish the "Kingdom of God," with unredeemed and unregenerate men. It is a hopeless and bootless enterprize. "Merrie England" is impossible so long as you have selfish and worldly men to deal with. Society, after all, is only the aggregate of the individuals who compose it, and if you want to change and transfigure society, you must start by changing and transfiguring the man. Now the church possesses in its Gospel the power of making new men. "The church is the means by which the Christ life is imparted to those who have it not." It exists to preach Christ and Him as crucified. And the Christ thus preached is the power of God unto salvation. The truth of this is self-evident. Under our very eyes the church by its Gospel is constantly creating the "new man," and the "new man" so created sets about making new conditions of society. You see it on the small scale in every individual conversion. You see it on the large scale in every great spiritual movement like the Evangelical Revival of the 18th century, or the wave of religious quickening that swept over my own land five years ago. You see it still more strikingly in the transformations of the Mission field. Take the South Sea Islands. The people of those islands spent their time in constant warfare; their family life was lustful and impure; their days were haunted by superstition and fear; theft and murder were reckoned amongst them as honourable actions. The missionary—the emissary and representative of the Christian church—preaches his Gospel to them. That Gospel converts and changes the individual heart. It makes new men and women, and then those men and women create a new society. Instead of the murderous, lustful, superstitious society of seventy years ago, you find to-day a new society, peaceful, industrious, happy, and characterized by an honourable family life. And although the results are not so obvious here at our doors, similar changes are slowly but surely taking place. And when I think of the church and its Gospel I do not despair even when I look abroad over our stricken, groaning and distressful earth. The church with its Gospel can make the new man and the new man will make the new world. But apart from the church, what hope is there? Apart from organized church life with its preaching and evangelizing, what hope is there? We have a pathetic trust in legislation, but if history teaches us one thing more plainly than another it is this, that reformations to be effective can never be imposed from without—they must operate from within. Neglect the church and its ordinances and what hold have you over the unruly heart of man? There are what people call the *resources of civilization*. But what are the resources of civilization worth in and of themselves? We are at the very height of civilization here in Britain in this 20th century! But there is also a general neglect of religion amongst us, a disregard of the church and its ordinances. Worship is neglected, the Sunday is given up to pleasure, the spiritual side of things is at a discount. Will any one tell me all is well with Britain? Why is it that the temper of our most serious writers is one of pessimism and even of despair? And is there not cause for anxiety and fear? There are two symptoms of our modern society that fill every good man's heart with concern and proclaim from the housetops the failure of mere civilization. (1) The one is our attitude towards subject, if you like, inferior races.

America has its own problem with the negro. We have our problem too. A century ago, under the impulse of the evangelical revival, England stood forth as the helper of the oppressed. She freed her own slaves at enormous cost and for years carried on an unostentatious but unwearied war against the slave trade. But religion has to some extent lost its power over us. We talk more about the resources of civilization now. And civilized England can stoop to exploit subject races for her own profit; can talk about the balance of criminality in Macedonia and can stand impassively by while millions of people are being mutilated and done to death on the Congo. (2) And the second menacing sign is this—the attack that is being made upon the sanctities of the family and the loss of the sense of purity and decency. We are living in portentous times. No one can read the public press without noticing things calculated to make his heart stand still with fear. We boast of our civilization and we compare these days of ours with the rough and rude times in which our fathers lived. But I feel sometimes I would exchange these times for theirs. For if the times were rough and rude, the men were simple and strong. But to-day men and women are making a mock of marriage, and from our press there issues a stream of so-called literature which, for defiling and polluting power, could put the Restoration dramatists to the blush. This irreligious civilization of ours—judging by all the symptoms—is leading us not to the better day of which we have dreamed, but to anarchy and dissolution and shame. No! if civilization is our only chance, we might as well abandon hope at once. It has no power to curb these fierce passions that destroy our social peace. But civilization is not our only hope. We have the church and its Gospel. This church with its Gospel is equal to the task of recreating our world. The greatest wreck of human society, as Dean Church reminds us, was the breaking up of the fabric of the great Roman Empire before the attacks of Goths and Huns. The world had never seen anything like the Roman civilization. It seemed the finish and perfection of all things. When it fell, it looked like the crash and overthrow of all things human. It was, indeed, the foundering of a world. But to that ruined and shattered society there came a power which refashioned it and rebuilt it into a nobler fabric. Out of the ruins of the old Pagan Roman state, Christianity created the civilization of these western lands. It created a new social order, nobler, stronger, more moral than the old. We seem almost at the end of another civilization. There are signs and portents of change all about us. But the church with its Gospel is still in our midst. And when I think of the church, it is not dissolution and decay I foresee, but I see our present social order transformed into a veritable city of God. The church is the condition of all this. For there can be no Christian aggression; there can be no effective preaching of the Gospel; there can be no strong Christian character; in a word, there can be no Christianity apart from the Christian church. And the practical upshot of it all is this—let us give our strength to the church and the proclamation of its Gospel. We are tempted sometimes to neglect the church and its distinctive message and to betake ourselves to the advocacy of social schemes and philanthropic service. These things present themselves to us as short cuts to the millenium. But in this case, as in so many others, the short cut proves to be the longest way round. The man who cultivates the fellowship of the church, who gives himself to the proclamation of the distinctive Gospel of the church, does not seem to be doing anything directly to further the establishment of the

better order. But that is the man who really knows his business. The man who makes light of the church and ignores its distinctive message, whose interests are all in social propaganda, defeats his own ends, makes impossible his own dreams. But the man who believes in the church, gives his strength to the church, and preaches the Gospel of Christ crucified is hastening the dawning of the better day. For he is helping to create the new man, and the new man will create the new world! So let us renew our faith in the church. The church of Christ is the world's hope. And let us consecrate ourselves afresh to its service.

Fill up the gaps in our files,
Strengthen the wavering line;
Stablish, continue our march,
On to the bound of the waste,
On to the city of God.

The meeting closed with singing and the benediction.

Friday, July 3, 1908

MORNING SESSION

The Council assembled on Friday morning at 9.30, Sir Albert Spicer, Bart., M.P., in the chair. After the hymn "Dismiss me not thy service, Lord," had been sung, the Rev. J. Gould Layton, of Burghersdorp, South Africa, led the devotions of the assembly. A second hymn, "O for a thousand tongues to sing," followed.

The first subject, "The Church and the Kingdom," was dealt with by the Rev. Samuel G. Smith, D.D., of St. Paul, Professor of Sociology in the University of Minnesota.

Address by Rev. Dr. S. G. Smith

THE CHURCH AND THE KINGDOM

Mr. President, Brethren, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—I am under very great obligations to every one of the speakers of yesterday for having discussed my subject with so much force and illumination. Were it not for the opulence of the field that might be an embarrassment to me. In the brief time allowed me it will be impossible to develop carefully each of the propositions that I desire simply to sketch in the enormous subject, "The Relation of the Church to the Kingdom." I wish to say at the outset that I shall treat the church as an institution in human history. The invisible church is a subjective thing. The essential church is equally so. But the church as an institution is an object of science, of investigation. We can find out what it is and what it has done in human history.

The Kingdom of God is not an institution; the Kingdom of God is an ideal and a promise. It is in process of becoming. It is not of this world, else would the servants of the Master fight. It is not an external organisation. The Kingdom of God is within you.

Now what is the relation of the church as an institution to this ideal and promise of perfection which the Master brought to the world. Jesus Christ himself undertook the task of preaching the Gospel of the Kingdom; he said little about the church. I may dare to say that he said nothing about the church as an institution. He laid no foundations for a church in an organised sense as we understand it. But he did preach the glad tidings of the Kingdom of God. He did set fair visions before the eyes of the race. He did inspire us with nobler hopes. He was the great champion of a universal optimism. He bade us believe that all the human struggle through tears and blood and sorrow should not eventuate in defeat and despair but should at last come forth shining with all the ideals of the seers, the prophets, the saints of all time, and should realise God on earth even as he realises himself in his heaven.

I wish to speak of the social values that the church has furnished to the world and is now furnishing.

The first thing that the church as an institution does is to furnish the culture of reverence. That is one of the supreme social values. It is of value not only for religion but for life. The man of science unless he bows his head can never wisely open his eyes. All wisdom begins in humility. The church has furnished the world in all time with its culture of reverence. It has bidden man lift up his eyes to the awful throne of an Eternal God and then to fall upon his face. This value I place at the beginning of the legacy that the church has furnished to the world.

The second value is the witness for righteousness. I speak of the church broadly in all times. The church has sometimes defended unworthy causes, no doubt. But there has never been a time in the darkest, the blackest age of the church when the church could have existed for twelve months had not men believed that the church was set in defence of righteousness. And taking the church as an institution it has stood for freedom, it has stood for the rights of the people; yes, and in the darkest days of the hierarchy, even then had not the church interposed itself between the tyrants and the people, the history of the world would have been written in far deeper red.

The third value of the church is to bring to the world the culture of love. This is, of course, the very essence of the message of Jesus. It is not that the church has done all the philanthropic work of the world, but it is that all the philanthropies of the world have grown out of the spirit of the Gospel. The asylums, the institutions of benevolence everywhere, have followed in the wake of the church, and to-day even among those institutions of philanthropy that are not strictly ecclesiastical, that do not belong to the church directly the workers in nearly every case are Christian people, vastly outnumbering all the rest and gathering their own inspiration and life at the altars of religion.

These three values of which I have spoken thus briefly, I submit, are the chief elements in all that is great in human life and human character—reverence, righteousness, and love. The world cannot get on without them. If the church abandons the task, who will furnish them?

There are I suppose three distinct rivals to the church. The one is the newspaper. But can we look upon the newspaper to furnish reverence, righteousness, and love? The newspapers are great leaders of public thought, but the newspaper, the great newspaper, is edited from the business office. It is a commercial institution. It represents the floating fashion and event of yesterday. No, we cannot trust the newspaper for these essential values.

And the next rival is the theatre. Now I suppose that Mr. Bernard Shaw would agree that the theatre, perhaps, might comfortably displace a great many churches. But the theatre, whatever be its right and wrong, is essentially an amusement. It is a recreation, it is not even essentially a teacher. No, the theatre will not do.

And the third rival, a more serious one, perhaps, than the others, is the school. Can we depend upon the school to furnish us with reverence, righteousness, and love? I know when I speak about the school I am entering upon ground of debate, but I do not hesitate to say that it is the business of the school to give education. A Christian school is not simply one where the catechism is repeated *pro forma* for

a few minutes each day. That is not a Christian school. That might be done and yet the school might be very non-Christian. A Christian school is a school where the teacher is set to so use the means of education as to develop to the very utmost the boys and girls who are there. That is a Christian education, an education where the teacher reverences fact and regards an untruth either in fact in character as the essential hypocrisy of the universe. That is a Christian school. You can have a Christian school without the catechism and you can have a pagan school with the catechism. But the school has to do with the intellect. That is its chief function at least, and therefore the school cannot be trusted to furnish us with reverence, righteousness, love.

Institutions shift with the shifting generation. The great conquest of modern times is the evolution of the state. The state has come to be the most august expression of the social life of the people. The function of the state has vastly changed. Many things that were once left to individuals are now taken up by public authority. Some things which once belonged to the family exclusively are now taken up by the state. The time was when every child was the chattel of his father or his mother. The state says, "No, we have an inalienable interest in that child. You must feed him, you must educate him, you shall not overwork him," and the child of the humble home—nay, even the child of the wickedest home in the Christian state deserves and has a right to the corporate fatherhood and motherhood of the entire group. All development of the modern times against child labour and in favour of child protection, a vast body of legislation, has grown out of this enlarged function of the state.

The city and state have changed places in many respects. Formerly the city used to issue money, make treaties, and carry on a great many functions which are now performed wholly by the general government. Formerly the city would have charge entirely of the matter of public health. Now it has become a larger matter—it is a state matter. And so we find a shifting of function in institutions. That is a great doctrine. A city has changing functions. A government, a state, has changing functions. And so we may say that the function of the church will change from generation to generation with the evolution of human history. The time was when education belonged to the church. But there is a new doctrine, a simple doctrine, and it is this,—whatever task is too great and too important for a part of the people shall be undertaken by the whole people. Out of that has grown the modern doctrine of public education by the state. Another doctrine is this, that whatever the state pays for the state as such shall control. It seems to me that I voice American sentiment at least, when I dare to say distinctly to you here to-day that the American view is that education is purely a function of the state in so far as it is universal and necessary for every child of the state. In so far as it is partial, in so far as it seeks to meet special ends, there may be a special institution. The family may conduct education and pay for it. The church may conduct education and pay for it. But if the state conducts education the state must control it. And since the state is a secular institution in its evolution by the state, paid for by all the people of all creeds and of no creed, education by the state must be equally and universally as secular as the state itself.

Society is a larger word than the word state. Society is a word

that covers the social group. That social group is bound together by a great many bonds. Its common language, its common tradition, its common history, its common ideas, its common institutions, its laws, all these things combine to unite the social group together. Now society, or the social group, functions itself through its institutions. The more distinct is the function of each institution, the more perfect is the society. In the earlier times church, state, family, were indiscriminately the same thing. The same organisation manifested itself first in one form and then in another. As life ascends, function becomes differentiated. Society that has institutions that can do almost anything but have no definite function is a society that is really incomplete, and this is how it is that in the order of human history the beginnings of society were anarchy. That is the first form, a small group with no coherent institution. And the next form of this society was the form of socialism that came necessarily and naturally because the common interest was law. As soon as society became stronger the economic interest became important. Then we come to private property and the development of modern economic institutions.

One of the needs of the time is to find out what is definitely the function of the church. It seems to me, in view of the great interests that we have to furnish to society, that the chief function of the church is to maintain worship. Greater than all the philanthropies of another kind, greater than all the interest in social reform, greater than all political advancement, is this, that the church believes that God is in the midst of her, that the church with its hymns of praise, with its aspiration, with its worship, with its revelation of the everlasting truths of the Gospel, must illuminate men's minds, stir their hearts, control their affections and guide their lives. It seems to me that if we find out what the church is chiefly for, to direct our energies chiefly to that, we shall come to see its power and come to find its place.

The church has furnished the world two great sustaining ideas, ideas that have more dynamic in them than all the inventions of machinery and all the ships that sail the sea and all the cities that have been built to rest upon the soil of earth; and these two ideas are the idea of immortality and the idea of providence. Take these two ideas. They have lifted man out of savagery, they have lured him on toward a possible greatness. In the midst of his poverty, in the clank of his chains, in the midst of his shame man has lifted up his eyes to the kingdom of God. Beaten upon by storms, the prey of the forces of nature, trampled upon by the rough feet of cruel men who should have been his brothers, this man has said, I do not understand, but this I have come to believe, that all things work together for good to them that love God. And with these two great ideas as the dynamic of human life, the church has furnished the motive power of all the world and it is not time yet, brethren, for us to abdicate and find something else to do.

Let us think also of the church and its Bible. I welcome all that has been done to give us better science, larger knowledge, but I always shrink when I hear men say "of course the Bible is inspired, and Shakespeare is inspired, and Browning is inspired—there is so much inspiration. I go into a man's garden and he says to me, "I have developed a new rose." I look at it and I say, "It is a thing of beauty, but how did you make it? Have you a factory in which you can make roses like this?" He says, "You are joking. I take another rose, and I put it under a different environment and circumstances, I change the

earth a little or I graft it on to another stock and I develop it, and by and by I have a new flower settled into this form of beauty. Is it not a fine rose?" And I say, "Yes, it is a fine rose, but where did the man get the rose that you began with?" "Well," he says, "he developed it." "Well, where did the first rose come from?" "Why, the first rose was God's wild rose blooming out of the thickets." And at the heart of every rose, however splendid, in that conservatory, whatever its magnificence of colour or of fragrance, at the heart of it lies nestling God's wild rose. So there may be splendid blooms of poetry in Browning and in Tennyson, there may be riches in Carlyle or in Emerson, or in all the great writers and thinkers; the great Goethe may have done something for us that perhaps no other modern has done; yet at the heart of every glorious bloom of literature there lies asleep the wild rose of the Bible of the Hebrews and of the Scriptures of the Christian church.

The kingdom is to come. We are not at last to be disappointed. This earth of ours is on the march because the life of this world is divine. The plan of this world is God's plan. You and I may fail but the kingdom cannot fail. The present churches may pass away, and upon their ruins our God may call forth a new brotherhood to take our place and do our work. I should not do justice to this occasion did I not say so. The Master said, "Other sheep I have which are not of this fold," and other sheep he has to-day and other workers who are not of this fold. The scientist who is reverent for truth is also a believer in God. The honest merchant who brings honest goods and sells them on square representation is a worker for the kingdom of God. Every noble man who, in his relations with those whom he employs, seeks to do justice and work the will of God, he also is a maker of the kingdom of God. The kingdom of God has a wide range. It must at last cover all institutions and take possession of the spirit of the entire social group. That must be transformed throughout. The state must be transformed and literature must be transformed and business must be transformed, and righteousness and reverence and love must everywhere prevail. But let us be thankful, O brother helpers and brother workers, "other sheep I have." Yes, and some of them look to us very much like goats, and nevertheless "the foundation of God standeth sure, having this seal, the Lord knoweth them that are his."

And this kingdom will not come cheaply. It will not come as the result of a political revolution. It will not come as a new form of institution. It will not be by statutes or by constitutions. When Jesus had the vision of the kingdom and went about preaching it, did he say this—"Make a new social order, do business in a different way?" No. But, "Repent ye therefore for the kingdom of heaven is at hand." And it is upon the basis of an individual repentance and individual regeneration that the kingdom of God is at last to come in this world. A socialistic church? Yes, and for ever, ever so. It was promised from the beginning. "There is neither Jew nor Greek, bond nor free, male nor female, but one man in Christ Jesus." And the church is essentially a socialistic institution. But the state and economics and business—that is quite another question. People suppose that when the economic question is settled by recasting an institution, you will do away with human nature. Will not the passions of men be the same? If they do not struggle for the bone will they not struggle for the kennel? If they do not fight for one thing, will they

not fight for another? Will they not still struggle to rule over the Gentiles? How will you manage when five men want the same woman? What committee will decide that? The struggles of human nature and of human life will never be settled on cheap and easy terms. The kingdom will only come when we realise the grand law of the Master that he who would be greatest of all is to be servant of all, and when in subjugation to the most high God, our thoughts, our desires, our ambitions, our passions, are nailed to the cross of Jesus Christ. I look forward, then, for this kingdom, this kingdom that shall come at last, as the Master promised, as an evolution—"first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." It is a small seed, but it is to grow and shelter all life. It is a little leaven, but it is to leaven all institutions. Let the church be faithful to her work, let her realise her position, let her be instinct with the life of God, let her songs still ring with the old emotion and glow. Let us learn no more to say our prayers, but to pray; no more simply to see the things that are visible, but to have eyes uplifted to catch a sight of the things that are invisible, and that shall remain for ever and for ever.

The Chairman next called on the Rev. Eric A. Lawrence, of St. Anne's-on-the-Sea, to speak on "The Communion of Saints in History."

ADDRESS BY REV. ERIC A. LAWRENCE

THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS IN HISTORY

By the terms of the subject which has been allotted to me, as I understand them, I am required to give some account of the endeavours that have been made from time to time in the course of Christian history to realise a great ideal. The nature of this ideal is indicated by the expression "the Communion of Saints," and our attention must be directed in the first place to a brief examination of this well-known phrase.

The phrase has been made familiar to us by the Apostles' Creed, but neither the creed, nor the history of the creed, throws any clear light upon its meaning. We do not know why it was inserted there, or what it was intended to express. In the absence of knowledge, conjecture has been naturally busy, but it is needless for us to dwell now on the various interpretations that have been suggested. The one certain fact appears to be that whatever meaning the phrase in the creed originally bore, it did *not* carry the meaning that is commonly attached to it to-day.

But the phrase itself is older than the creed, and was not coined for the purpose of insertion in it. It was in common use in certain districts of the West at the time when the creed was framed, and one of the meanings that it carried then approximates to later usage. It was used to describe the kinship and unity of all persons, whether alive or dead, who shared a common faith and hope in God through Jesus Christ, and was especially intended and regarded as an affirmation of the fellowship of all Christian believers still living upon earth with the saints and angels in heaven. The main thought was not of a communion to be realised here and now by living men, on

the basis of their common faith in Christ, but rather of a blissful fellowship which might be conceived of as existing now, but could only be enjoyed hereafter.

But in course of time another meaning was given to the words, or perhaps we should say that a meaning which was quite subordinate, and only dimly present in the earlier usage came to be predominant. This was due to the Reformers, and the interpretation which they gave to the expression has been accepted generally by Protestant Christians.

According to this interpretation "the Communion of Saints" is not a future possibility, which can be realised only in the world to come. It will indeed be consummated hereafter, but it is possible here and now, and is to be most earnestly desired and diligently sought. It is the fellowship of Christian believers with each other here on earth, the close and intimate relation one with another into which they are brought by virtue of their common faith and hope and aims. It is the outward expression and evidence of the inward, spiritual bond by which they are united. The phrase "the Communion of Saints" is, therefore, a definition or description of the church. Where this communion is lacking there can be no church at all. For it is not enough to say, as was very often said in that part of the world where the article first obtained a place within the creed, that the church has, or provides for, or makes possible, a "Communion of Saints"; the truth upon the matter is not asserted, and will not be apprehended, until it is plainly said, and clearly seen, that according to its very nature the church *is* a Communion of Saints.

But when it is thus affirmed that the Communion of Saints is the fellowship of Christian believers, regarded as a present possibility, realisable here and now, the idea which the words convey is not yet made sufficiently explicit. We have done little more than substitute one phrase for another. It is necessary further to enquire what manner of person a Christian believer is, and in what communion or Christian fellowship consists.

To the first of these questions the answer is that a Christian believer is one who confesses Jesus Christ to be the Lord and Saviour, and who is seriously pledged to live his life, and order all his ways, in loyal submission and obedience to the will of Christ. He believes that in Christ God has drawn near to him, and speaks to him, and that through Christ the Spirit now directs and guides him in the way of everlasting life.

One of the earliest names given to those who stood thus related to the Lord Jesus was "saint." It was not, like the name "Christian," given to them by outsiders, but by their own revered leaders and teachers, and especially by Paul. It carried no such meaning as we find in the word to-day. It did not imply any spiritual strength and beauty of character and disposition, or any kind of moral excellence, on the part of those who received it—as is evident from the fact that Paul deemed it needful to exhort some of those whom he described as "saints" to speak the truth, to give up stealing, and to abstain from other gross forms of sin. It was not achievement, but intention, not attainment, but purpose, that the name implied. The "saints," who were also known as "faithful brethren," were all those who were united by a common faith in Jesus Christ as Lord, and by a

common purpose to order their ways in humble recognition of His supreme authority, and in entire submission to His will.

By Communion, or Fellowship, is meant the close association into which those were naturally brought who thus recognized their unity in Christ, and were animated by this common purpose. The sense of fellowship with Jesus Christ came first, and was the basis of their fellowship with one another. Those who were conscious of their fellowship with the Father, through Jesus Christ his Son, were eager to have fellowship with others who shared their faith and loyalty, that thus their joy might be fulfilled. And the fellowship into which Christian believers were thus brought expressed itself in common worship, in mutual service, in tender care and fervent love for one another, and in united effort with a view more perfectly to realise and manifest their oneness. Christian believers thus united, in a house, a city, or a province, formed a church; and all the brethren of all places collectively formed the church. Every church was in the beginning a Communion of Saints.

It is not to be supposed that the Christians of the apostolic days had this ideal before them, as a thing which they consciously sought to realise. They had no theory of the church to which they strove to give effect in practice. They were naturally drawn together by the instinct which attracts and unites men who are animated by a common hope and purpose. Our impression as to the degree in which the apostolic churches realised the ideal, is probably due in large measure to the fact that the apostles, to whom we owe our knowledge of them, were so much accustomed to idealise the real—or, as they would perhaps themselves have said,—to apprehend the actual. They did not suppose that a man's relation to the Lord depended on his recognition of it. It existed before it was recognised, and persisted even though it was ignored. But though it must be frankly admitted that in speaking of those distant days we are largely in the realm of conjecture, I suppose it may be quite truly said that there has never been a time when there was a closer approximation to the realisation of the ideal than there was in the age of the apostles; and this was not because the proportion of "saints" then to be found in the churches, was larger than it has been in any subsequent age, or than it is to-day, but because the circumstances of the time, and some beliefs peculiar to, or specially characteristic of, the Christian believers of that period, did so much to promote fellowship among them.

What we may call the internal motive to fellowship, would be powerfully enforced by external conditions. Everyone who had received Christ Jesus as Lord, and had entered by the way of trust and love into some degree of fellowship with Him, would most naturally seek association with those who had a like precious faith. Through such association his strength would be increased, and his courage and fidelity maintained. But quite apart from this impulse to fellowship coming from within, would be that constraint which arose from the circumstances by which Christian believers were surrounded in the earliest days of the faith. They were surrounded by a hostile world; exposed to many perils; often subjected to bitter persecution. They had much need of the encouragement and sympathy and help, that could only be expected and obtained from close association with those who shared their faith and purpose. External conditions, and experiences incidental to their situation, would therefore tend to draw them

together, and would lead them to set high value upon that close union which was rendered possible by the fellowship of the church.

And their confident anticipation of a speedy end of the age, and of the return of Christ in great power and glory, to gather all His faithful followers to Himself, would operate strongly in the same direction. But for this anticipation, no attempt to express and manifest their fellowship by establishing a community of goods, like that of which we read in the Acts of the Apostles, would ever have been made. And though this experiment was not perhaps repeated or prolonged, the confident anticipation by which it was occasioned, so long as it remained, and was cherished as an article of faith, would incline all those who shared it to hold together in the closest possible association, and to strengthen the bonds of fellowship by which they were united.

The communion, or fellowship, thus promoted and established in the earliest period of Christian history, was sustained by the polity of the apostolic churches. It can hardly be maintained that "the Communion of Saints" is impossible in the absence of that polity; but the converse seems unquestionably true. You cannot have the polity without the fellowship, even though it may be possible to have the fellowship without the polity. For the fellowship of believers was not only a feature of the apostolic churches, but a condition of their existence. Where it was not, they could not be. The polity was an expression of the fellowship, and fostered the fellowship that it expressed. Each member of a church was charged with grave responsibilities; by the very organisation of the church each one would be constantly reminded of his rights and of his corresponding duties. All were called to co-operate together in maintaining the authority of Christ. In the meetings of the church for worship; for the admission of members; for the exercise of discipline; and for the election of ministers and other officers, all the members would be kept in remembrance of their responsibility to Christ and to each other, and of the solemn and sacred fellowship into which they had been divinely led.

Here, then, in the apostolic churches, we have the earliest example of "the Communion of Saints in History"; and, if due allowance be made for the elementary and defective character of the sainthood in those churches, we may truly say that to a very large extent the ideal was at that time realised.

But before the close of the apostolic age there were symptoms of decline. An apostolic writer found it needful to exhort Christian believers not to forsake the assembling of themselves together, and the exhortation bears witness to some loss or diminution of the primitive desire for fellowship.

In order to account for this, it is not necessary to suppose that large numbers of persons were now found within the churches who were Christians by birth only, and not by conversion and conviction. I do not know of any evidence to justify the supposition that the Christian believers of the first generation had a more vigorous personal faith, or deeper spiritual earnestness, than those of the generation that succeeded them. I take it that the change was due rather to the fact that the early belief in the speedy end of the age, and the return of Christ, which had been so strong an incentive to fellowship, had gradually faded away; while, at the same time, the external conditions were so far changed, or changing, as to diminish the motive to fellowship which they had once supplied.

This decline of fellowship was inevitably followed by a change in

the church polity, which always presupposed the fellowship, and could not exist where it was not. It led devout and earnest men to regard some development of officialism in the church as expedient, and even necessary, for its welfare; it also gave a welcome opportunity to men of very different temper, who were ambitious to gain place and power within the church; and in consequence of it the apostolic polity gradually passed away. The churches ceased to be congregational; and the ideal of the Communion of Saints was lost.

But now and again in the course of the succeeding centuries there were some who were visited by glimmerings of the lost ideal, and various attempts were made to reassert the principles of the primitive and apostolic polity. Such attempt was made by *Montanists*, who asserted the priesthood of all Christians, and declared that the church consists of those alone who hear the voice of God, and yield obedience to it; by *Novatians*, who earnestly contended that the church of Christ is a holy fellowship, and that a Christian church could be formed only of Christians; and by *Donatists*, who laid great stress on apostolic discipline, and affirmed that no true church could be where it was not. But sound though this testimony was, it was not widely fruitful. It cannot be said that the parties by whom it was borne exhibited any closer conformity to the mind of Christ than those by whom they were opposed; and its failure was due in large measure to the mournful fact that both parties in the long debates forgot that the weapons of the Christian warfare are not carnal.

The final outcome of the prolonged and embittered controversies was the establishment of a conception of the church which was removed as far as possible from that of the apostles. The church was no longer regarded as a Communion of Saints, or a company of persons united by the solemn pledge and purpose to live in loyalty to Jesus Christ, and to love one another as He gave them commandment, but as a great institution in which all those were included, no matter what their lives and characters might be, who had received the sacraments from the hands of official persons duly authorised for the performance of their functions through ordination by a properly consecrated bishop.

Such efforts as were made from this time forth, say from the sixth century to the dawn of the Reformation, to recover the original ideal, may be traced both in movements that arose within the church, and in movements that sprang up outside it. Among the former are Monasticism, and the free spiritual associations which were fairly numerous in the middle ages. Whether societies like the Beguines, the Beghards, and the Brethren of the Common Lot, are properly regarded as illustrating attempts to realise the Communion of Saints, may perhaps be doubted. It would appear that they did not originate in any feeling of dissatisfaction with the existing constitution of the church, but in a desire to be engaged in practical Christian service. The Beguines were "sisters of mercy in every mediæval town"; the Beghards were fraternities animated by a like motive; and the Brethren of the Common Lot were especially concerned for the better education of the young. It is rather perhaps in the Gottesfreunde, in the praying circles of the Mystics, and in associations like the "Brotherhood of the Eleven Thousand Virgins," commonly known as "St. Ursula's Little Ship," which is described by Dr. Lindsay in his great work on the Reformation—associations whose declared object was "to better one's life through the power of

prayer," and which aimed to be little churches in the church—that we see survivals of the lost tradition of the Communion of Saints, and endeavours to recover the ideal. And among the movements, outside the church, which were inspired by a like purpose, but were definitely hostile to the church in its existing constitution, the most conspicuous and important was that of the Waldenses, which recalled the first age of the church, and was prophetic of the Reformation.

Soon after the Reformation began there was a rediscovery of the lost ideal. It was among the first fruits of that wider access to the Scriptures, and that closer acquaintance with them, which the Reformation promoted and encouraged, and it stands to the credit of our Congregational Fathers and Founders. They believed in the "Communion of Saints," they held that a Christian church could consist only of Christians; they declared that a church which was not, and did not even aim to be, a fellowship of Christian believers, was no true church at all; and in their "gathered churches" they sought to realise and exhibit the ideal. They were not lacking in evangelistic fervour, and in zeal for the conversion of the world, but they believed that the conversion of the world must proceed from groups of sanctified men and women, and to form such groups was their immediate aim.

All attempts to secure this end have sooner or later encountered the difficulty by which the apostles were confronted. A spiritual society can only be formed of spiritually-minded persons. The Communion of Saints cannot be realised if the saints are not forthcoming; and it will be hindered and imperilled if there should be any among those who bear the name who show themselves unworthy of it. How to exclude the unworthy; how to keep the fellowship pure; how to guard effectively against the presence of tares among the wheat, is therefore the great problem. We can hardly suppose that it was solved in the apostolic churches. It presented itself to Augustine in his controversy with the Donatists, and he declared it to be insoluble. "It is true," he said, "that discipline should be vigorously maintained within the church, and the whole church must exercise a jealous care for the purity of the life of its members; but no complete separation between the regenerate and the unregenerate is possible. Do what you will you cannot keep the world out of the church. The wheat and the tares must both be there, and grow together till the harvest. The evil is one that must be patiently endured." Congregationalists have refused to acquiesce in this conclusion. The difficulty of realising the ideal has not seemed to them a sufficient ground for its surrender. They have sought to guard the entrance to the church, and to maintain strict discipline within it. But they would be the last to claim that the success of their endeavours has been more than partial. In recent days there has been some relaxation of the old strictness. What used often to be spoken of as the "ordeal" through which persons had to pass on admission to the church is, I believe, in all cases less severe, and in most non-existent. But my own experience and observation give no ground whatever for the assumption that the quality of the womanhood and manhood to be found within the membership of our churches to-day is in any way inferior to that of days gone by.

Other Christian communities besides our own have sought with equal earnestness, in other ways, to realise the "Communion of Saints." The Methodist class meeting was established for this end;

and the associations of Plymouth Brethren originated in an honest desire to provide a fellowship that should promote the culture and development of a high spiritual life. But the class meeting of the Methodists does not appear to be entirely satisfactory in its working to those who are best acquainted with it; and the history of the Plymouth Brethren seems more profitable for warning than example.

I think it must be admitted that nothing has done, and does, so much to hinder "the Communion of Saints" as the disposition to attach undue importance to agreement in theological opinion, with the suspicion and intolerance that it so frequently engenders. Steadfast loyalty to Jesus Christ, and an earnest desire to understand and to obey His will, may exist among those who do not think in all respects alike concerning His person and His work. Such loyalty and purpose are evidence of a unity of the spirit, which lies deeper than any agreement in opinion, and is the one thing of vital moment. For this above all else we ought to care, and we should be swift in our discernment of it. Any attempt to exclude from our membership or ministry those who do not hold and teach certain forms of doctrine which some may find entirely satisfactory, and deem of high importance, must be earnestly resisted from whatever quarter it may come. Those whom we cannot doubt that Christ our Lord would acknowledge and receive as His ministers and His disciples ought to be welcomed heartily into our fellowship. "We have no right," said Dr. Dale, "to ask for anything before a man is admitted to the church except loyalty to Christ, but we are bound to ask for that." If any man confesses Jesus Christ as Lord, and feels the constraining power of His great love, we should rejoice to recognise in him a fellow-disciple, a Christian brother, and a comrade in our Master's service; and only as such readiness prevails can we worthily realise the Communion of Saints.

The Communion of Saints stands related to the larger ideal of the Brotherhood of Man as the church stands related to the Kingdom. The phrase "the Brotherhood of Man," as the late Dr. Westcott said, has become a commonplace before its meaning has been fully grasped. It is the highest ideal that we can cherish. It has been pointed out by Dr. McGiffert that among the early Christians love for man lost something of the meaning that it had for Jesus, there being even in the days of the apostles a notable and growing tendency so to narrow the circle that Christian love becomes love for one's fellow disciples. Love for those outside the church is explicitly referred to in a few passages in the New Testament, but as a rule emphasis is laid upon love for the brethren. The injunction given by Peter, "honour all men; love the brotherhood," expresses the prevailing sense of obligation. We are even told that there is no case in the New Testament where a fellow-man, as man, is called a brother. But there surely can be little doubt that our Lord would answer the question "who is my brother?" much as he answered the question "who is my neighbour?" And as we are taught of Him we see that the recognition of what is sometimes called the *natural* brotherhood of man is of the very essence of Christianity, and no mere by-product of it. To deny this, and to affirm that the essence of Christianity is not brotherhood, but sonship, is very much like saying that the essential thing about a curve is rather its concavity than its convexity. The brotherhood, the "natural" brotherhood of man is not recognised save in the light that is in Jesus Christ. We do not see it till He has opened

our eyes. We do not feel it till He has touched our hearts. The very idea expressed in the word "Humanity," is Christian through and through, and has been born of the Christian revelation. This is the truth that awaits more perfect recognition. This is the truth that now especially is being declared by the Spirit to the churches. And as it is discerned we shall see that Christianity, as Richard Rothe said, has passed the ecclesiastical stage in its development, and that the present call of God is not to labour for the realisation of the Communion of Saints in gathered churches which are as far as may be separated from the world, but rather to aim at such work within the world as shall remove all artificial barriers which hinder the effective recognition of that brotherhood of men which is rooted in their common sonship to the Eternal Father, that the gospel of His kingdom may have free course and be glorified.

RECEPTION OF DEPUTATION FROM THE UNITED FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

At this point the Rev. R. J. Wells introduced to the Assembly a deputation representing the United Free Church of Scotland.

Remarks by Rev. R. J. Wells

Mr. President and Brethren,—When it was known in Scotland that the Third International Congregational Council was to visit Edinburgh, a representative of the United Free Church of Scotland wrote at once saying how greatly they wished, through a deputation, to present to us their welcome and their congratulations. We are very greatly honoured this morning and we are deeply grateful, too, for the presence of these gentlemen with us on the platform. I will introduce them now to our President: The Rev. Dr. Alexander Whyte, the Rev. Archibald Henderson, the Rev. Dr. George Robson, the Rev. Dr. Macgregor, Duncan McLaren, Esq., R. R. Simpson, Esq., John Nicholson, Esq.

The Chairman cordially shook hands with each member of the deputation, the audience rising to their feet as the delegates were introduced. The Rev. Dr. Alexander Whyte then addressed the Assembly.

Address by Dr. Alexander Whyte

Mr. Chairman and Beloved Brethren,—We feel it to be somewhat incongruous and somewhat belated to come at this time of day and say "Welcome" to you who have been three days in our city. You received a splendid welcome from our chief magistrate on Tuesday and you had a great welcome here, but it was impossible for me to take any share in it on Tuesday evening. But we are here to-day by your kind invitation, and by the appointment of our own church to say, though at this late time of day, our word of welcome to you.

It would take a good many deputations and a good many diets of welcome to say to you all that is in our hearts. Who would be more

welcome in Edinburgh, beautiful for situation, on the sides of the north the city of Knox and Chalmers, the city of the Covenants and the Reformation, the city, I will say in this hall, of the Disruption and of the great Union, and a greater union, we hope in God, yet to come,—who would be more welcome here than the sons of the Puritans, the great Puritans with their great and incomparable statesmanship, their seamanship and their soldiership and their authorship, the greatest age of England's greatest history? You are very welcome for your fathers' sake to old Scotland.

I would just like, in the few minutes I have at my disposal, to give you one or two reasons why you are so welcome, and why your fathers' names are held in as high honour in Scotland as they are in England or in America. It cannot be unwelcome to the sons of the great Puritans to hear what Scottish members of the last and this and other generations owe to your great fathers. They are not forgotten in Scotland. I know it is a case of taking coals to Newcastle to begin to speak about the Puritans to you. It is a case of bringing owls to Athens, as the proverb says, for me to say a word to you on the Congregational Council about the great evangelical doctrine of the Puritans, but, coals or not, and owls or no, I would like to say a word about the great Puritans and what they were to others, aye, and to ourselves, and please God shall be to our sons.

I remember, thirty years ago, Dr. Rainy having preached one of his incomparable sermons in the pulpit where two of your brethren will be, I hope, on the Sabbath, he came into the vestry and David Maclagan, one of our elders, a great name in this generation, a great evangelising and spiritual power in Edinburgh, came into the vestry with Dr. Rainy, laid his hand on his friend and said, "Rainy, who taught you to preach that way?" And Rainy, with his laconic words and his old-fashioned pronunciation, said, "John Owen." More than that and almost better than that, when Dr. Rainy was a fair-haired young minister in Huntly the Independents in Huntly claimed, and claim to this day, to have discovered Dr. Rainy. If there is a living-little Independent community in Scotland, it is the Missionar Kirk of Huntly. That little evangelical and most intellectual community produced as you all know the greatest Chinese scholar, Dr. Legge. It produced a saint and an incomparable novelist, George Macdonald. I am glad to testify what a loving, intellectual, generous-hearted, spiritual community the little Missionar Kirk was in Huntly. I had the honour and lasting blessedness of being a student missionary in the neighbourhood. It was another of your fathers who helped to build the walls of that loving little church at Huntly, and evangelised the neighbourhood—James Haldane on one of his missionary journeys. Then Rabbi Duncan—if ever there was a genius, an unqualified genius in Edinburgh, it was Rabbi Duncan. I remember him saying, when he could not get up to the grammar, "Well, you snobs, I will tell you a story or two," and he would always take snuff before a good story. I remember him once saying, "Young ministers, read John Owen." And he said, "Read his 'Indwelling Sin,' if you are going to be ministers among the Scotch people with their deep sense of spiritual things and their deep sense of sin." I remember him saying, as if it was yesterday, "Young gentlemen, read John Owen on 'Indwelling Sin,' and then comfort your hearts by reading John Owen on 'Spiritual Mindedness.'" And he said, "If you take up John Owen on 'Indwelling Sin,' be prepared for the scalpel." And then he took snuff—he always declared he deserved some refreshment.

Well, I have a better thing to tell you. It is our glory (I say it humbly and reverently in God) that this church—I say this church for we are in this hall—this church of ours has made a stand from the beginning, and her fathers made a stand before she was in her present condition, for thorough evangelical scholarship among our students and ministers. There is a book, I wonder if you have seen it, called "The Golden Book of John Owen." Hold up your hands, all who have seen it, I don't see a hand—oh, yes, there is one, give me a shake of it at the end of the meeting. Well, that book was produced—by whom, do you think?—by perhaps the foremost and most fearless of our scholars, a man who knows everything that has been written in Germany for years back on questions of New Testament scholarship, a man in the very front rank of our own scholars. I don't know that you have anyone in England to hold a candle to him, and he has written a book on John Owen. I said to him, "My brother, you have done a service for doctrinal and evangelical divinity that no man in Scotland could have done." No man knows the past history of scholarship better than my friend does, yet he is the man of all our ministers and of all your ministers who has produced a fresh, readable, commanding, delightful book on John Owen. So we have produced a man who combines a most fearless and reverent belief in modern scholarship and its methods with a profound appreciation of Puritan divinity as it is in that massive Puritan, John Owen, in the monumental edition of our own Dr. Moffatt. Since you came to our city I took up the "Golden Book" and read my friend's introduction. Well, you would think by reading it that he had spent his days and nights among the Puritans of the seventeenth century. Go to your shelf and take down one of his scholarly books and you would think he spent his days and nights for fifty or sixty years in the first century. That is the kind of man we are trying to produce, men who shall lead in the scholarship of the day and who shall also lead down to the richest depths of Puritan Evangelical divinity. If I were a rich layman—and if there are any here will you give me their names?—I would like to put this "Golden Book," this spiritually fascinating book into the hands of all your young ministers. I am not speaking extravagantly, but with the greatest appreciation, when I say, Long may you spread such books and long may you raise up such scholars and teachers.

I would like to pass on, but my time is going fast ("Go on"), and mention my own father in God. I don't know whether any of you young theologians would acknowledge him, but I acknowledge him as mine. I have wearied brethren here with his name but I am not tired yet of his name to feel his power, and it would be a miserable and contemptible thing to me if ever I had the ear of young ministers, or of old either, without bearing testimony to what Thomas Goodwin, under God, has done for my soul. You younger ministers will all reverence and follow my friend Dr. Dods. Why, when Dr. Dods was a young minister in Glasgow he came into his vestry on Sabbath mornings with his sermon always well digested, to get himself into a quiet, devotional mood for those deeply experimental and godly people who sat round his feet. And what do you think he had upon his mantel-piece in the vestry? Not your tags and rags of ancient collects, but a volume of Thomas Goodwin, and he strengthened and refreshed his spirit on Thomas Goodwin's presentation of evangelical doctrine, and with an incomparable application of that doctrine to the hearts and minds of minister and people. My friend used to sit down for half an hour in

his vestry and read two or three pages of Goodwin to warm and strengthen his soul before he went up the pulpit stairs to lead and guide his people.

And, speaking of pulpit stairs, I wonder if you Independents remember what Goodwin used to do at the foot of the pulpit stairs. He used to lay his hand upon the bannister at the foot of the pulpit stairs, stop a moment there, and wait with his eyes shut. His son asked him, "Father, what makes you do that way? strangers fear your strength is failing." He said, "My son, I will tell you. I am taking a turn up and down among the sins of my past life," and then he came up to his pulpit the freshest and most commanding preacher in Oxford, the favourite Chaplain of Cromwell. That commanding preacher had a sore conscience, a broken heart, yet at eighty years of age his was the most attractive pulpit in England and the secret of it was that his whole life was like the seconds at the foot of the pulpit stairs, "taking a turn up and down among the sins of the past." That is what will make a man's ministry lasting, that will make even ours fresh at eighty, if we take a plunge back into our past sins, never forgiving ourselves, because God has forgiven us all the more, not forgiving ourselves and coming up to face the people of God himself out of that fountain which is always immediately open to such men for sin and for uncleanness. Thomas Goodwin—I do not know where he stands among you, but I can tell you where he stands among many of us—and long may he stand. If I had a son in the ministry I could give him no greater gift than my own copy of Thomas Goodwin. I bought him when I was a poor student. I worked at him until he fell in rags, I sent him to my binder to put him in morocco, and to-day he is what the booksellers call shabby, but I am still using him continually.

And I will tell you another thing about him. I am speaking about your father—you won't weary, surely. A friend of mine in the Presbyterian Church of England, one of the best ministers of the church, was present at a meeting like this, and spoke to young ministers of his experience, and he said, "All my divinity I got out of Goodwin on Ephesians," that was hyperbolical, of course, but that is the way he put it, to impress it upon his hearers; and it was your humble servant who introduced him to Goodwin on Ephesians.

I don't know what you good men carry about in your travelling bags to the continent or to the Highlands. Some of Goodwin's volumes I have carried to the continent, I have read them on the Rigi. I would just say in summing up that I have read your Goodwin—for he is yours, you know—some of his volumes as often as Dr. Jowett had read Boswell. In a letter the master of Balliol said, "I have just finished Boswell for the fiftieth time." Well, I think I know what the master of Balliol meant by that. He just meant that Boswell was always within arm's length of him. Once you read a master you are always reading him. It is one of the signs of a master in literature and divinity that you always go back to him and find him fairly fresh. Well, I have purchased the right to say this to you about these men. It is because I have read them and am still reading them as the master of Balliol read his Boswell.

Now, I have another name yet. How are you getting on in New England, you descendants of Jonathan Edwards? How are your people getting on? At the present moment I am in the middle of a series of discourses on Sabbath evenings that Thomas Shepard



VERNON BARTLET, M.A., D.D.,
Oxford.



REV. OLIVER HUCKEL, D.D.,
Baltimore, Md.



REV. FRANK S. FITCH, D.D.,
Buffalo, N.Y.



REV. FRANK H. FOSTER, D.D.,
Olivet, Mich.

inspired. I do not know if the people get any good, but on the principle of Thomas Boston in carrying on his pulpit work—he said, "I always feel I am on right lines when I get good myself in preparing my sermons." Well, in fastidious Edinburgh I might be ashamed to say it, but I am in the middle of a series of discourses inspired by old Thomas Shepard of Harvard, New England. Whether the people get any good or no they know themselves; but on Boston's principle I recommend any young preacher with insight, with sin enough in himself and enough of the corresponding grace of God, to turn back often among his past sins and plunge into the fountain; I recommend you to try.

They say that Congregationalism in England is decaying. I hope it is not the same in New England, but I will not believe it till I see it with my own eyes, that preaching by great men of God, great scholars, great experimental preachers, great students of their own hearts and of the heart of God—I will not believe it until I see it, that with preaching of the character in Old or in New England will the people desert such pulpits and such a ministry. I am not asking you to form your style on John Owen and I am not asking you to form your style, that you think so much about, even on Thomas Goodwin; though I could show you classical passages in Thomas Shepard—it is a treat to see his style; it is a most atrocious style, but nevertheless you will find amongst thorns and briars even of Shepard's style, sweet flowers, if you have an eye for them, and you will find in the crannied and crumbling walls of his pages many fragrant and healing balms for your own souls first and then for your people.

Dear friends, I had a conscience to discharge about these things. When I saw myself put down in this dangerous position, to be speaker to men like you, I said, "Tell them about the blessings they have in having such scholars, such divines, such thinkers." Yes, I forgot to tell you about Dr. Taylor Innes, one of the foremost scholars and writers in our country, a man who would have been pleased to have been here last night. He said to me, "Goodwin is the most philosophical, imaginative and experimental of the Puritan divines." And that is by one of the foremost disciplined literary men as well as elders of our church that we have in Scotland.

Now, pardon me for giving you certificates about the Puritans. I want by hook or by crook to draw back the young ministers and I should not shut out the old. The fathers had John Owen on every study table in Scotland and a volume in every closet where the great men of old spent so much time alone with God and his great servant. May the time soon come; may it be recovered if it has been partially lost and I believe you have recovered—pardon me for accepting the assumption, for I do not believe it—you will recover your congregations in England and in New England and everywhere else, when you take just your own fathers, and put them into your style if you do not like their style; put them, you university men, into Newman's style; put them, you preachers to the common people, into Spurgeon's style; but keep the substance, carry it to the minds and hearts of all men, and of God's people, the great incomparable Pauline and evangelical teaching of your own Independents and spiritual forefathers.

The time will soon come when you will be leaving, so I am afraid, and going away across the border and across the Atlantic to your own land, but I assure you, fathers and brethren, that when you go away, thousands in Scotland will follow you with prayer and with benediction

and will say, "As long as I have breath in my body I will pray God bless more and more abundantly, fruitfully and successfully the sons and daughters of John Owen and John Howe and Thomas Goodwin and Thomas Shepard."

The President responded to Dr. Whyte's address.

RESPONSE BY THE PRESIDENT

Dr. Whyte and Gentlemen,—I am sure I shall express the words of every one in this Council when I say, on their behalf, I thank you most warmly for doing us the honour of visiting us here this morning; and especially Dr. Whyte for his fatherly and yet inspiring words. And I am quite sure his words and suggestions will not be lost upon us.

As lay president of this Council I confess, Dr. Whyte and gentlemen, I do not feel strong enough to do the whole of this reply to your deputation myself, and, therefore, my friend, Dr. Brown, is going to help me by representing the ministerial side. But before calling upon him, I should like to say just a word or two of grateful acknowledgment of some of the things we laymen owe to you, the great United Free Church. Let me say this, that we are thankful ever to recognise your loyalty to Christ, and whenever we have the privilege of hearing any of your ministers we always feel that the true note is ringing throughout the words which are addressed to us. And then we are grateful to you for ever giving us the example of a strong educated ministry, and that you have encouraged us to do what we could to see to it that every opportunity is given to those who feel called to enter the ministry, and who go forth to that ministry, shall be trained for the work. And, then, may I say a word on another point. We thank you for your dignified order—perhaps that is somewhat lacking in our freer system, but as a layman, speaking I believe for my fellow-laymen, we feel that you do set us an example very often in that line which we do well to follow.

And then there are just two other points which I should like to refer to. We are grateful for your denominational loyalty, that you have set us the example of being prepared to stand by one another. And in nothing is this more marked than in your great Sustentation Fund. Some of us have been doing now for a good many years all we can to extend this denominational loyalty in our midst. I think we have made some progress. Even this International Congregational Council is one sign of it. But we have not made such advance as we should have liked, and therefore it is a good thing for us to come into contact with you and with your church, and to feel its influence and its power. And then, lastly, I would say one word of grateful acknowledgment of your missionary enthusiasm. You have set us a great example in this respect, and we are deeply thankful for the strong missionary work that you are doing in every part of the world. I have had the privilege, not given to many in this hall, of spending a couple of days during the last few months in your great Missionary Institution at Lovedale, in South Africa, and I need hardly assure you that they were days of intense interest and satisfaction. I thank you, on behalf of the laity of the Congregational body, for the example you have set us in your foreign missionary enthusiasm and

loyalty which you have shown. I will now leave it to my friend, Dr. Brown, to voice the words of our ministers. Once again, I thank you for coming, and I thank Dr. Whyte for the words he has addressed to us.

Response by Rev. Dr. Brown

The Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., of Hampstead, also responded. He said:—

Dr. Whyte and Gentlemen,—I am glad to have the honour of associating myself with our President in expressing our very grateful sense of your kindness in giving us so hearty a welcome to your beautiful city, and to this historic building. It has been said that an offering gathers fragrance from the hands that bear it, and you could not have chosen anyone to bring your offering more acceptable to us than our honoured friend, Dr. Whyte. He belongs to you, but he belongs also to us and to the universal church. I am grateful to him for the soul-searching words which come to us across the Border. You have spoken of the obligations of the universal church to Independent divines and others. I should like, sir, to say that we recognise our indebtedness to you. And we hope that our visit here will not be without advantage to those to whom we owe so much. I was delighted to find from the *Scotsman* this morning that, ever since we came, there has been a midnight glow in the sky, and continuous daylight. Perhaps you will recognise this as an expression of our brotherly love towards you. I feel we are indebted to you—at any rate, we from England—in days of somewhat degenerate feeling about Protestantism, for keeping the old banner of Protestantism flying aloft. When I came past the statue of grand old John Knox just now, I lifted my hat to him, for when I was a youth of sixteen, I read Dr. McCrie's "Life of John Knox," and it has been in my blood ever since. You and we alike protest against the absurd and extravagant claims of an ecclesiastical system which is based very largely on fraud and forged decretals, and we go back to the simplicity of the early church. I think I heard you, Dr. Whyte, once say that Professor Lindsay claimed that Presbyterianism is older than Christianity. I believe he is right, for the government of the synagogue was a government by elders or presbyters, and so far as the Judean churches were concerned, they merely carried over the simple arrangements of the synagogue into the new communities.

I should also like to express the feeling that we are one with you, Dr. Whyte and brethren, in your love for the Gospel of Christ. I remember when I was a boy, hearing my father tell of a good man who came from Scotland—Rutherford by name, a good man though not so distinguished as the Samuel of that name. He was a devout man, and when he came to benighted England, he turned into what was then known in the town as the Presbyterian church—the home of the Unitarian community, which had usurped the Presbyterian name. The good man missed the note to which he had been accustomed. There was no Christ there, and where there is no Christ there is always a felt want. He went home sorrowful, he wandered about, and at last turned into a Congregational Church. Then he wrote

home to his wife, "Mary, I've found the Presbyterians at last, and in England they are called Independents."

We are one on fundamental questions, and, gentlemen, if I am not trespassing I would like to relieve my feelings by referring to the history of your church during the last few years. It was my privilege to be in this hall at the last gathering of the old Free Church Assembly, as one of the representatives of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and ever since I have taken the deepest interest in the events that followed. And, sir and brethren, I would like to say how we in England have sympathised with you in what we hold to be a cruel wrong which has been done to your church under the forms of law, but, on the other hand, we rejoice with you over the noble spirit which it has evoked in your church. You have gained enormously by that unrighteous judgment of the House of Lords. You have gained spiritually by the new life which has been kindled among you. I think myself, that the resuscitation of the United Free Church will, in future, take its place in your history, along with the great movement of the Disruption of 1843.

I trust God's blessing may be abundantly upon you. I am only voicing the feeling of my brethren, when I say how much we have enjoyed being amongst you thus far, and how much benefit we have received from those with whom we have associated.

If, as the biographer of John Bunyan, I may say just one word more, I would like to congratulate Dr. Whyte on being the greatest expositor of John Bunyan. It is a great service. John Bunyan said, and I say it here—this was the spirit of his life—"Seest thou a man in the image of Christ? Love him! Love him!" say to thyself, "This man and I shall go to heaven together some day. Let us so live together now, that we may look our Father in the face another day."

I have great pleasure, sir, in voicing the feeling of my brethren, of thankfulness to you for the very hospitable reception we have received in your city, and we trust that God's blessing may continue, and that the midnight glow may never die down.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. Oliver Huckel, D.D., of Baltimore, Md., to speak on "The Catholic and Evangelical Ideas of the Church."

Address by Rev. Oliver Huckel, D.D.

THE CATHOLIC AND EVANGELICAL IDEAS OF THE CHURCH

Mr. Chairman and Brethren,—The task that the Committee have set me I feel to be a particularly difficult one, and I have only ventured to undertake it, at their invitation, because circumstances of location in America have led me into somewhat intimate association with both phases of the subject. Many years spent in New England have given me thorough appreciation of the Evangelical idea as it appears there, and many more years in the most Catholic city of Baltimore,—Catholic, from the beginning, the primal see of America, the only city in America having a Roman cardinal, has also given opportunities of seeing something of the development of newer and freer

ideals even in that church, under the broadening conditions of the new world. A year at Oxford and some months in the city of Rome have also helped to give the difference between Anglican Catholicism and Roman. But what I say of the extreme positions of Catholicism may apply to both. Those who have been giving attention to the matter know that a strange phenomenon is appearing in these days in the Roman Catholic Church. The emergence of so-called Modernism in the midst of Catholicism may mean various things. The movement has some radical exponents. But in its more moderate advocates, it approaches a kinship at least to the Evangelical principle. How much importance we may attach to the present movement one may scarcely venture to say. It is, however, formidable enough to evoke some very strong and authoritative utterances against it from the present occupant of the Vatican. It is widespread enough to count adherents of influence in the leading countries of Europe, not only such as Father Tyrrell in England and Senator Fogazzaro in Italy, but hundreds of others. Some radicals in the movement are undoubtedly too rationalistic, few would care to endorse all of the utterances of the Abbé Loisy of France, but their better and wiser spirit seems to be a contention for the essentials of the Evangelical faith and method. They say (I quote their very words): "We want a Christianity more pure, practical, more conformed to the original Gospel." They hold loyally to Catholic doctrine and organization, but seek for greater liberty of thought, fuller adaptation to modern conditions and a larger fellowship of Christian brotherhood. As Senator Fogazzaro says: "There is the eternal vitality of Catholic doctrine, the power which the *soul* of Catholic doctrine possesses, of continually transforming its own body, increasing its strength and beauty without limit."

And in one programme of the Modernists, they say: "For us profoundly Christian souls, religion, far from being a vague, mystical feeling which soothes the spirit and isolates it in a barren region, is a Divine reality, which kindles into life, and exalts the souls of men, and, knitting them together in a bond of brotherhood, directs their life toward a supreme goal,"—the life in Christ.

Now I have cited this movement as a sign of the times. We have had for centuries the two distinct and antagonistic principles, the Catholic and the Evangelical ideas of the church. May it be possible that the two shall sometime appear thus together, working in harmony, supplementing and complementing each other?

Or is this the dream of a dreamer. We have learned by the struggles of the centuries to differentiate sharply, and the two antagonistic ideas loom up before us in such profound divergence and in such emphatic contrast. What is the real divergence?

Some have put liberty of conscience and the equality of all believers in rights and duties as the fundamental tenets of Evangelical Christianity, as against the autocracy and official lordship of the Roman and Anglican position. Some have made the differences between the Catholic and the Evangelical positions the differences between traditional and experimental religion. Some have said that Catholicism had an infallible Pope, but have also affirmed that the Evangelicals held to an infallible Bible. Others have said that the essence of Catholicism is authority and mysticism, while the basis of Evangelical Christianity is independence and rationalism in its comprehensive sense.

In their fundamental conceptions of the church, the contrast stands out most vividly. The Catholic idea of the church, most fully represented

in the Roman Catholic church, but also seen in the Anglican, has become almost exclusively that of an historic organization, an organization of definite and fixed ceremonies and creeds, an organization of a visible constitution and of specific bounds. In this Catholic conception, the creation and the glory of the *church* is Christ's great work. And in this theory to the church and its ministers only is committed the sacramental grace of God.

The Evangelical idea of the church, on the other hand, is essentially that of a spiritual force rather than an historic organism. It is the co-operative bond and power of regenerated lives, it is the gathering together of the redeemed and the bloodwashed for worship and work. It is a free spirit in action. It is a vital force. It is a missionary enterprise. It is not an end, but a means to an end, and that end, not the glory of the church, but the extension of the kingdom.

These differing conceptions affect all minor positions and ordinances of the doctrine and life of the church. Take the Catholic idea of apostolic succession. It is mechanical and formal. It is the official transmission of apostolic authority, through an unbroken succession of individuals—no matter what their private life—who have been officially in tactual communication one with the other, making a close-linked chain through the ages. Now the Evangelical idea of apostolic succession is essentially spiritual. It is the succession of the apostolic spirit and power in godly men who are related to each other only by the same spirit and life. It is not a formal or mechanical process, but a life of grace manifested in chosen vessels through the centuries and to-day. Every member of this spiritual succession, to be in the succession, must be apostolic in faith and work. His authority is not in official manifesto, but in actual power.

Or take the sacraments. The Catholic idea of baptism is mystic regeneration; the Evangelical idea is a sign and seal of a dedication and a new life. The Catholic idea of the Lord's Supper is a dramatic re-enactment of the great sacrifice, the elements magically transformed into the body and blood of Christ. The Evangelical idea of the Lord's Supper is a sacred memorial of Christ's life and death, and a spiritual communion in which the real presence of Christ is a matter of faith in the heart of the believer.

Or take the Bible. The attitude given by the two ideas is quite different. The historic Roman Catholic position, until recent years, has been to leave the Bible in an unknown tongue and to confine its use to the clergy. Even by them it has been little used, the selections from the Bible in their prayer-books being deemed sufficient. To-day it can only be used, if at all, in the Catholic version with the church's interpretations and glosses. The Evangelical attitude to the Bible, on the other hand, is that the Bible belongs to the people. It puts it in their own speech. It encourages its use in every possible way. It allows private interpretations as the Spirit speaketh to every earnest seeker for the truth.

The Catholic and Evangelical ideas of theology in the church are also diametric. The Catholic theology must be a fully articulated and consistent system, savouring strongly of law and government, and the more archaic and scholastic the better. It is absolutely orthodox, formal, finished, infallible.

The Evangelical theology, on the other hand, is a spiritual rather than an exclusively intellectual product. It has in it certain great basal facts, historic revelations, positive spiritual experiences. But

its interpretation of these is tentative and constantly enlarging. It is not a hard and fast system. It has a new theology for every new age, and yet the heart of it, the old gospel, is ever the same. The new grows out of the old, but grows greater and worthier. The Evangelical theology is still under the tuition of that Spirit that shall lead into all truth. As Pastor Robinson once said, so are we "very confident that the Lord has more truth and light yet to break forth out of His holy word."

What of the minister himself? The Catholic idea would make him a priest, a server of tables, a dealer in mysteries, a distributor of a monopolized grace. His work is exclusive privilege, carefully safe-guarded by ordinances. He is a celibate and lives in the world as one apart. He is a new mediator between God and man, almost deified in his power over the forgiveness of sins and the remission of penalties.

But the Evangelical idea emphasizes that the minister is a prophet, a preacher, an apostle, ministering freely of the grace of God, ordained not so much of men as of God, a mediator of grace, not a formal distributor, a mediator, not through ceremonies, but through the medium of his own believing soul and loving hands. The minister, in the Evangelical idea, is not one of a segregated class, but a chosen one of the whole church of the priesthood of all believers. He is still on a parity with all the brethren. One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren.

Or take the idea of worship and the place of the sermon in the two thoughts. The Catholic idea of worship is an imposing dramatic ceremony, with all the accessories of art, architecture, music, light and incense. Worship is a spectacle designed to entrance the senses, with a central thought that is to inspire gratitude and faith. Ordinarily the sermon has small place in such a service, often none at all. But the Evangelical idea of worship is a spiritual attitude of mind and heart. It is sublime in its simplicity. Worship, as the Evangelical sees it, needs no accessories, nothing but a devout heart. Music may help, but it is not necessary. And the place of the sermon in such a service, as Dr. Forsyth has so finely and forcibly emphasized in his recent lectures at Yale, is a most vital and essential part. Real preaching is real worship. It is an act of grace. It is a sacrament in itself in which more is done than said. It is an organ of the Divine Spirit for the informing and inspiring of the church to its largest faith and largest work. True Evangelical preaching, as Dr. Forsyth truly says, is more sacramental than the Catholic altar.

We have presented thus some of the antitheses of the Catholic and Evangelical ideas of the church. We are always differentiating, and we do feel the divergence and antagonism of the two principles as we hold them up in vivid contrast.

We must admit, however, that in actual life and working, there are times and seasons, and especially individuals and an occasional separate congregation in both the Catholic and Evangelical camps where these contrasting ideas are not so mutually exclusive and antagonistic as they are in our polemical discussions where we are apt to emphasize extreme positions.

Now in the whole spirit and trend of these modern times, I think we may say, if we interpret the Christian tendencies and manifestations aright, there are two very significant possibilities looming before the churches of our Congregational communion in the world to-day.

One possibility is—by our thoughts, practice and contention to hold

to a rigid and extreme Evangelical idea, to keep it austere, and exclusive, to make it the one type and standard for all Christian thought and life, and in this way to continue to emphasize the differences, and to widen the breach and to keep militant the antagonism in the divided church of Christ.

The other possibility is, by a larger spirit, a fuller love, and a more comprehensive grasp of truth to enter into a greater Evangelical idea, to make it so full, vital and comprehensive, in the truest sense Catholic, that it shall make for the essential unity of the spirit among all those differing communions who still call themselves by the name of Christ.

I do believe with all my heart in the Evangelical idea. But I believe most profoundly that it needs a freer spirit, a larger vision, a more spiritual and intellectual comprehensiveness, a deeper and stronger and more inclusive content of meaning than is now prevalent in most of our Protestant churches.

Brethren, the truth itself, I make bold to say, is a larger thing than is contained in either extreme of the Catholic or Evangelical contentions. Nor is it some golden mean. But it is found I am sure in a fuller comprehension of the absolute truth that underlies each position. Here is the point of possible reconciliation,—in something greater and richer than either the present Catholic or the present Evangelical position. It is heroic, I know, to contend for an evangelical principle; it may become more heroic to recognize that the divine life and work in the world may need more than that most valuable principle and to contend for the full inheritance of the saints.

Now, brethren, we have made our antitheses by emphasizing differences and discarding agreements. There is more essential agreement in all these things than we have recognized. We love to discriminate and contend. Why not much more love to understand and appreciate, to reconcile and agree?

I feel that such a prophet as Principal Forsyth in his continual insistence on the sacramental character of all our church work is pointing the way to the larger interpretation, and is filling the Evangelical idea with the spiritually Catholic spirit.

We are realizing anew, I am sure, the vital and large thinking on this great theme by Augustine and Athanasius, by Luther and Calvin—each had his own vision of truth for which we are profoundly grateful,—the splendid interpretations of God and the church by Jonathan Edwards and Horace Bushnell,—each with his limitations. We have been inspired by later prophets, by your own and our own Dr. Dale and Principal Fairbairn, and our hearts are stirred and our thoughts enlarged continually by such prophets in our midst to-day as Dr. Bradford, Dr. Gordon and Dr. Forsyth. By clear good sense, by large and bold thinking, by rich measures of the grace of God, they are helping us, in our own communion and also in a yet larger circle, to enlarge the essential thought and sacramental content of the Evangelical idea, and are inspiring in our hearts a revival of the larger New Testament idea of the universal church of Christ.

Yet we may regret that some of our leaders and prophets are still bitter in their tone toward those who interpret differently from themselves and who put the sacramental emphasis on different phases or functions of the church. Why a uniformity in interpretation any more than a uniformity in practice? We need the largest tolerance. The

kingdom can come not by controversy or antagonism, but by fullest tolerance and brotherly love.

When we moderns look deeply into the ancient doctrines, for instance, of predestination and election, we find that there was a real heart of truth in that teaching which so many in these days have utterly rejected. The doctrine is not to be rejected, but to receive a deeper and larger interpretation.

So in the doctrine of the atonement. Some would make antithesis between those who interpret the great fact of the atonement by the Fatherhood, and others who interpret it in judicial language and still others who see it in the essential terms of sin and holiness. Yet the true interpretation may be greater and deeper, and easily include all of these.

So with the Catholic dogmas and traditions. May we not find some phases there that we have forgotten. May not a deeper and larger interpretation, without prejudice, find much of value imbedded in those monumental confessions and ceremonies.

We have said that the Catholic idea of the church was that of a historic organism and the Evangelical idea that of the living Spirit working in the company of the regenerate. Both ideas, liberally and deeply interpreted, are true. The true church is always the company of the regenerate, and it has been the historic organism of regeneration by the Spirit through the centuries. Always has it had its true and false members, its natural and its spiritual members, its political assumptions as well as its spiritual character. The Catholic church has aimed for political influence, but so has the Protestant church in some countries. Calvin ruled Geneva, John Knox Scotland. We have understood that the Church of England is still in a measure political, and also that the free churches still make their voices heard in the legislation of the land. The Congregational churches in America are constantly boasting that they made the government democratic from the beginning—"a church without a bishop and a state without a king."

Brethren, you and I have no tolerance for the errors and corruptions of Rome, nor for the political intriguings of Rome. But these are not the power of Rome, although our bigotry and prejudices often say so. No. The power of Rome is in her great essential truths in Jesus Christ, and in the sacramental authority that she bears in all the life of her people.

Does the whole question of the seat of authority in religion seem to depend upon the truths of the Catholic or the Evangelical positions?

The Catholic idea finds its authority and uses it most strenuously in the so-called delegated authority of the church from the beginning,—the presumptive authority given by Christ to his apostles and by them transmitted to their successors in the church. Its head and centre is the Pope, the earthly head of the church. The Evangelical idea, on the other hand, finds its authority in the living Christ himself—given by his redemptive work in the Cross manifested to-day in the church by his spirit. The gospel itself is its own criterion. Its divinity is justified by its results.

And the fuller truth,—is it not in an inclusion of both these large conceptions? Christ gave authority. The officers or rather servants of the church may exercise even legislative authority in his name when they are delegated by the church. But the supreme authority—the spiritual—is in Christ himself. Not in the Bible, not in the church,

not in reason, not in the Christian consciousness, but in Christ himself supreme in the divine sacrifice of the Cross.

We must more surely and adequately recognize the functions of the living church, while at the same time insisting on the direct relationship of the soul to its God.

Now in its treatment of the heart of the gospel message, the cross of Christ, we may still more strongly seem to see the difference between the formative ideas of the Catholic and the Evangelical.

The Catholic idea loves the symbolism of the cross. It uses it for constant ornamentation, and for every rite and ceremony. It loves the tragic poetry and the sublime drama of the cross, and emphasizes it most effectively. It shrinks not in the awful realism of it and finds devotion in the blood, the tears, the agony. It holds before the people the divine court of justice and the gospel message is escape or mitigation of the sentence of the supreme judge, and of the durance of the prison house. The whole work of the cross is forensic, judicial, and the atonement is a satisfaction of justice by the victim offered to the offended majesty and wrath of God. And the value of that act of God for the individual is the belief in that finished redemption and a life of good works in the membership of the Catholic church.

The Evangelical idea, on the other hand, has much more of a reserve in the outward display of symbols of the cross, and of the portrayal of physical agonies. Its whole concept is more exclusively spiritual, for it is a matter of the solitude and silence of the soul before God.

Its thought of the meaning of atonement is growing larger with each generation. It has not compassed it in its fulness, but it is becoming more profound. It is emphasizing holiness as well as justice. It is finding a greater thought than the legal aspects of the divine work, and also more than the paternal aspects. It is entering into the essential nature of the divine life, and it is seeing how sin must be cast out of life by infinite sacrifice before we can come near to the divine nature and become partakers of the divine nature and enter into living communion with God.

Deeper, more vital and more comprehensive is the growing appreciation of the central message of the Cross, the heart of the ancient and eternal gospel of redemption. It is no longer theologic fiction, or juggle of words. It is a great spiritual reality, a great ethical certainty that is mediated for us in the infinite sacrifice of the cross. It evokes the conscience and the will. It destroys sin and creates holiness. It inspires real faith, and means "repentance, forgiveness, trust and self-committal to the Redeemer." It takes away condemnation and brings the peace that passeth understanding.

And the evangelical value of this gospel message for the individual soul is not in any mere assent to a creed or church, but in a vital faith that so accepts Christ that it enters into his spirit and life. It is Luther's justification by faith,—carried on and out to its largest reaches. It is the creation of love in the soul through Christ. Good works come, not as part of the price, but as the natural outcome of the Christ-life and love in the soul.

Now, brethren, look deeply and the two interpretations are only two phases of the infinite truth which is greater than any one interpretation. Each interpretation may help to make the truth more real to a certain class or classes of the church.

The great *fact* of the Cross of Christ and his eternal redemptive

work is the one fact that is the basis and the heart and soul of both branches of the church and their symbol of spiritual unity. This supreme truth of Calvary—of God's love and man's salvation—is the central power of the Christian doctrine and life, and for its full appreciation we need all the spiritual light and sacramental glory that the different branches of the church in their own way can bring to its infinite meaning for human hearts.

Brethren, I believe most heartily that the Evangelical idea is to conquer in this world. But not the narrow and exclusive Evangelical idea. The larger Evangelical idea, spiritual in all its interpretations, sacramental in its fuller spirit, tolerant and catholic in its fellowship with all souls. It will be the victorious force for the future because it is truer to Christ and to the leadership of the Spirit for all the centuries.

What I mean definitely is this:

The Evangelical idea must become more sacramental than ever and more catholic in its largeness of thought and purpose.

The minister, for instance, must be a true priest of the people, sacramental in his own life, leading worship, facing toward God, bowing before the eternal altar of sacrifice. But above all things, he must be prophet, bringing God's proclamation, facing also towards the world with the eternal evangel of salvation.

The church worship also must be, not mere instruction as often it is, but a deed of the soul; not an attitude but an act of grace. It must be, more than it is, an entering into living communion with the divine sacrifice; it must realize the actual presence of the Lord with his people; it must become a fuller and nobler worship—a spiritual service by which the supreme deed of Christ on the cross is really appropriated by faith—either by the sermon or other sacrament—so that believers are energized into a new proclamation of truth and a new service of works. We have no sacerdotal priesthood in the church of Christ, but we must interpret God's truth in such vital and profound way that we shall have a sacramental priesthood of believers—the whole church mediating the truth and grace of God to the world.

The larger Evangelical idea of the church to which we shall come will be that both of a historic and a living organism whose sacramental life shall save the world. Not merely the old Catholic idea of the church to be served by the world as Hildebrand thrillingly showed in the olden days at Canossa. But the fuller and grander idea that the church is to serve the world and save the world. The church owes nothing to the world but to love it, and therefore can freely give all. The church is still the living and saving Christ in the world.

And thus, central in all the thought and life of the church, is to be the larger doctrine of the atonement that includes in its full meaning all the worthiest interpretations of the centuries, and much more.

The moral influence of the atonement is merely the great dynamic effect upon the world of the supreme deed of Christ on the cross.

But the one essential thing—the heart of the fundamental doctrine of the atonement—is the infinite act of Christ upon the cross. It includes his incarnation, his redemption, his resurrection—his whole divine life and work—mediated unto his church by his Spirit and by the church made known to the world.

So long as this great essential is held fast, much may be allowed in the way of accidentals and temperamental differences in very widely

differing communions. The atoning spirit is the one basis of the vital life of the church for all time.

In this rapproachment, we must lay the stress on what is common and fundamental and vital to us all, and include all that is worthiest and best. And this all for a great purpose—not for the sake of Christian unity merely, but for the larger attainment—the greater work for Christ, the salvation of the world. Never can this world be saved until we Christians are one in Christ. What I advocate is no compromise. It is comprehension. It is a greater grasp of truth; it is a more brotherly spirit; it is more of the love of Christ shed abroad in our hearts.

I do love the uncompromising spirit of the Pilgrims and Puritans of the old days. They would not bow the knee unto Baal in church or state. They stood out stoutly for their conscience rights.

But it is a different matter when we come before our Saviour and Lord and again hear his prayer that they all may be one. Then we may well look deep into this truth for his largest and fullest revelation and pray for larger comprehension, and we may well realize that those who do bow conscientiously to monarchy in the state and those who bow conscientiously to monarchy in the church, as represented by Bishop and Pope, may be just as great and true Christians as those who believe that the church is only and solely "a republic of God."

Brethren, we would not for one moment compromise with the Roman Catholic idea. We must not juggle with words. We dare not admit the errors and corruptions that go along with the Roman Catholic idea—the accretions of the dark centuries. But we would appreciate and incorporate into one ideal and conception of the church all that is best and worthiest in the truly Catholic idea. The Evangelical idea is strongly individualistic. The Catholic idea takes more note of social aspects and of mankind. Both ideas are needed for the full life of the church.

The Evangelical idea is primitive; the real truth in the Catholic idea is the development of the centuries, under the tuition of the Spirit. Surely we can reach the deeper basis and larger thought in which our own church life shall be comprehensive enough to include the two thoughts in harmony.

The essence of Evangelical Christianity, as it has often been put, is in "the authority of the individual conscience and the direct relation of every man with God." The essence of Roman Catholicism is "reverence by duly constituted authority and willing obedience to law." Now both of these things are needed. They are both great contributions and great lessons for humanity. They are at the foundation of civil and religious liberty, and are the hope of all spiritual progress.

The church of the future will not be mere traditionalism for which Roman Catholicism has so strictly contended, nor mere independency or individualism which has been the distinctive tendency of Protestantism. But the great note of the church will be "the religion of the spirit," as Auguste Sabatier loves to call it. The religion of the spirit is the leadership of the spirit that shall lead into all truth and all life, and make the church of the coming days more beautiful and glorious than heart has dreamed.

In this fight for truth and for the unity of Christ's church, we can conquer the enemy, not by contending along narrow lines, but by sharing the larger truth of the greater love. If we adopt and

incorporate into our own the essential truth in the enemy's position, we have disarmed him, we have taken the ground from beneath his feet, and in the end we shall surely conquer. It is such conquest as comes when the darkness of night flees before the rising of the full day, or the sterility of winter is conquered by the quiet power of the new life of the springtime.

I do love the Congregational polity, the Congregational spirit and the Congregational traditions. I love our freedom and our fellowship, our loyalty and our liberty. It suits me exactly. But I do not prescribe it for all men. There are other temperaments in the world besides mine. Others may need ecclesiastical authority. Others may need different forms or ceremonies. Sometimes another side of my own nature craves the music, art and gorgeous ritual of Catholicism for its expression. It is a part of our human nature. The Congregational spirit is surely needed—its courage, its independence, its free leadership in thought and life. But it is not the only thing in this world. Other forms of church life and work are equally needed to meet all the varied human nature in this world.

Yes, as one says, "all religions have their Catholics and their Protestants, their saints and their prophets, their traditionalists and their men of independent insight, their mystics and their men of rational faith." But the true church of Christ is surely large enough for all of them.

Brethren, I call it a vain and preposterous dream—the dream of reducing this world to one form of church life. And I think it would be an infinite calamity if it should ever be accomplished. I want to see all the varied and profuse forms of church life flourishing in still greater power and beauty in the garden of the Lord. It would be a national calamity, for instance, if Italy should lose its cathedrals and picturesque worship, and gain only Puritan meeting-houses. What we want is that the spirit shall transform tyranny and superstition into liberty and intelligence in that land, and then use all the beauty of worship which God has put into the hearts of all that fervent and artistic people. I hate uniformity and conformity. I want a splendid unity and a glorious liberty in the church life of the future.

Surely in Christ's thought the church is one. It is Catholic in the deepest and largest sense—that is, all-embracing, world-wide. That fine old word Catholic is too good a word to be monoplized by any one branch of the church. It belongs to Christ, it belongs to the apostles, it belongs to us, it belongs to the whole church. There is only one holy catholic church throughout the world. This is the primary fact. Our business as Congregationalists is so to realize the great truth that our part of the church shall fully conduce in its spirit and work to the manifestation of that universal church. We are all to stop contentions and controversies. Polemics must give way to irenics. The era of reconciliation and of the realization of spiritual oneness must come. The catholic, the international spirit is growing among working men and statesmen. The catholic, the international spirit is at work in the great missionary movement. Surely the international, the catholic spirit must appear in the whole church of God. What else is the meaning of this intense longing for Christian unity in these days, manifested in so many branches of the church? "Christianity is greater than Protestantism at its best," and still greater than any Catholicism that we have yet seen.

Brethren, I feel the heavy responsibilities of the position that I am

advocating to-day. I am not forgetful of that heroic national covenant against hierarchy adopted and signed in Greyfriars churchyard here in Edinburgh. Nor am I unmindful of the later solemn League and Covenant for the united preservation of the evangelical church and the extirpation of popery and prelacy in Scotland. Deeply do I honour those splendid fighters of the past. But I believe that we have reached a new era, when God is leading us in an advance movement. I believe that the true church of England, for instance, must realize at last that the chapel is as much a part of it as the cathedral. We love the grandeur of the cathedral, but we love more the simplicity and sublimity of the chapel with its austere liberty and its spiritual enthusiasm. It is the birthplace of freedom. But freedom must find its complement in fellowship. The day must come when, to take a concrete instance, the Westminster chapel of the Congregationalists, and the Westminster Abbey of Anglicans, and the Westminster cathedral of Romanists must realize that they are not three exclusive institutions, but fellow congregations in the one great brotherhood.

I admire as I said, and the whole world admires most profoundly, the heroic struggles for Scotch liberty which the centuries have witnessed in this land. Were the struggles in vain, because Scotland is not to-day a separated and independent realm? Have not these struggles and sacrifices counted most gloriously in the freedom of the larger union and world-empire in which Scotland to-day is a most vital and influential part.

Brethren, our Puritan struggles, the results of our contention for evangelical liberty, will never be lost. They are a part of the price of the future liberty of the whole church when the great consummation of freedom and fellowship in the church shall be reached. Is it the dream of a dreamer? Brethren, that dreamer is Christ.

There are clear signs that the hope is springing in many hearts and that the vision is being seen by those widely separated.

Remember what Auguste Sabatier wrote in his last book on "The Religions of Authority and the Religion of the Spirit." He cries: "The Religion of the Spirit must reconcile all that is true in both Catholic and Protestant principles, by stripping both of whatever may be false and narrow in them."

Remember what that devout Roman Catholic scholar, Möhler, wrote in his "Symbolism:" "Both communions should stretch out a friendly hand to one another in the consciousness of a common guilt. This open confession of guilt on both sides will be followed by the festival of reconciliation."

The Abbé Houtin, one of the modernists, appeals to us: "O sons and heritors of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, you see beginning in this church of Rome which condemned your fathers without listening to them, you see beginning a religious struggle more far-reaching than that of Luther and Calvin. *Your* experience shall be our encouragement and our hope.

Father Tyrrell another modernist cries: "In the light of these centuries of necessary but costly experience, may not the problem of liberty and authority now admit of some happier solution, and on the ruins of two opposing systems be built up something more durable than either."

In America, a representative Congregationalist, Dr. Newman Smyth, has recently given a whole volume to the startling theme "Passing Protestantism and Coming Catholicism," but he means the same thing,

that an era greater than the old Protestantism and the old Catholicism is coming, and he makes noble prophecy along the broader lines of spiritual unity.

Professor Adolph Harnack is generally accredited as a careful and thorough historian. In a recent lecture in Germany, on Catholicism and Protestantism, he remarked that the "nearer approach of the two confessions passes with most of us as an Utopia, to think of which is not worth while." But he continues, "It is conscienceless to neglect it, and it is religious and theological slackness to thrust it aside." He calls our attention to this encouraging lesson of history. "If one objects to it that at this time no one can imagine how and under what forms Catholicism and Protestantism can ever draw near one another, it is to be remembered that three hundred years ago no one could have conceived beforehand how Lutheranism and Calvinism could have been fused together. And yet we have to-day the Evangelical Union in Germany, and thousands know themselves as evangelical Christians without any suspicion of that opposition which once bade Lutherans and Calvinists contend more bitterly than Lutherans and Catholics." Thus Professor Harnack and his startling words may be of more prophetic spirit than our faltering hearts are ready to believe.

In America, at least, there are signs of progress in the Roman Catholic church in spite of her theory of tenacity to traditions. There is development in doctrine. Even papal infallibility means that not the dead hand but the living church shall speak. And in modern methods, the Roman Catholic church in Europe and especially in America is adapting herself alertly to new conditions and is surely changing in the atmosphere of her life. The American hierarchy and priesthood, I am assured by those who know, are thoroughly impregnated with modernism, and they will not go back into utter mediævalism. Let us not despair of better things. Even the Roman Catholic church may in the future lose much of her mediæval accretions and traditional ecclesiasticism and become re-vitalized through the evangelical spirit working in broad and sympathetic comprehensiveness.

Brethren, I believe that historic Protestantism is not the final form of religious life but rather an advanced stage in religious development which must yet further be developed and enlarged. Historic Catholicism is not useless or obsolete, but has in it some vital truths which the Reformers in their day could not appreciate. The new Reformation, the greater Reformation will be a re-forming of the church of God out of the noblest elements of the great historic developments, until the church shall be really *one* in its fullest spirit and in its largest life.

Yes, as God lives, there must be a true church emerging which shall be in spirit and life more largely Evangelical and more largely Catholic than some of us have as yet dreamed. Perhaps the term an evangelical Catholicism, or a catholic Evangelism may not be altogether a misnomer. Here and there are these signs of the times, and I believe that our Congregational spirit is to have a large part in the larger life of the church in these coming days. Is such a belief audacious? Not if we believe in our church with all our hearts, not if we believe that we have gone back to essential New Testament principles. For their ancient programme re-emphasized in largest way is the conquering programme of the future.

Meanwhile, brethren, let us hold fast steadily what we have and enlarge it. Let us contend vigorously for the faith once delivered unto the saints, but let us be thoroughly hospitable and genuinely

appreciative of all branches of the great household of faith. The greater church, the truer Evangel, the grander Catholicity is coming. We know not yet with what body it shall come. But Christ shall be in it, more visible than now, and his Cross shall be exalted over it more potent than ever for all mankind.

Of course we cannot expect to attain our full church ideal at once. The churches move slowly, and seem to grow very gradually to a full conception of apostolic simplicity, liberty and comprehensiveness.

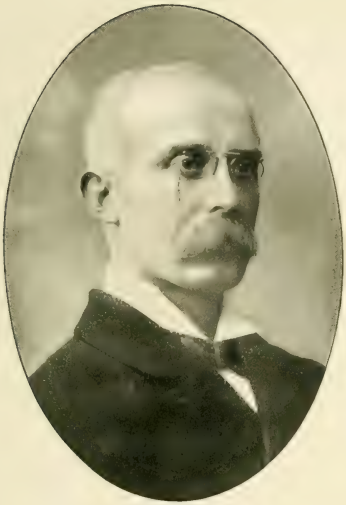
At first they spend their strength in minor things. It has seemed so far the province of the Roman churches to give themselves to organization and ritual, to church statesmanship and to gorgeous and dramatic worship.

The province of the Protestant churches on the other hand has seemed hitherto to be the discussion and elaboration of theology. They have emphasized the intellectual side where the Roman churches have emphasized the emotional.

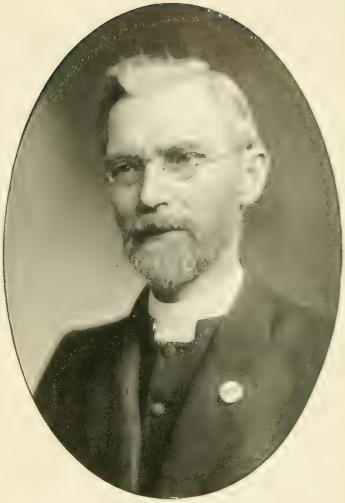
The two great revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as I think Dr. Jefferson once suggested, were diametric and yet one in result. The great revival of the eighteenth century under Wesley emphasized the work of the Spirit; the great revival of the nineteenth under Newman in the Oxford movement emphasized the sanctity and dignity of the church as Christ's body.

But the church of the future, perchance of this twentieth century, surely of the twenty-first, let us hope, shall blend all contradictories into a sublime harmony. It shall have all of Calvin's insistence on the sovereignty of God the Father; all of Newman's insistence on the sacramental power and the pentecostal glory of the body of Christ, which is the church; all of Wesley's insistence on the work of the Holy Spirit; but it shall include infinitely more. The full contributions to Christian life and thought have not yet been made in unfolding and emphasizing the full truth of the ever-revealing Gospel of Christ.

As we look back over the history of the church, it sometimes seems as if there might have been a providential working in all this division and subdivision of the historic church of Christendom; that each great division were called to teach some special phase of spiritual truth; that each great denomination has had a mission of emphasizing some special portion of neglected truth in order that the whole truth might at last be found. It might seem, for instance, as if Protestantism emphasized individual responsibilities to God, while Roman Catholicism represents the church as a continuous historic organism. It might seem as if among Protestants, Presbyterianism were called to emphasize the sovereignty of God; Congregationalists have always emphasized spiritual liberty and variety in unity; Unitarianism the humanities of Christ's life; the Baptists literal and close obedience to Christ; the Universalists, the larger ideal and hope for the Gospel; the Friends, the light and presence of the Spirit; the Methodists, the value of joyous and enthusiastic service; the Episcopalians, the value and sanctity of worship. Each family of the church may have had its mission in thus emphasizing some special portion of the truth. But the separate truths have been largely emphasized. Does it not seem that the time is approaching in these modern days for all the churches to stop emphasizing their differences, and instead of that to begin emphasizing their common and vital truth?



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We must welcome and fellowship all Christians. We must allow to each church full liberty so long as there is loyalty to Christ. We need not expect the organic union of all Christendom ; not uniformity, but something deeper—a unity of the Spirit in the bonds of peace.

For we are to hold, not a church ideal of the rigid letter, but of the varied and infinite spirit. The church, as we see it, can include many forms in the same spirit. It can allow the greatest diversity in unity—the most varied life in community. It may include the gorgeous ceremonials of St. Peter, and the austere plainness and silence of the Quaker meeting-house. It may include the Gothic cathedral, the mightiest birth of mediæval art, and the log-chapel in the Western hills. It may include all sects, communions, denominations, and bodies, whatever their name, form, creed, or ceremony, whose real purpose is to follow Christ and worship God. It allows all the profusion, and diversity, and exultant beauty of life itself, and yet a deep, and true, and substantial harmony. This is the ideal: "In essentials, unity ; in non-essentials, liberty ; in all things, charity."

Brethren, I covet for this Council, not only a new birth in the passion for spiritual reality in Christian faith, and a new passion for spiritual and social service, but I covet also the birth of a larger vision for us all, in the realization that the church in Christ's thought is, and must be one, and we are to claim it in his name.

The realization, the actuality of spiritual oneness in the church must come. I see, brethren, as well as you, the vast difficulties in the way—ecclesiastic establishments, immemorial assumptions, age-long prejudices that must be uprooted, marvellous readjustments that must be made. But, brethren, let us have faith to believe that the love of God in men's hearts can work miracles. The prayer of Christ must be answered. We must do our best to help answer it. The vision may not be realized in our day ; you in England and Scotland may feel that it is very far off as you look at the great fight for rights and liberties in which you are engaged, but we must keep the vision before us, for it is of Christ.

We are recognizing that the real genius of Christianity has not the sectarian, the separatist, the provincial spirit, but the cosmopolitan, the catholic, the imperial.

We need a new insistence on our catholic inheritance of the past, for Christ is in it all. Our own American church history, for instance, must go back further than Plymouth Rock. It must reach the sturdy Puritanism of John Milton and Oliver Cromwell. Even further, not by a great leap, but by steady spiritual appropriation, it must take the centuries in its arms, and enclose the early church in loving embrace as its very own. We are organically of the whole church. We belong to the whole church, and the whole church belongs to us, for all is Christ's—all its saints, martyrs, prophets, councils and cathedrals. Congregationalism is not a provincial product, either of the old England or New England. We cannot live in negations and littleness, in sectarianism and provincialism. We must be imperial in our spirit and sympathies, for such is Christ. We believe not only in a nationalization of Congregationalism in America, but in an imperialization of Congregationalism for the whole world.

The whole imperial past is ours. And also the imperial present and future, for all is baptized into Christ's name. We need a reassertion of the catholic consciousness of our faith, in order to do our work for

God in the destinies of the modern world. The curse of alienation among the churches must be broken by the gospel of reconciliation.

The swing of the spiritual world-conquest is awakening in the blood of the modern church. The modern missionary movement is really the taking of the whole world to the heart of the church, and then lifting it up in sacrificing and saving prayer before God. The modern missionary movement is the awakening of the imperial consciousness of Christianity, not the worldly imperialism of blood and iron, but the divine imperialism of love and life, to match the unfolding revelation of Christ's imperial presence in all the world.

Brethren, we have not yet come to the full appreciation of the beauty and glory of Christ in his church. So far we have seen him through Jewish eyes, and through Greek and Roman eyes, and Anglo-Saxon. There is yet a contribution to our vision to be given by the world-wide church when he is shown us as an Oriental Christ, when in these coming days he shall enter into the hearts of the seers of India and China, and be re-interpreted for us by them. All of Christ was in that first century revelation, but the eyes of the world are being constantly clarified by the brightening centuries. "The greatness of Christ," in Dr. Gordon's phrase, "must be the surprise of the centuries; the last hours of time must have for their romance the fresh unveilings of his majesty; and the perpetual delight of the everlasting future must be the ever grander discovery of his significance."

What we want on the furthest outposts of to-day's life is, as an inspiration to faith and work, a noble vision including the whole world—Christ's exultant vision, an inspiring vision of pure-hearted, clear-eyed, broad-minded, white-souled men and women, rich and ripe in spiritual experience, deep and strong in holy fellowship, all one in the absorbing love and service of the living Christ, the world-wide brotherhood of souls, the world-wide federation of the families of God, the one Holy Catholic Church of God throughout the world.

The Church's one foundation is Jesus Christ her Lord.

. . . . .

Elect from every nation,
  Yet one o'er all the earth;
Her charter of salvation,
  One Lord, one faith, one birth;
One holy name she blesses,
  Partakes one holy food,
And to one hope she presses,
  With every grace endued.

Mid toil and tribulation,
  And tumult of her war,
She waits the consummation
  Of peace for evermore;
Till with the vision glorious,
  Her longing eyes are blest,
And the great Church, victorious,
  Shall be the Church at rest.

CONSTITUTION OF FUTURE COUNCILS

The assembly then resumed the consideration of the proposed constitution of future Councils. The draft approved by the Business Committee was read by the Rev. R. J. Wells, and after one or two trifling changes and the additon of a sentence to Clause III., it was unanimously adopted after a very brief discussion. The constitution as adopted is as follows :—

Constitution of future Councils

I.—The International Congregational Council shall consist of representatives of national associations of Congregational Churches, and, in countries where no national association exists, of representatives of Congregational Churches in such proportion as may be determined by the inviting association, and shall meet as may from time to time appear desirable.

II.—The Council shall consist of 400 members, allotted as follows :—United States of America 150, British Isles 150, the Dominion of Canada and Newfoundland 20, Australasia 32, South Africa 10, the Rest of the World 38. Foreign missionaries at home on furlough shall be Honorary Members of the Council.

III.—Each Council shall appoint a President; 12 Vice-Presidents, including 4 U.S.A., 4 British Isles, 1 Canada, 1 Australasia, 1 South Africa ; a Secretary, and 3 Assistant Secretaries. These officers shall hold office until their successors have been elected and qualified.

IV.—Each Council, at its convening, shall appoint a Business Committee of 12, exclusive of *ex-officio* members, to which all matters arising in connection with the sitting Council, including nominations, shall be referred.

V.—An Interim Committee shall be elected by the several national associations as follows:—U.S.A. 5, British Isles 5, Australasia 2, Canada 2, Africa 1. Casual vacancies shall be filled by the national association in whose representation the vacancy occurs. The secretary of such national association as shall be named by the rising Council shall convene the Committee, which should be elected at the earliest opportunity after the rising of the Council.

VI.—The Interim Committee shall deal with all subjects referred to it by the Council, and with all other matters affecting the Council that may arise outside those governed by Section VIII.

VII.—The time and place of the ensuing Council shall be fixed by the rising Council or its Interim Committee.

VIII.—The national association of the country where the Council is to meet shall undertake the following duties :—

1. The work of preparing for the ensuing Council.

2. The drafting of the Programme in Conference with the Interim Committee.

3. The allotment of representation, according to Section II., in the countries where the Congregational Churches are not in association.

IX. The rules governing the proceedings of the Council shall be the customary rules of public meetings in the country in which the Council sits.

The Chairman pronounced the benediction, and the Council adjourned at 12.30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Sir Albert Spicer, Bart., M.P., presided at the afternoon session, which opened with the singing of the hymn "Before Jehovah's awful throne." The devotions were conducted by the Rev. F. Binns (Sydney).

The Rev. Professor J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A., D.D., of Mansfield College, Oxford, gave the first address. His subject was, "Is the Congregational Ministry Apostolic?"

Address by Rev. Professor J. Vernon Bartlet, M.A., D.D.

IS THE CONGREGATIONAL MINISTRY APOSTOLIC?

There is a certain ambiguity in the wording of our subject which it is desirable to remove forthwith. The Christian Ministry, even in the special sense which does not apply to every Christian as such, includes more than one class of ministers; and it is a mark of imperfect vitality in the organized life of a church when this is ignored, and men can speak and think in terms of a "one man ministry." But our question is one prior to that of the various forms of regular ministry found in Congregational Churches, a matter on which usage to-day differs even from that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. What we have to decide is whether the very idea of our ministry, its qualifications and mode of appointment, is a valid one in the light of apostolic teaching and practice; and for the testing of this point its chief office, to-day called "the pastorate," may be taken as representative.

It is true that this very office, as embodied in a single person, has no strict claim to be considered an apostolic institution, seeing that all local ministry was in the apostolic age exercised by a plurality of persons, whether elders or deacons. Yet the development in form presented by the single pastorate—sometimes styled less happily the monarchical episcopate—as it meets us early in the second century and for the first time in the letters of Ignatius, is one common to all types of ministry prevalent to-day, and so is not in dispute as a legitimate outcome of apostolic principles. Accordingly this central office of our ministry is here selected for consideration, and we shall ask whether its character and scope correspond sufficiently, or even pre-eminently, with apostolic principles of Church organization, and with primitive practice as presumably in keeping therewith.

Another ambiguity, however, still confronts us. What constitutes a ministry "apostolic"? Does it imply continuance in the Church of the Apostolic office or of some prerogative originally inherent in it alone? If so, what conditions are essential to its perpetuation? To these

questions the Catholic, whether Greek, Roman, or Anglican, replies that a certain unique power or authority belonging originally to apostles alone, viz. that of giving valid commission to officers in the Church, has been transmitted by a method turning ultimately upon manual contact, combined with intention to communicate such a gift as from God. This is what Catholicism means by "apostolic succession," denying a share in it to all ministries received under other conditions. It is a conception, however, which we may safely set aside as disproved by the judgment of the bulk of those trained in the impartial study of historic methods to estimate aright the historical evidence adduced for it, as well as by the logic of spiritual experience in every land, and especially in the foreign mission field, where so-called Catholics and non-Catholics are working side by side and by their fruits becoming known, as their common Master declared must ever be. Nor are we here acting as mere judges in our own case. The judgment above cited is that of the most competent scholars in the Anglican Church itself—Lightfoot, Hatch, Hort, Sanday, Gwatkin, Armitage Robinson, to mention only the greatest recent names.

Into the full proof that "apostolic succession," in the usual sense, is an untenable hypothesis, we cannot here enter. But one typical piece of evidence may be alluded to as having enormously affected the balance of opinion in the last twenty years, namely that afforded by the discovery of the *Didache*, a work embodying what was felt to be apostolic tradition during the period between the apostolic age proper and the writings of Ignatius of Antioch and Polycarp of Smyrna. This document completes the proof of the fact that the term "apostle" was not confined originally to the Twelve and St. Paul, but embraced a larger class of primary missionaries, men who had received a specially direct commission to "the ministry of the word," and especially to its propagation in fresh fields. It makes clear, too, the principle that a broad distinction existed during the whole of the first century between "ministry of the word," resting upon a special gift or *charisma* of prophetic inspiration, and that associated simply with the more ordinary Christian graces of character, moral insight and sympathy, qualifying men for the practical ministries of guiding the collective discipline and charity of each local church. As a rule, the superior or more inspired ministry was one at large, while the humbler practical type was strictly localized, confined to the single congregation to which its holders belonged. Corresponding to these distinctions was the different manner in which the two types of ministry attained recognition. The apostle or prophet obtained it simply by exercising his gift, which carried its own credentials with it. The status of "bishops and deacons," on the contrary, depended on election and appointment, through which the local church formally recognized practical fitness in the persons whom it set apart with solemn prayer to the exercise of their special functions. Nor is there any sign that the co-operation of any representative of the higher order of ministry was held essential, in order to give validity to this collective act of a Christian people, acting through its natural leaders. Of course, where an apostle or prophet was present, he would assist the local church in testing the fitness of a candidate, in virtue of the superior spiritual insight believed to belong to such persons, and would lead the church's prayer in which those selected were set apart to the divine service. But nothing is anywhere said to imply that such co-operation, however prized—as was also the leadership of a prophet in Eucharist prayer (*Didache*, ch. x.

fin)—was at all essential. On the contrary, the *Didache* addresses to the church itself the directions for the appointment of its own local ministry. "Elect for yourselves bishops and deacons worthy of the Lord, men meek and free from love of money and true and tested; for to you they minister, these also, the sacred ministry of the prophets and teachers" (*i.e.* the ministry before described as falling in the first instance to more inspired persons). Most significantly, too, does it continue, "therefore slight them not; for they are those that are honoured of you along with the prophets and teachers" (xv. 1, 2). Had it been of the essence of appointment or ordination to the congregational ministry here described in terms of the moral qualities primarily involved, that its authority should come by devolution from the apostolic or prophetic type of ministry (already beginning to pass away towards the end of the first century), we must surely have had some reference to such a commission. Clearly it was needed as a counteractive to the tendency to underrate men whose ministry, especially in the Eucharistic prayers, was evidently regarded as but a poor substitute for one of a more gifted order.

This inference, that formal devolution of ministerial commission from apostles was not essential to valid congregational office, is borne out by the Epistle of the Roman Church to its Corinthian sister, remonstrating with it for having deposed from Eucharistic functions a body of bishops or elders who had blamelessly served the church. The protest is based, not upon any special ministerial grace due to ordination, whether by apostles in the first instance or "afterward by other men of recognized standing, with the concurrence of the whole church," but on the disorderly and arbitrary nature of the act. There is no hint that the fresh ministry appointed by the majority in the Corinthian church would be unable to administer a valid Eucharist; but rather that the breach of order in removing the duly appointed ministry, save for personal fault, was sinful and called for repentance and reparation. It is the sort of protest which might be made in modern times by Presbyterians or Congregationalists equally with Episcopalians. It is a matter of order rather than of orders. This we can say without shutting our eyes to the possible influence of the Roman instinct to magnify order at the expense even of the spiritual spontaneity characteristic of primitive Christianity. Indeed the real cause of the troubles at Corinth may have been unwillingness on the part of the official ministry to allow to spiritual gift the freedom of exercise in the church's central act of worship formerly belonging to it, as we see in the *Didache's* injunction, "To prophets permit Eucharistic prayer as much as they desire" (x. 7).

Similarly, too, with the emphasis on the divine sanction of episcopal authority in the Ignatian letters, written to certain churches in proconsular Asia. The bishop or congregational pastor is not magnified in virtue of any special grace due to ordination by apostles. Had this been Ignatius' idea, he was bound to refer to the apostolic origin of the episcopal office. Instead of this, while he exhausts every simile and turn of speech to clothe with dignity the office which he is commending as the centre and the touchstone of local Church unity, he never affiliates it to the Apostolate either in nature or origin. His language is perfectly consistent with Congregational methods of appointment, and even with Congregational theory as to the relation of the Church to its ministry. What he has in view is a schismatic, and in fact an anti-Congregational tendency at work on the fringe of church life,

not cases in which the majority of a church, and perhaps of its ministry as a whole, might be on one side, and the bishop alone or with a minority on the other. Even Cyprian, nearly a century and a half later, while regarding the episcopate as enjoying a sort of official inspiration, yet acknowledges that the bishop is chosen by his people, and must be deposed by them in case of false doctrine or sinful life (Epist. 67). Such a course of action the mediæval Church would have treated as sacrilege, while modern episcopacy would view it as a grave breach of order if it had Cyprianic or congregational bishops at all to depose; and even Presbyterianism would incline to a like opinion.

And so we reach the heart of the whole matter, the true relation subsisting between the church and its ministry. It is in continuity of principle here that real or spiritual "apostolic succession" consists, and must consist, in such a religion as that of Jesus Christ. No special form of organization can claim the sanction of the Founder of the church himself. Nay, more, as Dr. Hort* has put it, "there is, indeed, no trace in Scripture of a formal commission of authority for government from Christ himself" to the Apostles. "Their commission was to be witnesses of himself," the primary witnesses to himself and his Gospel. Out of their unique position in this respect would naturally grow "an ill-defined but lofty authority in matters of government and administration." Of such moral authority or influence the narrative in Acts affords several instances; but none of them suggests that it was the apostolic habit to participate directly in the appointment of local church officers, as distinct from the initiation of a fresh type of ministry, like the Seven in Acts vi., much less that apostolic intervention was thought needful to valid local ministry. On the contrary what is suggested is that the qualifying gift for each form of special service in a church was regarded as bestowed directly by the Spirit manifest in believers, "dividing to each severally as He willeth" (I. Cor. 12: 11). All that was further necessary to the valid exercise of the corresponding ministry was its recognition, whether tacit or formal, on the part of the Spirit-endued Church in its local capacity (see I. Cor. 16: 15–18, *cf.* 1 Thess. 5: 12.) In other words, the Divine commission, implicit in the gift itself, was countersigned by the explicit recognition given through the Spirit, operating in the spiritual discernment of the local body of Christ as a whole. There is here no room for the idea so freely expressed to-day in certain quarters, that the action of the Spirit through the Christian people is essentially inferior in character to that which comes through one who traces his ordination to an apostle. The whole notion is foreign to the genius of apostolic Christianity, and to the conception of the Spirit as immanent in Christians generally, especially in their collective capacity. To this mode of thought there is no "above" or "below" in the Church, which is throughout the home of the Spirit; and certainly each *ecclesia* was once held to contain the plenary authority of the Spirit for all functions connected with its own local being.

In this connection our Congregational ancestors showed the truest insight in attaching decisive importance to the passage in Matt. 18: 15, *ff.*, where the local brotherhood of God's people is treated as the final earthly authority on the vital point of a breach in its own

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* *The Christian Ecclesia*, p. 84, *cf.* 230*f.*

spiritual unity, through the offence of one of its members against another. This to the Apostolic Churches was a matter of life and death, because it concerned the status of one or other member as a sharer in the forgiveness declared in the Gospel. It involved the supreme form of spiritual authority on earth; yet to each local church of disciples are the words addressed, 'Whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever things ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." A body of Christians to whom such a solemn duty of decision is entrusted, is one which on apostolic principles must have possessed inherent power to authorize any members of Christ in whom it discerned the requisite spiritual gifts, to exercise even the highest functions of representative ministry in their midst. In fact it was on purity of Christian life, especially in the cardinal matter of brotherly love, that the specific sanctity even of the Christian Eucharistic service was held to depend. Thus in the *Didaché* (Ch. xiv.) we read: "On the Lord's day assemble and break bread and make Eucharistic prayer (*i.e.* Prayers of Thanksgiving), after first confessing your trespasses, so that your sacrifice may be pure. But let none that hath dispute with his fellow assemble with you until they be reconciled (Matt. 5: 23*f.*), in order that your sacrifice may not be profaned," (*Cf.* Matt. 15: 11, 18-20), viz. the pure sacrifice of praise, offered to God's name without any insincerity in the life, as Mal. 1: 11, 14 was thought to have foretold. It is, then, a very significant fact, that the most responsible function of Christian discipline, by which the Church is to safeguard the purity of its loving fellowship as unto its Head, remains both formally and practically congregational in nature right down to the third century, and is so recognized by Cyprian, along with the right to elect and depose from the pastorate. Indeed nothing more surely indicates the centre of authority in church polity than the place where real ecclesiastical discipline resides: and here modern Congregationalism is one with that of the first two centuries at least, and is thereby proved more than any other polity to be apostolic in principle as regards the relation between the Church and its ministry. This is not the mere *ipse dixit* of a Congregationalist: it is the deliberate finding of Anglican scholars. To quote Dr. Hort* once more: "Nothing perhaps has been more prominent in our examination of the *Ecclesiæ* of the Apostolic age than the fact that the ecclesia itself, *i.e.* apparently the sum of all its male adult members, is the primary body, and, it would seem, even the primary authority. It may be that this state of things [*i.e.* the fact that the primary body exercised authority so directly rather than by a larger measure of devolution] was in some ways a mark of immaturity; and that a better and riper organization must of necessity involve the creation of more special organs of the community. Still the very origin and fundamental nature of the *ecclesia* as a community of disciples renders it impossible that the principle should rightly become obsolete. In a word, we cannot properly speak of an organization of a community from which the greater part of its members are excluded. The true way, the apostolic way, of regarding offices or officers in the ecclesia is to regard them as organs of its corporate life for special purposes: so that the officers of the ecclesia at any period are only a part of its organization, unless indeed it unhappily has no other element of organization." As to the unity of the Ecclesia at large, a notion which, "comes more from the theoretical than from the historical side," viz. from the direct union of each local church

with the common Head, Hort declares (p. 168)*: "Not a word in the Epistle (Ephesians) exhibits the One Ecclesia as made up of many *ecclesiæ*. To each local ecclesia St. Paul has ascribed a corresponding unity of its own: each is a body of Christ and a sanctuary of God; but there is no grouping of them into partial wholes or into one great whole. The members which make up the one ecclesia are not communities but individual men. The one ecclesia includes all members of all partial *ecclesiæ*; but its relations to them are all direct, not mediate." Even Dr. Dale has never stated more forcibly this fundamental position, implied alike in the Congregational conception of ecclesiastical unity and in its theory of the ministry as given to each *ecclesia* by God through Christ the Head, acting directly through the Spirit both in the man and in the local church. Nor would Dr. Dale have refused to acknowledge, with Hort, that "to recognize this is quite consistent with the fullest appreciation of aspiration after an external ecclesiastical unity." Only he would have insisted that it is inconsistent with attempts to realise these by methods which annul the principle of spiritual autonomy in the local ecclesia, as by interposing between each church and its ministry the intervention of an office representing the organized unity of the whole, as necessary to any valid ministry in the local church. *In maintaining, then, the directness of the relation between each Apostolic church unit and its ministry, both in appointment or ordination and in all proper church action, the Congregational polity is pre-eminently apostolic, and that on a principle of fundamental importance.*

That in this it has the support of early church practice for some two centuries or more, could be illustrated in particular from the language of the ordination and Eucharistic prayers traceable to this period. As to these, however, I can here and now only say, but with a confidence proportionate to the recovery of fresh materials and to one's own growing familiarity with the evidence, that the basis of such prayers is essentially congregational in spirit. The office of a bishop and its exercise are throughout conceived as strictly representative of the single local church by which he has been chosen and set apart for holy functions, in keeping with ascertained fitness or gift. The features in extant prayers and liturgies which reflect another conception of the ministry, as sacerdotal in a sense not attaching to the church as a whole, or as dependent on Apostolic succession by ordination for the grace or authority of its office, are manifest additions, going back no further than the fourth or at most the third century. Dr. Sanday and Principal T. M. Lindsay, perhaps the highest living authorities on the subject in the Episcopal and Presbyterian communions respectively, both recognize,† in writing of the Christian ministry, that "the church passed through a congregational stage" ere it reached Presbyterianism or Episcopacy. But I doubt whether even they, or indeed the scholars of any English-speaking communion, have yet done justice to the length of time during which the Congregational stage, in its essential features, really lasted. For myself I should say that the time of Cyprian, in the middle of the third century, would fairly indicate the date at which Congregationalism ceased to prevail.

But while as historian I feel confident in making such claims for our ministry as truly Apostolic, I feel bound as a Christian to add two

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* *Op. cit.* p. 229.

† Dr. W. Sanday, in *The Expositor*, III. viii. 335f., comp. Dr. Lindsay's *Church and the Ministry in Early Centuries*, p. 259.

practical observations. First, as a member of the living church catholic of to-day, with a deep longing to realize the Master's ideal of visible unity among his followers, I believe that we should work towards its realization in as organic a form as is possible without sacrifice of principles with which we feel that God has placed us in trust for His kingdom among men. Accordingly while convinced that Congregationalism in the relation of its ministry to the church, as in some other respects, is truer to apostolic principles, combined with due regard to their legitimate development, than any other existing polity, let us gladly acknowledge the hand of God in the two other great types of polity, the Episcopal and the Presbyterian, including the Methodist variety. Let us confess, too, that no single polity at present embodies all the legitimate adaptations of Christian principles to the present and future needs of the church of Christ. This means that the process of mutual enrichment of the three chief types by lessons learnt from the best features in each other has yet to go forward, until differences are so reduced as to admit of inter-communion, alliance, and it may be final organic union, between those hitherto known as Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. Only if Congregational principles formed the first stage of the historical development of Christendom, we claim that they should be taken as fundamental in the unifying polity of the future. Or, stating the matter in terms of the ministry, we may adapt the crucial clause in the basis of reunion laid down by the Pan-Anglican Conference of 1888, and say that the "historic episcopate" entitled to form the basis of a Catholic Evangelic ecclesiastical system, is not the modern diocesan episcopate, which is radically mediæval and non-representative in genius, but the primitive congregational episcopate or pastorate, "locally adapted in the methods of its administration to the varying needs of the nations and peoples called of God into the unity of the church." Of such adaptation partial examples may already be discerned, but only in the Congregational Councils, now in working on both sides of the Atlantic (in keeping with the spirit of the Savoy Conference of nearly two and a half centuries ago), but also in present-day Presbyterianism, and even in American and Colonial Episcopacy, with its restoration of at least a limited franchise to the laity.

Secondly, while persuaded that our Congregationalism both in form and principle adheres most closely of all existing polities to the apostolic type of ministry, I am not so sure that it correspondingly excels in the spirit in which its ministry is regarded and carried out in practice. Or rather, I am sure that neither our ministers themselves nor the churches which appoint or co-operate with the ministry are sufficiently alive to the deeply religious spirit which begot such a type of ministry in the first instance, and revived it when long lost.

The central thought of this paper has been that, if the congregational type of ministry is the truest to Apostolic church order, it is so precisely because it best preserves the primitive relation between people and pastor, a living church and a divinely qualified ministry, and this with a view to foster the intimate religious fellowship contemplated in the Gospel of Christ. But the best in ideal is always the most difficult to realize in practice. Thus it behoves us to take more seriously to heart the task of educating our people to something like a due sense of the high notion of Christian fellowship involved in the congregational conception of the local church, as a body entrusted by

God with the responsibility of determining its own ministry, so far as that falls to men at all. This idea, the divinely sacred nature of church fellowship among those covenanted to one another as to the divine Head of the Church himself, it was which nerved our Congregational forefathers, in the days when the apostolic ideal of church life dawned afresh on faith after centuries of eclipse, to sacrifice all in obedience to God's will in the face of untold difficulties and dangers. The sense of divine vocation to such a type of church life, and no mere democratic impulse or Anglo-Saxon instinct for self-government, created modern Congregationalism, and can alone maintain and extend it as a polity with the true Christian savour and power within it. In such an atmosphere of church life the tendency to mild demagogy or to mere religious rhetoric, which, under the guise of prophecy, are the deadly danger of our ministry to-day, would die of atrophy. Indeed unless our church life, and the ministry in relation to it, be viewed in some such deeply religious and spiritual light, we, or at least our children, may come to regard the mere historical superiority of Congregationalism in point of conformity to apostolic principle and usage as too abstract and bloodless an advantage to warrant the practical sacrifices involved in fidelity to it, amid the full and varied life of our modern world. In particular specious High Church claims, which are really high clericalism lurking under a nobler name, must be met and overcome by true high church claims, and still more by their exhibition in devout and living congregational practice.

The Rev. Frank S. Fitch, D.D., of Buffalo, N.Y., followed with an address on "The Training of the Minister as Preacher, Pastor, Bishop."

ADDRESS BY REV. FRANK S. FITCH, D.D.

THE TRAINING OF THE MINISTER AS PREACHER, PASTOR, AND BISHOP

That religion has had a large place in the affairs of men needs no demonstration. A glance at the history of the past is sufficient. One who ascends the valley of the Nile finds no trace of human habitation, in so far as the homes of families or the places of merchandise are concerned. The tombs of the kings and the temples alone remain.

The instinct of worship, common to all men, has found expression in buildings so colossal and enduring that they defy the ravages of time, and give proof of the energy and the architectural ability of the land of the Pharaohs.

The Parthenon is the best expression of the times of Phidias and Pericles, and the cathedrals of Western Europe are the most enduring and worthy monuments of Mediæval Christianity.

Not only in buildings but in many other ways have religion and its priests rendered service and gained recognition in the lives and affections of the people. The priesthood was second only to Royalty in Egypt. In many forms of government the double office of political ruler and director of religion has been jealously held by the crown. In times

of unrest and scepticism rulers have held that religious training was important for the common people, that reverence for authority and good morals were most secure where the fear of God was worthily taught.

To secure this desirable end all the arts have been employed—architecture, painting, music, and oratory have united to manifest God and to express devotion to him. The most elaborate ritual, the most gorgeous ceremonial have been employed to make real and permanent the expression of this elemental instinct.

An asylum in times of disorder, a hospital for the sick, and a school for the unlettered, what contribution to the well-being of mankind can be imagined that was not freely given by the church of earlier centuries?

Nor was this service concluded with the passing of Rome's greatest power in the times of Innocent III. and Hildebrand. It has had equal, if not superior expression, in the times of the Protestant Reformation. Savonarola and Huss taught and suffered martyrdom without immediate result, but their witness to truth and courage bore fruit in later days, when the reformation in state and church testified to the power of God's people.

In scholarship, in teaching the common people, in caring for the poor and neglected, in holy living, as seeing him who is invisible, they were the salt which preserved society and made possible the fruits of modern democracy.

The Puritan movement in England, the exodus to America, and the establishment of the New England Colonies are chiefly the result of the studies, the prayers, and the strivings of the pastors and teachers of the Christian church.

But now how different. The work of education is entrusted to the State; of philanthropy, to various societies more or less secularized; the State and the church are quite distinct, the clergyman of to-day finds his field much restricted, fewer tasks confront him, fewer opportunities invite him to service; but is this a loss? Not so.

He is now allowed to devote himself with greater concentration to his special tasks, which no one else, perhaps, cares for, and for which he has had special training and a divine call.

First, he is the chief teacher of revealed religion. Instruction in the Bible and inspiration to search for its hidden treasures depend upon him, whatever fidelity there may be in household instructions, or careful study on the part of individuals, the Protestant pastor is head teacher in each community; and to be "apt to teach" is, as never before, a high and difficult task.

A second service, closely allied to this, is the preservation for holy ends, of the first day of the week.

The teaching of the Bible requires a time and a place. It assumes leisure on the part of the people and inclination to assemble themselves together. A Bible-loving people, such as the English race is, must be found in the Lord's house on the first day of the week, and now that compulsion of any kind is unknown, must be secured by worthy ministration. Reverence in worship and willingness to be taught must be secured by public services of a high order. The opera and the concert, at great cost, secure artists of world-wide reputation that they may hear the works of the masters worthily presented, and, under the inspiration of such occasions, men find the tasks of life lighter so they must turn to the church for solace, for inspiration and for courage.

There has never been, in my judgment, such an opportunity for the preacher as now.

It is not, as in an earlier and sterner age, such as that of your great reformer, John Knox, chiefly a call to resist tyranny and to put down in court and commons flagrant vice, but a call to the "abundant life," to conquer prosperity as our fathers did adversity, to have full granaries, rich mines, a world-wide commerce, popular education, and freedom in all things, without license and prodigality and vice.

To reveal God to men by worthily preaching Christ, to interpret to them the problems of personal and communal life, to impart worthy ideas of stewardship, to enlarge their sympathies so that they shall be willing to hear of the needs of the belated peoples of the earth, and give them the school and the church, the printing press and the hospital, this is our task, and it requires native gifts, high culture, quick fancy, and a passionate devotion.

Preaching is an ancient and honourable art sanctioned by holy writ, approved by the experience of centuries, and of perennial interest.

The prophet, the apostle, the missionary, the reformer, and he who is called to the work of edification have alike found it the most effective medium of persuasion and instruction. Born of human need it sprang into being before literature, and has had no small part in reducing language to written form.

It preceded the art of printing, by which, for a time, its primacy was threatened, and has gained new victories so that among educated communities it is most highly valued.

Whenever the church has grown formal and lapsed into ritualism or been corrupted by worldly form or overgrown with superstition, a preaching order has arisen to rebuke, persuade and instruct.

Is training necessary? May we not say of the preacher, as some do of the poet, that he is "born, not made"? The inward call and the outward leading of Providence are assumed. In "the unfeigned faith that is in thee, which dwelt first in thy grandmother Lois and in thy mother Eunice, and I am persuaded in thee also," Paul found ground for assurance. Three generations are needed to make a great preacher, as truly as in the case of a man of gentle breeding. Inherited aptitude and personal choice are necessary.

Some degree of compulsion is usually found. To understand the message implies scholarship. It uses exhortation to immediate repentance and obedience; but quickly passes on to instruction in doctrine, in ethics and in conduct. It must have a theodicy, God's ways with men must be understood and indicated. The being of God, his authority, his justice and mercy must be comprehended, revered, and he himself known and loved before discipleship can begin.

Not all candidates for the ministry have the gifts and the leisure to become scholars of renown, but scholarly tastes and humility are possible to all, and not a few will develop those gifts which, when stirred up, according to apostolic exhortation, may be the joy and strength of the whole church.

To have breathed the scholarly atmosphere for ten years, to have known and been instructed by men who are the peers of any of their generation in any calling, and to whom all the stores of the past are open, is the right of all those who are to be required to be "apt to teach." The best is none too good for all. Who shall be found to have one talent, who two, and who five, must be determined by the law of

competition, and where the golden candlesticks shall be placed is for the head of the church to determine.

Some slight modification of the seminary curriculum may be called for, but, in general, it has been indicated by results and is suited to present needs.

The "art" of public speech has not, we judge, been sufficiently cultivated, "sacred eloquence" should be something more than a phrase. There should be a corresponding reality. Good elocution, fine style, personal dignity, and persuasive appeal may be taught by the professor of homiletics, and illustrated by such courses of lectures as those of the Lyman Beecher foundation in the Yale Divinity School. Those of us who were permitted to hear Henry Ward Beecher, Phillips Brooks, Wm. M. Taylor and your own Dr. Dale have had "ideals" at least. We know that there were giants in those days—that great preaching is still desired, and, when found, highly appreciated and richly rewarded.

The church is not asked, now, to do so many things as formerly. (1) Teaching secular knowledge, (2) the care of the sick, (3) the providing of philanthropic institutions, the many phases of reform—are being cared for by the State or voluntary organizations that do not demand religious tests or ecclesiastical management.

Fewer tasks and those of a more vital character remain for her accomplishment.

The teaching of the Holy Scriptures is one of these. Protestantism is the church of the Book—To the Word and the Testimony is still our friendly challenge, "apt to teach" is more difficult and more important than of old. Many are teaching, but few, even among the clergy, are thoroughly furnished.

To make the Bible again a living book is a task worthy of the most gifted minds. This implies not merely scholarship, but also the use of the creative imagination in most engaging and helpful ways. To enter into the problems of the first century so as to appreciate the task of a Paul and then to catch the spirit and the message which it was given him to impart, must go far to enable one to preach to his own age. "Only preaching" is a phrase which popular speech has employed to express its sense of unreality in much of the religious teaching of our time. When a man appears, as a few do in each generation, who out of study, struggle and conquest has found a "message," the multitude will again listen and obey. If the government is impatient of the slightest defect in weight or quality of the coin of the realm, and is only willing to give the seal of its approval after sending it to the mint, so evangelical Christianity demands the unchangeable truth in its own dialect and with a familiar imagery. It asks that the parables of the master, spoken in a Syrian field or by the wayside, shall be translated into the daily speech and industries of the present.

The field may be, in a sense, narrower; but far more precious. It is the change from agriculture to mining. The former may call for a thousand acres, the latter opens the field and finds its kingdom in the secret places of the earth, and the "bad lands" its chief opportunity. The institutional church may be needed in a few communities, where Christians again are asked to do all things for a class or neighbourhood, neglected by, or indifferent to, our common opportunities; but, for the most part, the prophet's voice is needed by the Davids who are using high stations and great opportunities

wickedly. Not foretelling the future to satisfy morbid curiosity, but interpreting God to the day's problem is most needed.

If Peter's restoration to favour, after his denial of his Lord, revealed surprising knowledge of the heart of man, as well as divine grace, its form of testing should not escape our imitation.

"Feed my sheep," "feed my lambs," "shepherd my flock." This meant more than instruction. It assumed individual care and discipline. It included all that the needs of the flock might require. The personal care of the most searching type is obligatory.

Intensive culture must precede extensive, and the shepherd is not to dream of, or covet, a larger flock while one sheep remains silly, or one lamb has strayed. Are we at nightfall able to account for all? Are strong walls and watch dogs between sleeping innocency and fierce vice that with blood-red fangs would beguile and destroy?

The form of pastoral care must be suited to the customs of our time and present-day needs. The formal and solemn household visitation and catechising is no longer possible or desirable.

To establish friendly relations, to invite confidence, to be at all times the trusted adviser and teacher, to interest oneself in the business, the education, and the general life and its problems will not only give one power in the pulpit, sympathy in public worship, but, when needed, will make him the father confessor of the tempted and the prodigal.

How much of this can be taught in the seminary is a problem. The theory may be imparted, and if the professor of homiletics has been a successful pastor, the young men may receive much from him, which will be better understood when they, too, have the care of parishes.

The word "bishop" in my theme calls attention to a larger use of that word than is contemplated in theory of the completeness of the local church. To be the pastor of one flock as well as the husband of one wife, has the support of unbroken tradition.

Some form of supervision is coming to be demanded. On account of short pastorates and periods when there is no one in care of the local church, the delicacy and difficulty of bringing preachers and churches into such acquaintance as shall result in long and faithful pastorates, call for a new form of service if not a new office.

This is partially provided by the friendly activities of our senior clergy, who have, by long continuance in one field, gained the confidence of their younger brethren and the committees of pastoral supply, but in connection with their work as home missionary secretaries or superintendents we have found in "the States" that a service of the nature of a Bureau of Ministerial Supply may be most acceptable. These brethren, by their large acquaintance with churches and pastors and their manifest freedom from selfish motives, are performing most of the functions of a diocesan bishop without any invasion of the rights or best interests of the local parish. This tendency may be encouraged among us without fear, as our individualism is not likely to be obscured.

The substance of our contention is, that this is a great time for the preacher, that men need to hear the Gospel, that in worthy treatment it will be found to be ever new and fresh, and that the church should be watchful in discovering its Samuels so that when they hear an unknown voice calling by day or night we may send them out to listen, if haply it may be the call of God, to a prophet's service and reward.

The Rev. Frank H. Foster, PH.D., of Olivet, Michigan, was the third speaker. He spoke on "The Doctrine of the Sacraments."

ADDRESS BY REV. FRANK H. FOSTER, PH.D.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS

It is a matter of some delicacy for an American to speak in Great Britain upon the topic of the sacraments. The position of Free Churches may, quite conceivably, be attended here with a number of difficulties from which, in the totally different conditions of the United States, we are delivered. In the presence of an Establishment, within which increasing emphasis seems to be placed upon sacraments, and in which Romanizing tendencies would appear to be growing, the question may have an immediate importance which it has not with us. I am compelled, therefore, to view my subject in its largest relations, and to discuss it in its connections with the deepest currents of our times. While I may fail to say that which would be most helpful in Britain at the present hour, I may hope to escape the error of speaking of that with which I am insufficiently acquainted. And I may be certain that here, as well as yonder, the relation of the religious life of the church, of which the sacraments are the chief symbols, to the general life of our times, and of the doctrines of the church, especially those which centre about the Lord's Supper, to the thinking which science and philosophy have brought to a general acceptance among us, are of the profoundest importance and of the most intense present interest.

Towards the doctrine of the sacraments, Congregationalism has two historic positions, the one constructive, the other critical. I begin with the constructive.

We who belong by descent and lifelong identification to Congregationalism, know that it is animated by no desire to break with the historic church. While Congregationalism has always been radical and iconoclastic and even revolutionary, it has never been disloyal to the Master or scornful of the fellowship of saints in the true church of God. It recognizes its descent from the past. It feels its kinship to-day with Calvin and Augustine, yes, with Bernard and Dominic, with Athanasius and Origen. But it also recognizes that it has itself passed into a freer land and more genial clime. It will not be bound by the past. It recognizes no more authority in what has in any time prevailed in the church to bind the present, than it recognizes in the savage practices of the cave dwellers' authority to control modern legislation and social life. But it remains nevertheless sympathetically regardful of its past. It has inherited two sacraments. It does not pause to ask over sharply what the "authority" of these sacraments may be. It may be comparatively indifferent to the question whether Jesus ever designed that they should be perpetually observed in a church built upon him as its foundation stone. The church has observed them: that is enough. Congregationalism will continue to observe them so long as they are found helpful.

And it may be remarked in passing that, while ascribing no especial importance to the practice, it has been her practice to adhere scrupulously to the forms found in the gospels, employing always the

"words of institution," though ready to modify them at any time, should they be found to convey a false meaning or unsound doctrine. Everything for the truth!

Of course, with such a conception, Congregationalism has no doctrine of the sacraments which will erect them into a condition of fellowship. She will never bar out Quakers because they do not observe outward sacraments, nor insist upon forms of baptism, or even upon communion "under both kinds." Nor will she ever insist upon "frequent communion" as a special means of grace or an indispensable condition of extraordinary Christian growth, as certain brotherhoods have done. These all belong to the things which she has shed. If the sacraments contribute to the essentials of the Christian life, then they are to be welcomed and employed so far as they thus contribute, and in the way in which they do. Under such a conception of the doctrine, as of all doctrine, will the Congregational doctrine of the sacraments be formulated.

The doctrine of the sacraments is closely connected with the doctrine of salvation. What is salvation? It is communion with God. The gospel of John expresses it summarily by the phrase "eternal life," and this is in one place defined as the knowledge of God. Thus prayer is not merely a privilege of the Christian life, but it is of the essence of that life. The knowledge of God, present association with the Father, communion of appeal and response, this is the "native air" of the Christian, it is the summary of what Christianity has to give him. The object of the preaching of the gospel and of all Christian service is to create and then support this life, to produce within the man that original act of consecration to God by which the new life is initiated and the foundation laid for continuous communion with the Father, and, then, when this has once been begun, to develop it by the illumination of the mind, that the new life may be varied and deep. In a word, the object of the gospel and its institutions is to *bring light*, and the doctrine of the sacraments must be developed under this conception. They must in some way also bring light into the soul.

Now, it would be quite possible to seek to formulate a doctrine by some arbitrary and *a priori* method, entirely divorced from the actual facts of the Christian life. We prefer, rather, to go *directly* to the Christian life of the church and ask, What, in actual experience, are the sacraments to the church? That they are much, no observer of Christian communities, and no sympathetic and loyal son of the church in particular, can doubt. It is now nearly a hundred years since there sat, on a certain Sunday, in the gallery of one of the country Unitarian churches of Massachusetts, a boy who belonged to an almost totally irreligious family. The life of that church must have been very cold and dry: so the boy afterwards said. But the connection with historic Christianity had not been broken in that church, and the sacraments were still regularly observed, and this Sunday was communion Sunday. The boy sat and looked on at a service in which he had no other part. But the bread was broken and the wine poured out, and in the simple words of the gospel of Matthew the story of the sacrament was told. The boy understood that Jesus had died for him; and the call, the more eloquent and penetrating for the very silence upon which it was borne into his soul, to follow the Master in the path of divine obedience, entered into his innermost being, and he gave his heart and service to Jesus then. Years after he showed what that hour had

meant to him when he went, under commission of the American Board, as one of the pioneers of the Zulu Mission, to spend his life in South Africa. I remember the impressions made upon my childish spirit in the hush of the communion hour in the ancient church in which I was born and where I made profession of the Christian faith, I remember the bowed heads of the congregation, the silent prayers which left their traces upon bedewed cheeks and shining eyes, the deep solemnity and solemn joy of such occasions, and I know that the simple, Puritan observance of the Lord's Supper exercises a powerful influence and does a profound work for pious souls. What does it do? What does the Christian really see in the Supper?

I ask, What does he *really* see? He may think he sees a variety of things which he does not see. Under the influence of instruction in a theology now universally discarded among us, he may think he sees Christ "paying his debt," or perhaps "punished for" him. I will not deny that with such wrong ideas there may be associated acts of spiritual surrender to God apprehended in Christ which may be of the purest exercise of religious devotion and may lift the soul powerfully towards God. Fortunately, incorrect intellectual conceptions do not destroy the essential character of the motions of the will which have been elicited by them. But all this was surely incorrect and in some directions harmful. More than that, it was imaginary and not real. If the death of Christ had any such cosmic and eternal relations, and was in any such a sense the condition of forgiveness, as the old theology thought, nothing of this transcendental nature of the act could enter into the consciousness and become part of the experience of the communicant. He might *believe* that the death of Jesus purchased his forgiveness, but he certainly could not *see* it.

There were three main relations of Jesus' death which he might be said to see. These had (1) respect to Jesus himself. He acted here, as always, in character. Whatever the death *means* that Jesus *is*. Again (2) they had respect to God; and here they may be summarized, for our present purpose, in the expression that, since Jesus met death in the path of the fulfilment of duty, he died in *obedience* to God. And (3) they had respect to his disciples, for the suffering of Christ upon the cross gave powerful expression to certain great truths, which no one can escape who tarries with his fellow disciples, then and since, at the foot of the cross. The teaching office of Jesus reached its apex in the unspoken discourse of his act of death. Let us try to trace that teaching. I think we see there:—

1. The nature of the divine presence whereby men are rendered capable of so great sacrifices. Jesus would not forsake the truth. He knew it. It possessed him. It thrilled him. He died in the enkindled presence to his spirit of great truths. When God so comes to a man that he *knows* the great vital truths of the spiritual life, upon which the salvation of men depends, which are therefore of supremest importance to the world, and which he cannot forsake without imperilling eternal interests, then he is capable of dying for a cause.

2. The nature of loyalty to truth. I might say, the cost of loyalty to the truth; for here we see it. He who truly loves the truth will never surrender it. He who can be untrue to known truth, who can relinquish it for temporary or material advantages, has no part in the discipleship of Jesus.

3. The fact that communion with God, perfect and uninterrupted by sin, can impart to a man a spirit which shall bid defiance to the worst

ill which the world has to inflict upon him, even death. The world-conquering spirit, the world-revolutionizing spirit,—what is it, and whence is it to be brought? This is one of the greatest questions which can be asked. And the answer is found in the cross. Christ did not view the world as men had viewed it before him. He had another point of view. He was so filled with the knowledge of God, he had come into such sympathy with him, that the terrors of earth, while they had not disappeared from his vision, had no power to disturb or confuse it. Thus he had conquered the world.

4. The majesty of noble and right action, and its unspeakable superiority to courses of pleasure, or personal gain, or any selfishly personal course whatever.

5. The power of friendship founded in unselfish love. It was not only for God, it was also for his disciples that Jesus so persistently bore "witness to the truth." "Greater love hath no man than this, that a man lay down his life for his friends." And here enters the personal element, by which the death of Christ is constituted an appeal to us to imitate him. All that is most noble in his attitude has the same essential claim upon us that it had upon him. A great example, conceived in the most abstract way possible, makes a real and authoritative appeal to every one who beholds it. It sets up an ideal; and a good man will follow his ideals, whencesoever they come. But this ideal is set up by Jesus; and Jesus, to Peter and James, and the rest, was the teacher who had taken them into his love and instruction for three years, and to whom they owed the dawning knowledge of God which already meant so much to them, imperfect as it was. And to *us*, what is Jesus? The one from whom there has come to us, over the long stretch of centuries, borne by his church in the bosom of which we have been nurtured, the message which has kindled us to what degree of new life we feel in us, on account of which we are kneeling and praying, while the elements are broken before us. He has certainly given himself also for *us*, with a friendship which has shown an actual power in our personal lives, so distant from his life in Palestine, and yet so needy of the precise thing he has to give us. And hence the appeal is to *us* also, and an appeal to enter into the same communion with God which was the secret of his loyalty to truth, his superiority to the world, his noble and sublime death.

6. Hence, when we take it, the sacrament becomes an answer to an appeal, and thus a promise and a pledge upon our parts to do in our place as he did in his. And it is out of this *pledge*, this act of consecration, that to us, as to the lingering boy in the Pelham gallery, comes the chiefest blessing of the feast.

Now, this is certainly *light*. Great truths are held up before us, and illuminated by the radiance streaming from the cross. Such effects are actually experienced. If the sacrament has certain relations, as to an objective and eternal divine transaction, which are not to be seen, which must be grasped by faith, and which are therefore not to be reckoned among experiences and hence among certainties, these things—new views of truth, sublime, regnant, compelling, personal, thrilling, uplifting—these are indisputably in the sacrament of the table, and they constitute its permanent justification in the church.

I may add another consideration, from another point of view.

7. The reflective Christian sees something in the death of Jesus, brought before him in the sacrament, of the hideousness of sin. He sees the most gracious and loving, the purest and noblest, the most

unselfish and self-denying character of which he has any knowledge, of whom he can well believe that it was wholly without personal participation in sin, drawn into the condemnation of the world solely on account of its unexampled excellence and involved in the bitterest suffering, from which the pure ought to be free. Sin is such that it involves in its pains and penalties even those that have no sin. And the divine earnestness in the condemnation of sin is such that the law of retribution embraces more than actual sinners. No one can ponder such thoughts without an impression of the evil of sin which shall powerfully influence his own soul, filling him with new and scrupulous care not to transgress. And other consequences there are of this thought, which time fails me now to draw, but which make, in a sense, all history a grand expiation of sin, and Calvary most of all.

Upon this side of the matter I do not dwell, for it has long been made the theme of sermon and treatise. I hasten to summarize what I have said by the remark that the Lord's Supper thus brings with peculiar vividness *the meaning of love*. We see what love to God is, what love to man, what they demand, how they are satisfied. The death of Christ is the greatest sermon on this divine theme ever delivered in the history of man. The holy supper brings before us in brightest single display the true nature and infinite extent of the love of God, which is a love even for *us*.

It is for that light which is in it that Congregationalists will continue to observe the Lord's Supper.

We have been tarrying, thus far, upon the serene heights of Christian experience, and dwelling amid the ultimate certainties of our faith. But, as the disciples descended from Tabor, so must the modern church come down from mountains of vision and rapture to the combats of the world, into the field of struggle, for it is upon this field that her progress is to be made, and even her preparation for larger vision to be obtained. It is her mission not only to rejoice in the truth but to oppose error; and upon the field of the sacraments is to be found error active and destructive. This is the critical position of Congregationalism to which we must now turn. The criticism formulates itself in a protest.

It protests against sacramentarianism of every sort, whether Roman or Anglican, against the conception, that is, that by the outward administration of the elements of a sacrament grace is infallibly communicated, so that the sacraments, merely as things done, are means of grace. This is dignified with the designation of an "objective" Christianity; but Congregationalism finds in it nothing but a mechanical Unchristianity. It is the idea that something spiritual can be done for man without his own spiritual activity. It makes Christianity a collection of nostrums rather than an abundant life.

With the older arguments against this view you are all familiar. Congregationalism rejects sacramentarianism because it is a complete reversal of true Christianity. It is akin with the doctrine which makes the true church identical with the external church. The true church is not external nor visible, because it consists of true believers, and they can neither be gathered infallibly in one place, nor known with certainty by any visible mark. Christianity is a life, and that is the life of communion with God, and that is an inward and spiritual fact. To make the church external, or grace dependent upon the external, is to obscure this primary fact.

Then, sacramentarianism is to be rejected upon exegetical grounds. There is no proof of the doctrine from the New Testament. When our Lord instituted the Lord's Supper, according to the evangelists, he gave them no instruction by which grace was attached to the elements which he used. The sacramentarian idea, in respect to this sacrament, is identified with the idea of the real presence, and this, when logically conceived, goes with the idea of a transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the substance of the body and blood of the Lord. Everything in the Anglican idea which falls short of this is an inconsistency, which will drive the consistent thinker ever towards it, as the history of the Tractarian movement glaringly illustrates. Now, the doctrines of the real presence depends upon the interpretation of the phrase, "This is my body," by which, when the words are spoken by the officiating priest, the transubstantiation takes place. But this is not only *unwarranted* by the New Testament text, as the reformed have held since Zwingli, but is *impossible*, provided that the simple canon of exegesis be allowed, that Jesus intended his disciples to understand him, and spoke accordingly. How was it possible for them to understand, in the presence of the living Jesus, that the bread, which he held in his hand, was his *body*, which they saw living and real before them? And, even if this were performed by the act of Jesus, this marvellous and incomprehensible confusion of a piece of bread with himself, there is not a hint that the disciples received power to repeat such a transformation after him. And as for any repetition of the sacrifice of Christ in the sacrament, that is directly against Scripture, for Christ was "offered *once for all*" upon Calvary.

Nor can commonsense, or sound philosophy, be invoked successfully to support the idea of real presence by transubstantiation. Every effort to do this results in confusion to the theory. A "substance" which is so absolutely divorced from its "attributes" as the theory demands, is altogether unknown to rational thinking. And when, as now and then, chemistry has been invoked to say when the transformation ceases, the matter becomes one of ridiculous absurdity.

These are old arguments, but still sound. The modern age is, however, the time for a different kind of discussion. There is a larger world in which to live, and living subjects take on them larger proportions. All this minute discussion of single phrases does not belong in our time. Theories thus supported are become hugely incredible to us. We do not so much refute them as abandon them.

And yet we have our reasons for abandoning them. Historical science does not despise the minute, but her minuteness leads to largeness. The result of modern discussions has been to remove entirely the foundation upon which the old arguments were built. We have discovered different strata of New Testament tradition, and have arrived at new conceptions of what is truly primitive in Christianity. The first account which is given of the institution of the Lord's Supper, that of the Apostle Paul, makes it merely a memorial. In the next stratum, that found in the original gospel, Mark, nothing is added which should warrant an expansion of this meaning to something so widely different as the sacramentarian is. It is only in the third stratum, where we are visibly receding widely from the simpler earlier tradition at many points, where the stories of the virgin birth and its cloud of accompanying miracles are told and the impossible exegesis of Matthew is introduced to sustain the Messiahship of Jesus, that a deeper meaning is attached to the Lord's Supper in the hint that it

has something to do with the forgiveness of sins. Criticism does not long hesitate between that which agrees with a spiritual gospel and that which is upon the road towards the later distortions of Christianity which resulted in the externalism and puerilities of Rome. The simpler idea belongs manifestly to the simplicity and largeness of Jesus that, to the historical modern mind, the more complex and artificial drops away of itself.

We have long been aware that the discourses of Jesus given in the gospels could not be verbatim reports of what he said, and we should have seen long since that the whole method of verbal discussion which we have so much followed in Christian theology is antiquated and futile. We have sustained ourselves in this method by a theory of inspiration which gave to the reports, in an *a priori* way, an accuracy which could not be ascribed to them if we followed the plain indications of the parallels in the different gospels. It is impossible to believe in the verbal accuracy of the reports, whether by inspiration or any other method of securing it, in the face of the fact that the records do not agree. Not merely John, as to whom it has long been acknowledged, but also Matthew, and even Mark, wrote of the Jesus whom they conceived, and conceived diversely, as their accounts are diverse. An exact account of what Jesus said upon the several occasions of which they write, they have not given us. We have not his words; and verbal exegesis, which seeks to ascertain his teaching by a minute study of those words and in which the whole meaning of a text may turn upon the "objective" or the "subjective" use of a certain genitive, has become absurd, if not worse. The meaning of the sacrament will never be found by discussions of the word *is* in the phrase "this *is* my body." Undeniable historical certainty, such as is sufficient and also imperative and indispensable to fit any text to become the foundation of a dogma, and especially of a dogma so far reaching and important as the dogma of sacramentarianism is, belongs to no word that Jesus is reported to have spoken, and to no single fact in his related life. *Hence the whole basis has been withdrawn from beneath the argument for sacramentarianism*, and it falls to the ground, there to become buried amid the other rubbish which has been accumulating throughout the centuries.

When the progress of thought has invalidated old premises, it has too often been the custom of the apologists to declare that the new premises give the old conclusions; that the truth which the church has received, being divine and essentially unchangeable, is "rendered only more evident and irrefutable" by all the new light which we obtain from time to time. The consideration which we have given to the doctrine of the sacraments should disabuse us forever of this idea. New premises give *new* conclusions! In what else does the progress of man consist? New knowledge of facts giving us new knowledge of principles—this is the entire meaning of all research! We are not, as Congregationalists, reluctant to see this conception applied in reference to the sacraments, from the prevalent superstitions in reference to which we broke away so long ago; but does not the beckoning hand of Truth invite us to a further position and promise us a further good?

It does not seem to me that we yet fully grasp the significance of our new views of the Bible. Why is it that we have such a Bible as we have? Why did the founder of Christianity leave no written and verbally accurate accounts of his teachings? Why did he not share

in the spirit which has prompted the minute verbal study of the Scriptures among us so long? Why, except that the Christian religion is a different thing from what we have imagined it to be, and that religious truth is to be arrived at in a different way? We have been tithing the mint, anise, and cumin, of a literalistic theology, and neglecting the weightier matters of the throbbing life of the world and its new revelation of truth,—yes, its revelation of *new*, of ofttimes *revolutionary* truth! Truth is a *present* reality, founded upon facts *now* accessible to us, obtained by *present* reasonings, under the guidance of an *indwelling* spirit, and glowing with the light of the *present* day. Such it must be, if it is to be individually known by each one of us, and to possess any subjective certainty to us. We can know only that which we see for ourselves. The arguments for an eternal and unchanging truth would have to be such as should appeal always to men; and then *men* would have to be the same, and progress cease, yes, even life would have to pause; and the pause of life is the entrance of death!

We would remove nothing but the historically uncertain. In theology what we ought to seek, and what we have supposed ourselves for many centuries to be really seeking, is the truth. A vast deal of saving truth we have found. Some other things which we have believed we have been in error about because we have not been sufficiently careful about our premises. Truth may be founded upon historical fact; but when the historical fact is unknown to us, to found a doctrine upon the unknown and merely traditional is to produce an error. Jesus lived. Nothing can be more certain. The main thoughts which he taught are clearly enough ascertained. His spirit and the impetus which he gave to the spiritual life of man still abide. But it is vain to found incredible doctrines upon merely verbal arguments, when the discourses of Jesus belong, as to many of their details, among the historically unknown things of the past. We may be losing certain minuter elements of our current theologies, but we are gaining in our hold upon what remains, and we are enlarging our theology by contact with a larger world of reality. If we lay less emphasis upon the historic Jesus, it is to lay more upon the ideal Christ.

In this we are following the example of Paul the Apostle. He mentions very few details of the life of Christ. Even his account of the Lord's Supper bears the marks of his individual way of conceiving of Christianity. He received his revelation "neither from man, nor was he taught it," but directly from Christ. His mind was fixed upon the eternal Christ, not upon the Man of Galilee. Translated into modern methods of thought, we are occupying the same position when we say that our emphasis rests not upon a Christ, the conception of which has been gained by a careful study of individual texts, many of which are of uncertain historicity, but upon an *ideal* of Christ which is formed from the larger view of his necessary position together with the sifted residuum when the written accounts have been subjected by us to the most careful and conscientious criticism. And this method gives a Christ as to whom we can feel confidence that no unfounded statements, no mere shrewd guesses after truth, no imaginations, and no primitive and childish simplicity and credulity, have controlled our conceptions, but for whom we can stand before the canons of correct thinking as understood to-day.

It is for this freer and larger interpretation of Christianity that

Congregationalism has a peculiar opportunity to stand to-day. Perhaps at no point can the stand be made more effectively than at the doctrine of the sacraments. The persistency of an old and skilfully managed organization is spreading Catholicism with great rapidity even in this new and enlightened time. The New England Boston, founded by Cotton, Puritan exile from the English Boston, is now the seat of a Roman Catholic archbishopric. New England is becoming New Ireland. The true way of opposing Rome is not that of assimilation to her, it is that of shedding upon the minds of men clearer, and ever clearer, *light*. The labouring classes in America, perhaps also in England, have left the churches very largely; and it is often because they *think*, and their thinking is so modern that it cannot be harmonized with the remnants of mediæval dimnesses and illusions which are still found in much of our preaching and manifest themselves in our ceremonies. While some of the other Protestant churches are still involved in the difficulties caused by hierarchies, rituals, robes, and confusions of all sorts, it becomes us who can, *if we can*, to manifest our freedom by using it effectively in bringing into the church these men, so many of whom revere Christ, while they reject what calls itself Christianity. We can drop without embarrassment every creed which troubles the conscientious thinker; we can discard every offensive form. We are quite able to discard the sacraments if they prove harmful anywhere and for any reason. And by laying our emphasis upon realities, what we gain will be really gained; and we shall have little to lament of fields inaccessible to us, for a new welcome awaits a thoroughly modern church in this modern time.

Our central thought must be, in this new time, to make men see truth for themselves. What they *know* they can build solidly upon. To make men know God, to make them unshakeably and unchangeably *possess God*, because, by the truth, they have been brought into real and conscious contact with him,—that seems to me to be the mission of Congregationalists now. And I do not think that any other body of Christians is quite as ready as we are to take up this work.

It will be sufficiently evident from what I have said, that Congregationalists have a doctrine of the church, or, if I may have seemed to any to obscure it, it will be evident from the noble series of papers to which this day has been devoted. Our idea of the church is Evangelical and not Catholic. But we have more to consider than that. We are not merely to slough off this and that element of Catholicism with which we disagree, while leaving our system still substantially Catholic. We have too often done this with the sad result of obscuring the truth, of losing the advantage of old positions while failing to secure those of the new. We are to cast out the entire old leaven of the system of authority and infallibility, the leaven which is contained in the one word *unchangeability*, and is the leaven of death. The difference between us and the old should be fully realized by us. It is the difference of a completely new conception of the whole universe, its character, its methods, its goal, its truth. It is a universe of life in which we live, and life is growth and change. Truth changes with the change of things. Truth is itself growing, is ever fresh and new. God is ever revealing himself. The church is ever learning more of God, and might be learning very much more. To learn, to progress, to drop the old garments outworn and outgrown, and to clothe ourselves in the new and beautiful robes of a brighter and more perfect understanding

of the truth, that is our long-understood mission: let us arise and fulfil it!

For this imperative work of the day, Congregationalism has a unique position and a unique opportunity. She is bound to no dead past by the mortmain of an obsolete creed or the ossifying influence of an elaborate organization. She is free in the living present. She *can* act as the times demand. But she is not divorced from the Christian ages, nor imprisoned in the ice of an unspiritual and irreligious rationalism. She possesses still aggressive religious force. Hence, she needs to move on in behalf of the good cause in this perilous time. The great question of the day is as to the most fundamental elements of Christianity, as to the personality of God and his personal interest in the individual soul. In the presence of such a problem, lesser problems disappear. The church needs a new apology and a new theology. The old sacramental theory was one of the "letter which killeth." Christianity needs to strip itself of all encumbrances, of all mediævalisms, and of all superstitions, and, girding on the simple armour of pure light, to make the truth undeniable. It can be made to shine by its own light to every man. Sacramentarianism belongs to the extreme left wing of the hosts of obscurantists that cannot forward, but only obstruct, the battle of Christianity. More than ever is it to be repudiated. We shall prove ourselves the worthy sons of noble fathers, of Puritans, who, in the great church at the Lincolnshire Boston, refused to bow the knee in receiving the Lord's Supper, of Separatists, who, at Scrooby abandoned the church of their fathers rather than accept the sacraments at the hands of men who did not preach, and whom they styled, in their bitter contempt for apparent indifference to truth, "dumb dogs," of martyrs who lingered in London prisons, like Barrow and Greenwood to die at last on the gallows, if in our day we spread the new light, till in its brightness old error shrivels and dies.

Discussion

Remarks by Rev. F. Binns, Sydney

I do not think that the paper we have just heard addressed itself to the subject. I think that from the sacred writings we do obtain the words of our Lord, and what his speeches were like.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Scott, Chicago

The centre of the discussion in the papers is, to my mind, the minister's mission. I think that if the progress of the church is to be as it should be, the minister ought to ask himself if he were not something of a stumbling block. If I want to be a Presbyterian it called up a leading elder and a preaching elder. If I want to be an Episcopalian it centred round the bishop. The Archbishop of Canterbury said the other day that he had clergymen who would set aside their doctrines in the church, but at the end they said they were still priests. Canon Henson raised the same question in his sermon at the Abbey before the meeting of the Pan-Anglican Congress. He said, "We are always talking about the holy catholic church, but we shall never bring that union about while we are fiddling on our little hierarchy,

which is the greatest hindrance to union. Until we recognise the ministers of other communions are the same as we are, we shall not make any progress." The men who will throw away the white neck-tie in the right place will lead the church in England. I was present at a service in an English Cathedral, and found forty choir boys and men, three clergymen, three ancient sisters and three gentlemen who had drifted in to worship Almighty God. I said to myself this is the worship of heathenism of 2,000 years ago. The heathen had an idea of pleasing God, and they thought that by pleasing God he would reward them. The Jew had the same idea. The apostles' worship was entirely different. St. Paul told them to think about their brother. Paul's test was the congregation that had received eternal life, and whose whole thought was to distribute to others. Until we get away from little Anglicanism or little Popery, no progress will be made. The Lord Jesus Christ was not a clergyman. He was a layman. He did not come from the tribe of Levi, but from that of Judah. If he entered Westminster Abbey they would not allow him to officiate, because he was a layman. The Lord was never ordained. The Lord did not belong to the priestly tribe at all. So our greatest fight will be with ecclesiasticism, with the hocus-pocus of the hierarchy, with the thousand things that swell up a little man with a white neck-tie, and made him feel that he stood for the Lord God Almighty.

Remarks by Rev. M. H. Knadjian, Cairo

I believe that the pastoral office of the minister is his most important work. It is the work which will make his labours successful, if he were faithful to the idea that he is a pastor as well as preacher. A good preacher will no doubt fill a church and edify many souls, but a pastor, who is a real pastor and shepherded his people, and taught them in their homes, and talked to them privately, and told them about the love of Christ, will do more Christian work than the great preacher who has a large congregation. I believe that the great majority of people are not saved by the great preachers, but by those humble pastors who quietly go about to teach the people in their homes. This fact is impressed on my mind by a connection in a church in a country place. The church to which I refer had at one time no church building, and the pastor who was in charge was able to build one. Presently he retired because of age, and the congregation elected as his successor, a young, able man, who was a good preacher. But I am sorry to say that the church is now divided, and I find that it is simply and solely because the young minister would not shepherd his people. I have been at work in Egypt ten years. I was sent to Egypt by Dr. Horton's church at Hampstead, under many difficulties—one of Dr. Horton's elders is present, and he knows the facts to which I refer. I can say that I went to the hill and to the banks of the Jordan without the help of anything or anybody, but I am glad to say that through the blessing of God, and not through my own labours, I have a church in Cairo composed of 200 people. For five years it was supported by Dr. Horton's church, but now we have been able to make it a self-supporting church. That church which was thus brought to existence, had not been so brought as a preaching church, but it was solely and simply because I made up my mind to gather the people together, and to speak to them, and I find that they are gladly coming to church.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Adamson, Glasgow

With respect to the last speaker, I should like to say that if his paper accurately represented Congregationalism, I should cease from being a Congregationalist. His idea of the Lord's Supper seemed to be that, if I were to remember, the death of Socrates, it was just as good as commemorating the death of Jesus Christ. I should like to take a long time in discussing the arguments in the paper. We have further been told that Christ only died as a martyr. If I believed all the things that our professors told us, I should not stand where I do now. The first address was what they expected from one of their professors. The second address was one that showed them very much that was true. All along I have been brought up as a Presbyterian, and we have been reminded of white neck-ties. Why should we as Congregationalists not have elders and ordinations for our ministers? In early days a man was sent forth to his work by prayer. That was the case with the Evangelical Union to which I afterwards belonged, and I trust it will more and more become the rule amongst Congregationalists, because it is in accordance with apostolic injunctions.

The Chairman closed the session with the benediction at 4.30.

EVENING SESSION

The Rev. W. Dower, of Port Elizabeth, took the chair. After the singing of the hymn

> Our Blest Redeemer, ere he breathed
> His tender last farewell,
> A Guide, a Comforter bequeathed
> With us to dwell,

Prayer was offered by the Rev. George Littlemore, of Strathfield, New South Wales.

The Chairman briefly introduced the subject and speaker to the assembly.

Remarks by the Chairman

I think you will all agree with me in this, that if the exigencies of our time at these meetings required that a paper had to be read on the evening of our Communion Service, no more appropriate subject could have been selected by the Agenda Committee than that of the Holy Spirit.

When Jesus intimated to his disciples that the time was near at hand when it would be expedient for him to leave them, he comforted their sorrowing hearts with the assurance that when he was gone the Father would send the Holy Spirit, in his name, to enlighten, guide and sanctify them, and that he would abide with his Church *for ever*. Thus the subject of the Holy Spirit brings us face to face with that mysterious potent agency unseen to mortal eye yet very real to the Christian consciousness, and so indispensable in the initial, and, indeed, in all the subsequent stages of the Christian life, until the work of grace is accomplished and we stand complete in Christ, perfect and entire, lacking nothing. Again when Christ instituted the Lord's Supper as a memorial of his life and love, his suffering and death, he said do this "*till I come*."

We are thus to be brought to-night into close touch with the abiding agency of regeneration and sanctification, and with the abiding sacrament which is to mature the divine life. Both are to be for ever till he come.

The esteemed brother who is to speak to us on this exalted theme of the Holy Spirit is one who, by his contributions to theological literature, has purchased for himself a good degree and great boldness in the faith. He is *facile princeps* in this particular department of Christian scholarship. He will deliver to us that which he has received of the Lord, and that according to the wisdom which has been given him. I am sure we shall all profit withal. I bespeak for him an attentive hearing, and will now ask Rev. W. L. Walker to read his paper.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. W. L. Walker, of Glasgow, to give an address on "The Holy Spirit."

ADDRESS BY REV. W. L. WALKER

THE HOLY SPIRIT

It is, I think, becoming increasingly felt that, to quote a recent Cambridge Essayist, "participation in the Holy Spirit is the great and distinguishing mark of Christ's religion." What, then, *is* the Holy Spirit? For answer we must go to religious experience in general and to that recorded in the Bible in particular. Professor James has shown that a study of "the varieties of religious experience" yields the certainty that we are—consciously or subconsciously—in contact with a "Something More" which can become efficient in our life. In Biblical language that "Something More" is the Holy Spirit. Outside the Bible, it was so named by Seneca; "a Holy Spirit dwells within us."

In the Bible we shall not find any philosophy, or even any continuously consistent doctrine of the Spirit. There is development in the conception in both Old and New Testaments. In the earlier portions of the Old Testament the Holy Spirit appears as an efflux from God, conferring on individuals certain special powers and gifts. No doubt all these were ultimately due to God; but not in the way supposed of special direct impartation. But in the later prophets and Psalms we have a higher and distinctly ethical conception of the Spirit, as the source, not only of revelation, but of pure and true life, national and individual, and as the medium of the divine indwelling. In one late Psalm the Spirit is identified with the Universal Divine Presence.

Prior to the coming of Christ the ethical conception of the Spirit seems to have been largely lost. The Holy Spirit was looked for as that which should distinguish the Messianic times; the Christ was he who should baptise men with or in it. But it was chiefly regarded as the source of miraculous powers and prophetic inspiration and enthusiasm; by it "the young men should see visions and the old men dream dreams." With the Synoptists the Spirit was the Agent of God, operating even on the physical. With Christ the Holy Spirit was supremely Holy, the very presence and power of God himself in the Son of Man. All sins and blasphemies should be forgiven except blasphemy against the Holy Spirit. In the first church we again find the earlier conception of the Spirit as the source of religious enthusiasm and miraculous powers. But St. Paul returned to the later prophetic ideal of the ethical Spirit in that perfected form which came through Christ. The Spirit was the very inner life of God Himself, the source of the new holy life of the sons of God, that in which was fulfilled the promises of the dwelling of God in the midst of his people. It was not something to come and go, but an abiding divine presence. Through the indwelling of the Spirit Christians were "the temples of the living God." All the miraculous powers attributed to the Spirit, and even all exalted faculties, such as "the faith that could remove mountains," were as nothing compared with the holy love, the marvellously comprehensive love that God *is*. In Christianity, therefore, the

Holy Spirit is made known to us as identical with the very presence of God himself, especially in his essential character of holy love.

But there is also something entirely *new*. This Holy Spirit in divine fulness came to men through *Christ*. It was therefore "the Spirit of Christ" as well as of God. Christ was identified with the Spirit: "the Lord is the Spirit"; "the Lord the Spirit"; "the second Adam became a quickening Spirit." So, in the Fourth Gospel, we have the assurance: "The Holy Spirit will come to you; *I* will come to you," "to abide with you for ever." This, I think, expresses that sense of a new and intimate personal presence that came to those first Christians, in the spiritual presence of Christ. It was not merely God in his holy love (with all that is included in that); it was God as he had manifested himself in an abiding divine-human person—Christ. In the Spirit they had both God and Christ.

Now, since it was through that perfect *manifestation* of God which was made in Christ that the Holy Spirit in its fulness came to men, we naturally conclude that whatever divine influences visited men anywhere and at any time, were the results of the divine manifestations, whether in the creation, in providence, in national or individual life, or in religious experience. And as the creation itself is the work of the divine Spirit materially expressing itself (for which reason the Spirit shines through the creation), we are, in this way, also carried back to the identification of the Holy Spirit with God himself in his divine spiritual being.

We say, therefore, concerning the Holy Spirit,—

1. That it is *God himself in one of the modes of the divine being and manifestation*. As the Spirit of God, it is that which is deepest in God, the love which is the very essence of his being, the source of both fatherhood and sonship in God, that out of which the creation proceeds, and which becomes increasingly expressed therein. And just as the spirit of a man can go forth from a man, so the Spirit of God goes forth from God and yet is never severed from him. The Spirit is first *in* God; then goes forth *from* God creatively, and by its action influences men.

Some have difficulty concerning the *Personality* of the spirit. Of course, the Holy Spirit is personal *in God;* but the Spirit *of* God cannot possibly be a separate person in the individual sense. The Holy Spirit is a "Person" in the *Theological* sense, which is practically a *mode* of the divine being and manifestation. This is not Sabellianism, and *Tri-unity* must be kept clear of that virtual *Tritheism* which has been such a hindrance to the due recognition of the nature and work of the Spirit.

2. The Holy Spirit *is Spirit*, not in any sense physical, or semi-physical. It comes with neither word nor touch, but as *influence*, spiritual influence, such as we know goes forth from an earnest speaker, or a noble life, suggesting, inspiring, uplifting; illuminating the mind, stirring the emotions, moving the will to worthy purpose, and so also empowering in action.

3. Being Spirit, the Holy Spirit always requires *some medium* of manifestation and vehicle of influence. An unmanifested Spirit would be for us the same as if it were non-existent. "We are spirits clad in veils," but if we could not in some way manifest ourselves, no one would know anything about us. Everything in creation and providence is to some extent a manifestation of God and, therefore, a medium of his Holy Spirit. "The heavens declare the glory of God, and the

earth showeth his handiwork; day unto day uttereth speech and night unto night showeth knowledge." It was just through these manifestations that men came to believe that there is a God and gained increasing knowledge of him. There has always been a spiritual sun shining on man's inward vision. "God has nowhere left himself without a witness." A spiritual power has been all along manifesting itself through the physical, and becoming increasingly potent in man's evolution.

> Something of goodness, something true,
> From sun and spirit shining through
> All faiths, all worlds, as through the dark
> Of ocean shines the light-house spark,
> Attests the presence everywhere
> Of love and providential care.

4. In due time, *man open to God*, became the chief medium of the Spirit, and the Spirit, in and through man, reached its climax and gained its supreme expression in *Jesus Christ*. In him the Eternal Spirit, formative of the universe and of man, found complete expression in divine-human, personal form. Jesus was the Child of the Spirit from the first. The Spirit was the deepest and dominant principle of his being. His whole life was lived and his final great offering of himself was made under the inspiration of, and in obedience to, "the Spirit of the Father" that dwelt in him and in which *He* ever dwelt in holy communion. And the manifestation was consummated by the great sacrifice of holy love on the cross.

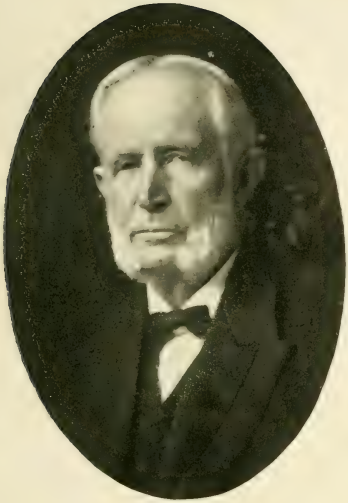
The great Christian truth is this: That the Holy Spirit that God is has been manifested in the fulness of ethical grace and truth in the life and work of Jesus Christ, and has gone forth therefrom in all the plentitude of divine spiritual power, and so that every human being may become its temple and live in spiritual and eternal unison with God. This is the consequence of the incarnation of God in Christ and of the at-one-ment of humanity to God in his Person and Cross. Therefore, we have the picture of the outpouring at Pentecost, and such statements as that the Holy Spirit has been "given." It has been *given* in abiding fulness in and through Christ. So, in the Fourth Gospel, Jesus says that, after his going away, the Holy Spirit should come to them as an abiding presence. Other media of the Spirit remain, but *here* we have the Spirit in its divine truth and fulness.

But still, even from Christ, the Spirit is mediated. It is a holy, ethical Spirit, and not only rises in our own hearts, but *comes* to us in those moral and spiritual influences which proceed from the person of Christ, from his work on men's behalf, from his cross and the gospel of reconciliation which it proclaims, known to and believed in by us. "He shall take of mine," said Jesus, "and shall show it unto you." Where Christ is not known in his truth the Holy Spirit cannot operate in that fulness of power which belongs to the supreme divine manifestation.

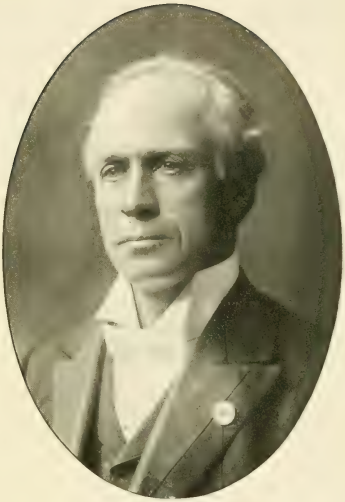
5. The Holy Spirit as proceeding through Christ is the divine presence with us in its highest expression.

6. The origin of Christ and his divine-human personal oneness with the Spirit gives us his own personal presence with us in the Spirit.

7. Lastly, it is not merely influences that come to us through the Spirit: God is in them, and, as we are responsive to them, we are



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brought into union with God; we have "our fellowship with the Father and with his Son Jesus Christ." God is *in* us in so far as his Spirit fills our hearts. Christ becomes to us *in the Spirit* a personal friend, teacher and Saviour. In the Holy Spirit we have the consummation of Christianity, which is, therefore, distinctively, "the dispensation of the Spirit."

II

I shall devote the time that remains to a brief application of this doctrine to some present-day problems and practical requirements. What is needed to-day is an intellectually convinced and spiritually inspired faith in the great Christian verities. We must think not only of the heathen abroad, but of the thousands at home who are unable to believe. In the Spirit of truth we have a special mission to these. We have in it, I believe, the solvent of many difficulties—the key to both theology and philosophy.

1. In the Holy Spirit we have, as we have seen, *God himself with us in his highest form of manifestation*. Many are seeking God to-day and know not where to find him. Some try to grasp that "Something More" of which Professor James speaks: it is for us, they say, to realise our oneness therewith. Yes, but what is it in its true character, and how shall we come into efficient union with it? Much in some of these systems is not spiritual at all, but "of the earth, earthy." What is it? Professor James says frankly that he does not know for certain: he is not sure that he can say *God* in the ordinary acceptation. Yet it is *there*. Yes, but it is there also with the heathen who sit in darkness and degradation and have done so for milleniums, some of them trying, by various means, to come into oneness with it. Why does not God, or this Power, in some way enlighten them, save them? Why is it so ineffectual with the great majority of human beings? Here we see the need of *manifestation*, and how it is that through his manifestation in Christ God becomes known to us and is actually with us in truth and saving efficiency: the Power that can perfect the world which the same Power created. It is *here*, and here alone, in that Holy Spirit as it comes to men in and through Christ, that man can find God in his truth and fulness. Here we *do* find him, near to us all. For what truer thought of God can we have than that of a perfect, holy and loving, infinite, ethical Spirit, who gradually manifests himself in his creation and enters our life as we are receptive of him?

2. We see *the reality of divine revelation*, while we avoid those grosser conceptions of the method which create difficulties for many to-day. We are enabled to transcend the antithesis of a merely external supernaturalism and a purely immanent revelation. If we make God immanent only and affirm only an immanent revelation, it seems to me that we are in danger of losing God altogether. Immanence is a great word to-day and a true one if we understand it. But how does the ethical God come to be immanent in man? We are assured that the world was at one stage wholly *un*moral, and that man has risen slowly from "brute conditions." Was God immanent in these? Morality, we are told, was born "the moment that man realised himself in the presence of an ideal." Yes, but how did that ideal come to him? I answer "through the Spirit," through the long continued ministration of God's Holy Spirit. Of course, for this we must believe in the immanence of God in the universe, in that form in which he conditions himself as the principle of its life, else there could

not arise those spiritual communications. We must believe that man was conceived in the image of God and was the bearer of an immanent principle capable of development. But, apart from the transcendent influences of the Spirit, that immanence could no more have developed in primitive man than it does in the savages of the present. Why does not God show himself in *them*? Why do they need the missionary? It is true that "the eye and the brain must be there before the light can be perceived or any object interpreted." But it is equally true that the eye would be useless did not the light come to it, and that the brain would have nothing to work on were not objects from without brought for our perception; nay, it is the light itself that creates the eye and it is influences from the external world that actually form the brain. Immanence alone, wherever we find it, whether in plant or animal or man, is powerless apart from transcendent influences. But immanence and transcendence combined do not give us the full conception of God. From his immanence his *Spirit* has been continually proceeding, influencing men, causing an ever-increasing divine immanence in the Holy Spirit. Transcendence represents "the Father," immanence, "the Son," but there is also "the Holy Spirit," proceeding from the Father and the Son. And just as man has responded to these influences of God's Spirit, he has come increasingly into touch with God in his all-environing spiritual presence. He has "felt the Spirit of the Highest"; the truth, the righteousness, the love of God have burned within him as real divine inspiration, and he has boldly and rightly said to his fellows, "thus saith the Lord."

3. We see the reality of *continuous divine revelation and inspiration.* God is in some measure manifested in all things (except in those free acts of men which contradict his character); he is in some way speaking to us in everything. Ethically and savingly, his full revelation has come to us in Christ, and he is continually appealing to us therein. And in countless other ways he is speaking to those who have ears to hear. We need to-day to insist on the reality of this *continued* presence and speaking of God. Many of those who are forsaking our churches do so, I fear, because we have made divine revelation and the presence of God and of Christ with men so greatly appear things of the past; not living, present, real and natural as the sunshine and the rain. We must correct this mistake. We must not leave it to others to say:

"God is not dumb that he should speak no more";

we must say, Here, all around thee and within thy breast, whispers and woos his gracious Spirit.

4. The doctrine of the Spirit enables us to transcend the unfortunate misunderstanding which regards the *Supernatural* as being in some kind of opposition to the *Natural*, or as operating only by way of interference or intervention, which is at the root of much of the current unbelief. It enables us to see the reality of divine supernatural action, while yet all conflict with "the uniformity of nature," or "the continuity of physical sequence," is avoided. The *Spiritual* is the true supernatural and divine. From the first, there has been, not only a physical side to the universe, but also a spiritual side, deepest of all, formative of the physical, operating on it, manifesting itself through it as informing Spirit. As Dr. Horton said recently in his address on the Holy Spirit, "the idea with which the Bible opens that creation is due to the operation of the Spirit on matter is the key to science. It is because matter is the product of Spirit that there is an intelligible world which the mind can explore and know." Spiritual influences on

man have been most real, formative of him, acting sometimes through his personality in its relation to nature, constantly modifying and moulding his organism, which has a spiritual side deeper than the physical; the *effects* carried onward as all intellectual and moral effects that have made for progress have been carried onward, by social and organic heredity in an unbroken continuity. God has been all along by his Spirit entering more and more fully into man. No physical or semi-physical intervention has been necessary—no breach of physical continuity. There has been the strictest continuity of divine spiritual action, maintaining itself and finding increasing expression in and through the physical.

The culmination is in the *Incarnation*, not merely *an* incarnation, but *the* incarnation of God in Christ. As the great Origen said, "When God sent Jesus to the human race, it was not as though he had just awoken from a long sleep." The appearance of Christ was the *result* of all the divine spiritual working. In his birth we have, on the human side, the entrance into the world of man wholly after the Spirit, transcending the flesh and rising up to God-consciousness. Even in his organic being, as the truly and divinely *human*, Christ thus stands out from and above the rest of humanity, as truly as primitive man stood out from and above his animal ancestry—a new Head to mankind. And, just as the natural man was reached at the end of a gradually narrowing line of mainly *physical* development, so the new spiritual man, God's Son, appeared as the outcome of a similar line of mainly *spiritual* development. And when, in the consummation of his life and sacrifice, in obedience to the Spirit within him, God's thought of himself in man is realised in Christ, we have, on the divine side, the complete ethical incarnation of God in human form. We have, in most literal truth, "the eternal Word become flesh," the Sonship in God—God's thought of himself for his creation and of his creation in himself—expressed, "God with us," "God manifest in the flesh," the divine love that is for ever giving itself in and for the creation, manifested in the sacrifice of the Cross.

Therefore it is that from this complete manifestation of God the Holy Spirit proceeds in the full Christian sense, in order to raise all men into that spiritual humanity realised and manifested in Christ. And, when we think of Christ as man wholly after the Spirit and the temple of the divine creative Spirit, and remember that the spiritual is formative of the physical, we can believe in the reality of his mighty works, and in his resurrection from the dead in the power of that Spirit which was the deepest principle of his life. Like the perfect flower which reveals the potency of the seed when the process of its development has been completed, Christ is thus seen to be—not "the mere product of evolution"—but the revelation of its divine source and power—the divine-human Head of our humanity, "the Alpha and Omega, the beginning and end of the creation of God." We see in him, in the words of Irenæus of old, "the recapitulation," the summing up and new beginning of our race, with its divinely intended destiny. In "Christ in us the hope of glory" we behold the revelation of creation's mystery, and learn, with Paul, that we must make it "our labour to present every man perfect in Christ." And, in the Holy Spirit, we have the power thereunto.

4. Did time permit, I would dwell on the aid which this doctrine brings to the realization of the living presence of Christ, the loss of which is such an injury to the religious life; on the importance in

times of so great critical questioning, of seeing that in the Holy Spirit we have that permanent result of the divine manifestation in Christianity, which no criticism can take from us, and the supreme religious *authority*. The only ultimate authority is God, and in that Holy Spirit which proceeds in its fulness from Christ and is one with his living personality, we have God with us, coming to the intellect as truth, to the conscience as duty, to the heart and will as holy love. A higher or more complete authority there cannot be than that perfect ethical Spirit who is for ever with us and is so clearly made known to us in Christ. I would also show the strong missionary incentive that arises from the fact that the Spirit needs mediation and the importance of theology as the truth that so largely mediates the Spirit, as well as the relation of the Spirit to eternal life. But I must leave time for a few words of practical application.

III

The Holy Spirit is, of course, the very life of the Church as it is that of the individual Christian. God has a great religious and social work for the Church to do in the power of his Holy Spirit. Its mission is to spiritualize humanity. And that can only be done by proclaiming the truth that ministers the Spirit, and by bringing the spiritual principles of Christ to bear on every human interest and aspect of life. In the faithful application of these we have all that is needed. The unspiritual, animal nature is the source of sin and of all the worst evils that afflict mankind. An unspiritual socialism can never save the world even socially. Only "the Spirit of the Father," in men—the Spirit that is holy—can make human society that family of God which it is meant to become. The salvation that man needs is from the lower selfish element in man. What the world is waiting for is the manifestation of God in his saving presence and power. And God is seeking so to manifest himself *through us*. The Holy Spirit *is* God within us and *is* Christ within us, *seeking expression*.

When we read the long, blood-stained record of human history, or when we look around us on the world of to-day, and see, not only the sin, but the sorrow and suffering that darken the earth, the misery that overshadows countless lives, the wrecks and failures that strew the shores of time, the awful tragedies that are being continually enacted, the many to whom life is a hopeless struggle or a prolonged endurance, with relief only in death, itself unrelieved; when we think of the silent suffering, or of the cries that go up to God apparently unheeded, we cannot wonder if thinking and sympathetic souls say to us, "Where is your God? that God of love whom you proclaim? Why does he not appear? Why does he not help and save? Why is the earth as iron beneath our feet and the heavens as brass over our heads?"

The answer is that God is *here* in that Holy Spirit that seeks expression *through us*. But we must henceforth give that answer more fully in responsive life and action, else the Christian church will belie itself and be left behind as a system that has outlived its day because unfaithful to the Spirit of life within it. It is not to words only, but to deeds that the Holy Spirit inspires us. God, as he has given us to know him, is to-day moving in our hearts in that Holy Spirit of love and sympathy, of truth and righteousness—the Spirit of Jesus Christ. He is *here*, in that Spirit, as he has through long travail, crowned by Calvary's cross, manifested himself in our humanity,

and as he is seeking us to be his instruments in the battle against evil and needless suffering, for the manifestation of his fatherhood, and the triumph of his justice and goodness in his world. His Spirit is *here*, I say; we need not keep praying to God for that in which he is already with us, seeking us, claiming us, pleading within our very souls. The call to us to-day is to arise "to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty," the still too mighty powers of error, evil and wrong, of earthliness, selfishness and indifference. The Holy Spirit is the very presence, and would be, if we fully responded to it, the Almighty power of God within us. The same Spirit that brooded over the material chaos, educing order, is brooding now—oh, with what infinite sympathy and divine desire!—over the moral and social chaos in which so many of his children are—some trifling with life, and others weltering in misery; and it is only through our response to that Spirit that order can be brought out of that confusion.

We who know this are responsible to God and to our fellows in a measure we have never yet realised, for the response to God's Spirit. It is only *through us, and in no other way*, that God can act in the world or be manifested as God; that his compassion, nay, his righteousness, his justice, can be shown to be real to-day.

I know nothing more solemn, more urgent than this "call of the Spirit." Only think! God is longing and waiting, God is moving within us, to do that which he fain would do, but which he cannot effect except through us, any more than you or I could move without limbs or speak without vocal organs. If we are irresponsive to his Spirit we are not only hiding from men the God in whom we profess to believe, but we are making his manifestation in the world of the present impossible—impossible to God.

Many in our churches are asleep to-day with quite a wrong idea of God. When one realises the stern facts of life and the need of organs for the divine expression, one feels that many of our prayers and hymns, however well-intended, greatly lack Christian enlightenment and are sadly inappropriate. We pray, "Come Holy Ghost, arise!" while surely he *has* arisen upon us in Christ, and only *through us* can he arise elsewhere. We cry, "O Lord of Hosts, arise!" How can he, save as his Spirit arises in our hearts, and as *we* arise in response thereto, not only to think and speak, but also to work and fight for God? Gentle as love itself, the Spirit comes as a "sword." "I came," said he in whom the Spirit dwelt in fulness, "not to send peace on the earth, but a sword." Peace can only come when the conditions are there—when evil has been abolished. We must welcome the stroke when it falls on ourselves, convicting us of apathy or unfaithfulness. Then we must grasp the sword that smites to make alive and arise to walk and work in the light it strikes out and in the might that it inspires. The Spirit will not do these things for us. We must make it our own, take it to be *our* spirit; we must grasp it as our divinely-given Excalibur to fight with and to send forth, ere, like Arthur, we can die in peace.

"Brother! up to the breach
For Christ's freedom and truth;
Let us act as we teach,
With the wisdom of age, and the vigour of youth;
Heed not their cannon balls,
Ask not who stands or falls,
Grasp the sword of the Lord, and forward!"

After Mr. Walker had spoken, the congregation joined in singing the hymn

> "Come, Holy Ghost, and through each heart,
> In thy full flood of glory pour."

COMMUNION SERVICE

The Session was immediately followed by a Communion Service, over which the Rev. R. H. Potter, D.D., presided. A hearty invitation to the friends in the galleries to come into the body of the hall and join in partaking of the elements met with a pretty general response.

After the hymn "The King of love my Shepherd is" had been sung, Dr. Potter read as lesson, Isaiah lxii.: 13—lxiii.: 12.

The address at the table was given by the Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A., of Birmingham.

Address by Rev. J. H. Jowett, M.A.

THE GUESTS OF THE LORD

When I sat down to meditate upon what I should say at this service, I was immediately confronted with the Scriptural words, as though some ministering spirit had written it upon the very threshold of my mind, "Be still, and know that I am God!" as if to warn me that, in precincts like these, speech may so easily become a destructive offence. We can so easily disturb the receptive serenity of the spirit, like the influence of some noisy band of music lifting its clamours amid the awful and solemn splendours of the Alps. I have shrunk from this position lest my voice should drown "the still, small voice" of the Lord. For we are in the upper room, and our Saviour is here, and He himself is both speaker and host. Sometimes we have come to the Lord's Supper as though it were a battle-ground, and we have forgotten the feast. We have come as noisy controversialists and not as hungry guests. We have contended for spiritual privileges which we have not used. We have been heated, quarrelsome, defiant, and we have gone unblessed away. And we ministers have been so ensnared by the destructive part of the offence that we have altogether forgotten that we were sinners. We have "administered," but we have not received, and when we have left the table there has been no holy glow about our souls, and no taste in our mouth of "the glorious liberty of the children of God."

How, then, shall we come to the feast? Let us come as *impure suppliants*. There is no room here to boast of personal merits, but abundance of room to sing the wonders of redeeming grace. This is no place to exhibit webs of our own weaving; it is rather a place of exchange where we lay down our defective garments, and humbly receive "the best robe" in the Father's house, even "the robe of righteousness and the garment of salvation." The most elaborate

garment of the self-made man looks very drab and seedy when set in the light which shines around this table. The best thing we can do is to say nothing about our own clothes, but humbly seek for that "wedding garment," which is the gift of the Lord of the feast. "Now Joshua was clothed with filthy garments, and stood before the angel. And he answered and spoke unto those that stood before him, saying, Behold I have caused thine iniquity to pass from thee, and I will clothe thee with apparel. . . . So they set a fine mitre upon his head,and clothed him with garments; and the angel of the Lord stood by."

How shall we come to the feast? Let us come as *sickly disciples*, whose obedience has been thin and faint. We have been anæmic in his service. There has been an obtrusive want of rich, red blood, and the curious, quizzing world has seen the lack, and has wondered whether we were real kinsmen of the warrior with the "red apparel," or whether our claim is a presumptuous pretence. The only authorised Alpine rope has a red worsted strand, running through it from end to end. And the really sealed followers of the Lord are known by their red strand, the blood sign, the red, endless line of sacrifice. A life which shows the wan colour of a selfish worldliness, which has nothing to distinguish it from the children of mammon, cannot claim moral kinship with the Lord who "Lay down His life for His friends." We need the red strand! "My blood is drink indeed." We come in order that our sickly anæmia may be changed into strong and sacrificial chivalry.

We lay in dust life's glory dead,
And from the ground there blossoms red
Life that shall endless be!

And so we come as *unimpressive weaklings*, who in ourselves are devoid of forceful grip, and who lack the splendid virile influence of contagious health. We have too frequently moved about our work as though we have "received the spirit of bondage again to fear," and were strangers to the spirit of "love and of power and of a sound mind." And therefore devils have not trembled when we drew near, and when we have commanded their expulsion they have remained rudely powerful and firmly enthroned. They have laughed at our approach, and had we carefully listened we might have heard the old challenge: "Jesus we know, and Paul we know, but who are ye?" The "voice of the great Eternal" was not in our tone, and so the evil spirit proved himself stronger than the professed disciples of the Lord, and we could not cast him out. And now we come for the bread of strengthening. And this holy bread, this bread of tears, this bread of affliction, is the food of giants. It endows the soul with "the power of His resurrection," and it transforms the ineffective weakling into a strong son of God, and perfectly equips him as a minister of salvation. We have come from defeat and failure up many a pilgrim road, and from many a clime, and we are now in the guest-chamber, where the gracious Host is accustomed to meet weary and disheartened pilgrims, and where He graciously feeds them with "the finest of the wheat."

Jesus, thou joy of loving hearts,
Thou fount of life, thou light of men,
From the best bliss that earth imparts
We turn unfilled to thee again!

And what will he do with us? What will he do for us? What will he do in us? Well, first of all, he will *commune* with us. He will whisper again to our hearts the wondrous consolations of the fourteenth of John. He will deliver us from our distraction, and he will smooth out all wrinkling and wasteful cares. "Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid!" Have ye not experienced this quieting ministry of the feast? Have we not known the gracious seasons, when the real life-forces have begun to move, and the soul has begun to kindle, and the envious distractions of the world have melted away, just as the imprisoning ice loosens its grasp in the genial breath of the spring. "Did not our hearts burn within us as he talked with us by the way?"

And thus, while he communes he will communicate, and the communication is so marvellously abounding and complete that we become incorporate with the Lord. The fifteenth of John shall follow the fourteenth; and when the separating fears and sins have been washed away and we are clean, we shall know ourselves to be engrafted into the Vine of life. And no figure of speech, be it never so intimate, can express the closeness of the incorporation. Friendship, be it endowed with feelers and tendrils most exquisite, leaves half the tale untold. Even wedded bliss, when the union seems fleckless and indissoluble, only dimly reflects the fellowship of the soul and Christ. The apostle Paul ransacked human experience for symbols of correspondence and intimacy; but, even when he had used the best and most expressive, he laid down his pen in utter impotence, despairing ever to shadow forth the marvellous kinship of the soul whose life is "hid with Christ in God."

And how shall we go away from the feast? We must go *as heralds*. We must "proclaim the Lord's death till he come." The Lord's death! We must go out to vagrant pilgrims, who are painfully following illicit lights, and becoming more and more confused, and we must lead them to this strange, solemn birth-place of eternal life and light and hope. We must "proclaim the Lord's death!" We must tell our struggling fellows that in that fertile gloom guilt finds its solvent, tears become translucent, and moral infirmity begins to "leap as a hart." Yes, we must leave this table as heralds, and thus must be our cry: "Ho! everyone that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money, come buy and eat; yea, come buy wine and milk without money and without price."

And we must go *as covenanters*. We have taken "the new covenant" in his blood, and the holy sacrament will be fresh upon our lips. And there must be something about us akin to the Scottish covenanters when they emerged from Greyfriars churchyard, having entered into holy bond and covenant with the Lord. There must be something in our very demeanour telling the world that we have been at a great tryst, and our lives must be gravely, grandly quiet, confident in the glorious Ally with whom the covenant has been made. There must be nothing dubious in our stride. Our courage must be kingly, as though we have imperial friendships, and as though in very truth we "walk with God." It must be apparent to everybody, in the home, and in the market, and in the street, that we, too, have been "brought again from the dead, . . . through the blood of the everlasting covenant."

As heralds we must go, and as covenanters, and *as crusaders* too. We must leave this table, as the covenanted knights left King Arthur's table, "to ride abroad, redressing human wrong," and to labour for

the creation of conditions like unto those whose fair pattern we have seen in the mount. My brethren, we may test the reality of our communion by the vigour of our crusades. We must drink our politics "from the breasts of the Gospel." There is a great word in one of Kingsley's letters which I will venture to quote even in this most hallowed hour. It was written when the condition of the people was burdening him with its ever-deepening tragedy, and when his spirit was being tortured with the sense of accumulated degradations. And this is what he wrote: "If I have not had the communion at church to-day to tell me that Jesus *does* reign, I should have blasphemed in my heart, I think, and said, 'The devil is king!'" But he left the feast, he assures us, braced and strengthened, and with "a wild longing to do something for his fellow men!" That is it, the power of the holy blood must be proved in our positive action upon the kingdom of the night.

The Son of God goes forth to war,
A kingly crown to gain;
His blood-red banner streams afar;
Who follows in his train?

And so we turn to our feast. Let it be that my thoughts have led you to the door of the chamber. And the door is open and the King is near, and blessed are all they that love his appearing. Let all human ministries veil their faces and stand aside, and let the soul have undistracted dealings with the Lord. "Sir, we would see Jesus!"

After the hymn "Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts" had been sung, Dr. Potter read the words of institution of the holy supper of our Lord Jesus Christ as they are delivered by the Apostle Paul, and asked the Rev. Professor Duff, D.D., of Bradford, to lead the congregation in prayer.

Dr. Duff then offered prayer.

Administration of the Elements

After Dr. Potter had read some appropriate Scripture sentences, the administration of the elements took place, a number of deacons of the various churches in Edinburgh assisting in the distribution.

Remarks by Dr. Potter

Beloved in the Lord Jesus Christ, since the Lord hath now fed our souls at this table, let us therefore praise his holy name in thanksgiving, and let us in our hearts say, "Bless the Lord O my soul, and all that is within me, bless his only name. Bless the Lord O my soul

and forget not all his benefits. . . . Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him."

Dr. Goodspeed then led in prayer.

After the singing of the hymn "By Christ redeemed, in Christ restored" Dr. Potter brought the service to a close by pronouncing the benediction.

Saturday, July 4th, was spent in excursions to the Trossachs and to Loch Lomond and Loch Long.

On Sunday, July 5th, many of the pulpits of the Edinburgh Churches were occupied by delegates to the Council.

Monday, July 6, 1908

MORNING SESSION

Mr. Alfred J. Shepheard, L.C.C., of London, presided. After the singing of Thomas Binney's hymn "Eternal Light! Eternal Light," the Scripture was read, and prayer offered by the Rev. M. H. Knadjian, of Cairo. A second hymn, "Lift thy song among the nations, England, of the Lord beloved," followed.

The Chairman, at the opening of the session, called attention to the absence through illness at home, of the Rev. Dr. Noble, who was announced to speak on "Historic Congregationalism in America," and asked the Council to send a message of sympathy with him and his family, and of regret that the assembly was deprived of his presence. This having been agreed to,

The Chairman called upon the Rev. Alfred Bentall, of Northport, Michigan, to speak on "Congregationalism as based on New Testament Precedent and Principle."

Address by Rev. Alfred Bentall

CONGREGATIONALISM AS BASED ON NEW TESTAMENT PRECEDENT AND PRINCIPLE

Mr. Chairman and Brethren,—It is my privilege and honour to read before you at this time a paper on "Congregationalism as based on New Testament precedent and principle." This is not an attempt to prove from the letter of the New Testament that Congregationalism is the only form of Church polity based on the New Testament, or having right to such claim. This would be untrue, and to be tied to the letter is always perilous. Nor is what we are now saying to be taken as a reflection upon, or in any sense a disparagement of, any other form of church polity. You will note from our program that this is the first of a series of papers on the Free Church and Congregational witness, and in it our purpose will be, first to glance at the New Testament narratives, and letting them speak for themselves, ask what were the precedents established and what principles illustrated. And still further, in what sense are we to follow these precedents, and illustrate these principles, that we may justly lay claim to a part in a Congregationalism, really based on New Testament precedent and principle?

As to the contents of the New Testament narratives we have a four-fold Gospel story, a record of the acts of the Holy Spirit as wrought out through the apostles, a series of Epistles, written for the

most part by certain of the apostles, either to churches founded by them, or to individuals connected with such, and lastly the Revelation which Jesus gave to his servant John. From the Gospel narratives, and from what we know of the world at that period, we learn that Jesus came to a world of benighted heathenism, with all the gross immorality involved on the one hand, and to a nation whose religion was formally directed to the true God, but which religion had become hopelessly corrupt and formal on the other. To this world, hopeless as far as its own efforts were concerned, he came with an unique message that "men should repent and believe the good news of the kingdom of God." As a means for the spreading of this good news, he called to himself certain men, intimating that, following him, their lives being kindled anew by contact with his, they should then catch men, bring men into the kingdom, which he had come to set up. For the most part of three years, by action, by parable, as well as by direct statement, with constant and patient bearing with their many misunderstandings, he not only won their faith and allegiance, but trained them for the work which they, in his name, were to do. And then came the time of the cross, and a brief forsaking on the part of these men, but their Master reappears having conquered death even as he had said, and they saw and believed.

We are to remember that he gave them no form of organization, he alone was Lord and Master, they were all brethren. Greatness they were to interpret in terms of service. Principles indeed he gave, in the Sermon on the Mount, and other utterances. For the rest he told them that the comforter, the Spirit of truth whom he would send to them, would, as they were able to bear it, lead them into all truth, would instruct, guide and be even with them.

As regards the church, those who confessed to a living faith in himself as the Christ, the Son of the living God, on this witness to such a faith, he declared his church should be built, and to such witnesses gathered in his name, he pledged his presence.

After his resurrection and manifestation to many witnesses, he gathered his apostles together, and before leaving them gave to them a world-wide commission. They were to be his witnesses, beginning at Jerusalem, even unto the uttermost parts of the earth. For this work of witness-bearing, he promised them an enduement of power for which they were to wait at Jerusalem. Then he departed, ascending to his father, and they returned to the upper room, where with others to the number of 120 they spent the succeeding days in prayerful waiting.

During these days Peter reminds them that, owing to the defection of the traitor, a vacancy in the circle of apostolic witness had been caused. In order that this vacancy may be filled, two men are set forth, and after prayer, by the vote of the whole company, one is chosen, Matthias by name, and numbered with the eleven.

Soon the fulfilment of the promise came, and these men emerge from their timid hiding to a new boldness in service, and remarkable results follow. The few became a multitude, and these all infused with a spirit of brotherly love, having all things common, so that all needs are met. *The church born of service was now empowered to carry on service.*

The witness-bearing on the part of the apostles, continued with no thought of organization, and daily the Lord added with them such as were being saved.

Very soon, however, the multitude becomes so great, that the

apostles are seriously hampered, because of the amount of time taken from their witnessing, to supervise the distribution of alms. The multitude are called together, and by the action of the whole, seven men are chosen to have this matter in charge. This first step towards organization grew, not so much from any preconceived plan, as out of the necessities of the case. Up to this time the bond of unity had been a common trust in one Lord and Master, involving a separation from old interests, and so bringing about a community of interest in the new faith. The primitive church, at least, while contained entirely in Jerusalem, was a company of believers in Jesus Christ, owning no other head than himself, following the leadership of his appointed witnesses, and with no machinery for church government, save that which we have observed as growing out of the necessities of the case.

But the movement now began to attract the attention of the authorities, who, in the judicial murder of Jesus Christ, had fondly hoped to crush out its very life. Persecution began, and Stephen, one of the seven, is stoned to death. Saul of Tarsus becomes a rabid persecutor, and makes great havoc of the church. Being exceedingly mad against them, he pursues them even unto strange cities, and on his way to Damascus, whither he was going with letters of authority to arrest and bring to Jerusalem any of "that way," he is arrested, by that same Jesus whom he started out to persecute, and the haughty Pharisee becomes the humble apostle. Peter is called to the house of a Roman Centurion, and after special direction of the Holy Spirit he preached the Gospel to them, they believed, and to these Gentile converts the Holy Spirit is given, even as unto the Jewish converts at the first. On Peter's return to Jerusalem, his action of going in unto Gentiles is called in question by the church. Peter explains, and his explanation is accepted. Note that Peter, far from having any authority, is amenable to the rest of the church.

The persecution that arose at the time of Stephen's martyrdom caused a scattering of the disciples, some of whom came to Antioch in Syria, and in that great city began to tell others what they had learned of Christ, and so by the testimony of these primitive Christians with no commission or standing of any kind, actuated only by the felt obligation to witness for Christ, a new Christian community is formed, this time in a Gentile city, and largely of Gentile converts.

The brethren at Jerusalem hear tidings of this new development, and send Barnabas to enquire. When he arrived he saw that a genuine work of grace was in progress, and goes to Tarsus, whence he brings Saul, and together they minister to the Antioch church. Tidings come to Antioch of a time of great need among the Christians at Jerusalem. The Antioch Christians make an offering for their relief, and send it to Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.

On their return to Antioch they are sent forth by the church there (who have been moved to this by the Holy Spirit), on the first of those great missionary tours, occupying so much of the narrative of the Acts. And as they preach, and carry the witness from one place to another, those who in each locality believe their word, are brought together into Christian communion, by a common trust in the Saviour, just as the earlier converts at Jerusalem and Antioch had been drawn to each other.

The result of this and of subsequent journeys was that in very many places, in Asia Minor, in Macedonia, Greece, Cyprus, and elsewhere, these little bodies of believers in Christ (then first called Christians),

sprung into being, meeting on the first day of the week to break bread together, and for edification and fellowship. Each such company afterwards addressed as the Church in this place or that, each being a church complete in itself, and yet each a part in the great church universal, each caring for its own affairs, and responsible for its own membership. All having fellowship in the leadership of the Apostles, in the interchange of Apostolic epistles, in the giving of their substance in one part, to help needy brethren in another. And all partaking of the two ordinances or sacraments left by the Master, being baptized as a sign of renunciation of an old life, and the entering into a new life. And meeting around the Lord's table, to remember him in his death, to renew their vows of fidelity to him, and to show forth his death till he should come.

Between the first and second missionary journeys from Antioch, or at least apparently so, certain men came down to Antioch, and claiming to express the teaching and will of the Jerusalem church, declared that faith in Christ was not alone sufficient for salvation. That to this must be added obedience to the Mosaic law as regards circumcision. This, of course, provoked much discussion, and Paul with Barnabas, and certain others, are sent to Jerusalem to confer with the church there about this matter. They are heard by the church as a whole, and after much discussion, and with the assent of all, certain of their number are sent back with the Antioch Deputation, to disown these false teachers, and to declare that the opinion of the apostles and brethren of the Jerusalem church is, that no such burden be laid upon them, but advising them to abstain from things savouring of idol worship, and to keep themselves pure from the gross immorality so prevalent then. Hence the church at Jerusalem claimed no sort of authority over the Antioch Church, although, since at Jerusalem more of the presence of the apostles was usual than elsewhere, if any church had claim to apostolic authority, surely they had the first such claim. Also it will be noted that at each end of the controversy, the whole church had part in the deliberation, and assented to the conclusion arrived at, and further that in this they believed they were voicing the mind of the Holy Spirit.

The Christian communities that had come into being at so many places, needed, after the departure, and between the visits of the apostles, some human leadership, and of necessity some kind of organization, and around the nature of this much controversy has gathered, and the nature of the government is still the line of demarcation, between differing Christian communions. As far as may be learned from a reading of the New Testament narratives, there appear to have been but two classes of church officers, one called variously, "bishops or overseers," "presbyters or elders," pastors, teachers, "angels or ministers," the other class simply known as "deacons."

It must be kept in mind that in no sense were these successors to the apostles. The seal of apostleship was to have seen the Lord, and to be able to witness to his resurrection. Paul thus defended his apostleship, I. Cor. ix. 1. This qualification, in the nature of the case, ceased with that generation. As regards the kinds of church officers, it will be noted that the varying terms mentioned a moment since, as pertaining to the one class, were used indiscriminately of men evidently having the same functions. These differences of name, would seem rather to have referred to different conceptions of the office than to different ranks in office.

In Acts xx. the terms "elders," and "bishops" or "overseers," are used of the same men. Paul sends for the "elders" of the church at Ephesus to meet him at Miletus, and when they are come, he exhorts them to faithfulness among the church over which they were "overseers." Moreover of the "bishops" thus mentioned, there were evidently several in one church, hence they were not "bishops" in the sense in which the word is used to-day. Paul also in writing to Timothy I. ch. iii. 1—7, describes the qualifications of a "bishop," and passes on to those of a "deacon." If there were other grades of officers it is scarcely likely that in such a connection he would have refrained from mentioning them. He speaks of "bishops" and "deacons," but never of "bishops" *and* "elders." There are, of course, many other passages that might be cited, but these will suffice, since there are none that permit of much, if any, different interpretation on this matter.

Hence we gather that there were two classes of officers, the one variously named whose duty was to teach, preach, and shepherd, the other class, always called "deacons," whose duty was to assist in, or have charge of, the charitable, and material interests of the church, and to these in some cases at least were added deaconesses.

But while there is nothing to indicate division of rank in the first class of officers mentioned, it may easily have been that one "bishop," or "pastor," because of longer duration in office, or because of greater force of character, or of some special talents, might come to have more influence than another, and might even be called to a ministry at large, without having any higher rank than others, of the same class.

As to the messages delivered to the early churches by the apostles, and other New Testament preachers, they formulated no system of doctrine, or rule of conduct, and no church polity, beyond such as we have noted, growing out of the necessity of the case. But while they formulated no system, there were some very unmistakable doctrines in their preaching. They taught that man had sinned, that his position by nature was as one in the place of death, out of fellowship with God, with the mind darkened, under condemnation. That man needed repentance, that unless he did repent, his case was hopeless, and eternally so.

But also they taught that God waited to forgive, that if men would but take the first step towards God, he would surely meet such a man with infinite love and full forgiveness, nay more that God was by the Holy Spirit continually helping man to come to himself. They taught further, that the way or ground of God's forgiveness was to be found in the atoning work of Jesus Christ his Son, and that in the resurrection of Christ, to which they were witnesses, the believer might rest securely in the fact that God had accepted the Saviour's death on man's behalf.

Whatever may have been the subsequent evolution of Christian doctrine, the apostles and other preachers of the New Testament believed, taught, and died for these truths. These men, moreover, had been under the personal instruction of the Master (at least so far as the apostles were concerned). The inference is that they voiced what they believed to be the mind of Jesus, and what as far as we have recorded utterances he also seems to have taught. Also the apostles and other speakers mentioned in the New Testament believed, and taught that the Holy Spirit was the only empowering force for life and service. Taking, then, the New Testament story as a whole what precedents

were established, and what principles set forth? As to polity—each company of believers in Christ, drawn together by a common faith, was complete in itself, owning no headship but that of Christ.

But these companies of believers had fellowship together in matters of common interest, in helping to bear each other's burden of need, and in the settlement of differences. Each was responsible for the character of its own membership. Each recognized no other law for dealing with the offender, save that given by Christ.

As to service, it was for this that each church lived. The church to-day needs to be smitten with the obligation of service. It is idle for us to claim a Congregationalism based on the New Testament unless there shall come to our ranks more of the spirit of service. Those early churches lived by their service, with them to come to Christ was really (in the necessity of the case) to renounce all and thus to commence to serve, and all this with the fact that it meant estrangement from friends, the family curse, persecution, and in many cases death. Still they served, and shame on us that in these happier days, so little service as regards the rank and file of our churches has been manifested. I refuse to be called a pessimist, that no one with the cause of Christ at his heart can be, but we cannot shut our eyes to the fact, that in the presence of the most splendid opportunities and with a great expenditure of men and means, the results, as far as we are able to see, are distressingly small.

As to independency we do believe that in the early church we find that precedent, but it is idle to talk about this, unless (with the boasted absence of any other Master than Christ), there shall come to every unit, of each independent group of believers, the positive obligation to carry on the service of witness. The work of our churches is not what it ought to be, because it is relegated to the few, and we are too easily content to have it so. We are in these days making excuses for the dear people, whom we say, amid the complexities of the present day strenuous life, have not the time for this and that. They help with their means and so on. We find ourselves justifying the widespread desecration of the Lord's Day, with many senseless platitudes. This is all wrong, we are playing into the hands of the enemy. We are not a New Testament church, if we cannot command service and loyalty in the midst of business and pleasure. There never could have been a Christian church, unless, in the train of the Master, there had followed a multitude of heroes, who not only gave time and effort but life itself that Christ might be served.

Who are we enjoying the privileges they bought at such price, that we excuse ourselves, and the membership of our churches on such paltry grounds? People have tried to do the things they most want to do. The primitive Christians served Christ, and many of them died for him because they loved him, and when there has been kindled in the hearts of the Christians of to-day more real love to Christ, then we shall see service, business and pleasure notwithstanding. As Dr. Dale has said, "The great contention of Congregationalism is not that *every* Christian has a *right* to share in the government of the church, but that *every* Christian is directly responsible to Christ for securing in the discipline, doctrine, and worship of the church (and to this may be added its service in every day life) the supremacy of its divine founder and Lord." And when we come to that we shall not rest there, but, constrained by love, we shall go out and earnestly minister to lost souls in the Master's name.

Again, a body claiming to rest on a New Testament basis, cannot afford to tone down the messages of the New Testament. It is rather a strange phenomenon to see men looking back to the churches of the New Testament period for a polity, and yet refusing the messages of the men who were used of God to found those churches.

I know that in times past the church at large, and we with the rest, have insisted on many things as essential, which new light has shown were not so. But that is quite different from saying, that we are always to preach about the love of God, and never about his holiness and justice. It is also quite different from seeking to make it appear that the great truths of the New Testament are not still as forceful as ever, if they are not, then Jesus was sadly mistaken, and the apostles easily duped. It is more than folly to spend so much time moralizing, and seeking to explain, the drift of doctrinal trend, etc., when on every hand there are souls perishing for the word of life. It is equally foolish to claim belief in the Son of God, and then spend our time preaching about the things we are not sure of. The world needs a positive message, and if we would lay any claim to the title given to this paper we must give them such a message. People have doubts enough of their own, they don't want ours. The message of Peter on the day of Pentecost (and this we remember was delivered as the first-fruit of that wondrous outpouring) was a very positive message, as was also the message of Paul as he stood before the philosophers at Athens. It does not appear that human nature has changed sufficiently to need a materially different message.

With the primitive church we believe that in matters of conduct the law of love is to prevail, we hold to Christian liberty, we would not submit to a set of man-made rules, but liberty is not to become license. He who boasts in a freedom from human restraint as regards his conduct, and then forgets that his words and actions must be tempered by consideration for all, and with care for his influence on the weak brother, and on the man as yet outside, such a one either has not learned to live in the Father's house at all, or else has grossly misunderstood its privileges. The restraint of real love will always be stronger than the restraint of man-made rules.

Also we hold with the New Testament church, that any form of effort for the salvation of men can only be in any degree successful, as our hearts are open to the blessed indwelling of the Holy Spirit. The Master's promise was "He shall be *in* you." This we are all too apt to forget in our ceaseless striving and planning. After all the most elaborate methods, the most carefully planned polity, and the most scriptural forms of doctrine, can avail only as blessed by that same Holy Spirit, it is only himself who can give conviction of sin, and bring about a new birth, only he can empower for service, and whatever the name, or method, service is everything.

The Rev. F. J. Powicke, PH.D., of Hatherlow, Cheshire, was the next speaker. He dealt with "Historic Congregationalism in Britain."

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. POWICKE

HISTORIC CONGREGATIONALISM IN BRITAIN

An introductory word may he said about the names "Independent" and "Congregational." Some prefer the former, as being, they think, the older, but the oldest name is "Separatist." Next came "Congregational," which occurs in the writings of Henry Jacob (1563—1624 ?), whereas "Independent" was still a novelty in 1643—a novelty to which the "Dissenting Brethren" vehemently objected. The historical circumstances explain why "Independent" became the generally accepted name during the next 150 years or more; why, in other words, the emphasis fell, even too much, on the self-completeness and self-sufficiency of every "particular congregation." On the other hand, the historical circumstances explain also why "Congregational," as the name indicative of what is most positive and permanent in our church idea, has of late years worked its way to the front. If we could frame our lips to say "Congregational Independent" it might be a gain.

I have been asked to speak on the subject of Historic Congregationalism—British, and I take it that the word British is intentional, if not emphatic.

Hence I am expected not to forget that Congregationalism is more than a monopoly of England and Wales. We may claim its first fruits for England and Wales. We may say, further, that it has found there its most congenial soil. But it has been able to bear the sterner climate of the North, and to grow up here into a tree of no mean size and strength.

When Robert Browne came to Edinburgh (by way of Dundee) in January, 1584, he could gain no foothold. A vigilant Presbytery marked him, arraigned him, banned him, in less than three weeks, and only a capricious intervention of the king saved him from something worse. Presbyterianism, in fact, had already established itself in popular favour. Browne might say, as he did, that its "elders" were tyrants; but they could hardly seem so to a people who owed to them the assertion and protection of national right. They seemed rather what, on the whole, they were—genuine champions of the common weal. And this explains why "Brownism" had no chance. There was no felt need, or reason for it. But by the middle of the seventeenth century, Brownism in England had developed into a formidable independency, against which alarmed "Assemblies" in Scotland took care to sound forth warning notes; and the alarm seemed justified, when in 1652 a Provost of Aberdeen, Alexander Jaffray—with some others—declared for the Congregational way, and "did partake of the Lord's Supper publicly in the meeting place called Grey Friars." But though fairly enough described as the first attempt at a Congregational Church in Scotland, it was a flash in the pan.

Jaffray, we are told, had come under the influence of certain conferences with Cromwell, etc. In other words, his movement was the application of a theory; not the expression of a practical necessity. And it was a practical necessity which produced Congregationalism. John Glas, minister of Tealing parish, near Dundee, was actuated

by no Congregational theory, when about 1725 he became an Independent, and so an Ishmaelite in the eyes of his own father. He was moved to "separate" from the kirk by precisely similar considerations to those which moved Robert Browne, etc., viz., the unspiritual state of its religion; his conviction that its form of church life was unscriptural, and the hopelessness of reform. These forced separation upon him as a duty—to which naturally attached itself the further duty of trying to learn and obey the New Testament ideal. His experiment was not a success, and the churches it originated, though they nurtured good men, came to grief through the lack of good sense. A like fate befell the "old Independents," whose churches, starting from James Ferrier, of Largo, in 1768, numbered a dozen or more in 1813, and had dwindled to one or two before 1850. But such failures of practice could not invalidate the principle which lay at their root—a principle illustrated remarkably by the Haldane movement of 1797-8. When the honoured brothers of that name, James and Robert, took up their work, certainly they had no thought of founding separate churches. Their objects were purely missionary and evangelical. But they could not help themselves. One step compelled another. At first, converts were urged to attend some church in their neighbourhood; next, the lack of "spiritual warmth" or the sense of spiritual hindrance, in such churches, led to the holding of "fellowship meeting"; then these became permanent societies—requiring to be organized, and adopting the method of self-government under Christ as a matter of course. Thus the Haldane Tabernacle passed inevitably into the Congregational Church. Careful stress might be laid on the statement that the opening of a tabernacle meant "no separation from the Establishment"; but it did all the same. Separation in Scotland as much as in England arose from the necessities of the situation.

Eighty-five churches were formed between 1798 and 1807—their basis being the two main principles of the Congregational polity—that the churches of Christ shall be composed of true believers in Christ, and that every church shall be free to manage its own affairs in accordance with the teaching of Scripture.

After years of suicidal strife about trifles, a poor remnant of the churches was saved by the formation in 1812 of a union for mutual support; and from that time onward steady progress may be said to have been the rule, a progress greatly accelerated since 1896, when the churches, virtually congregational, of the Evangelical union, blended with those of the main stream. Congregationalism is now represented by nearly 200 churches, with a host of affiliated agencies. Its influence is evident and acknowledged. Nor would anyone who knows the facts be disposed to deny that its special witness has "told" upon the ecclesiastical life of Scotland—particularly by way of reinforcing the demand for purity of membership, for untrammelled self-government, and for evangelical breadth. Whether its influence shall grow or wane depends upon the degree of its fidelity to the spirit of men like Greville Ewing, Ralph Wardlaw, and James Morrison.*

* For the details in this summary I am indebted to Dr. James Ross's admirable "History of Congregational Independency in Scotland," 1900. It would have been a measure, if time and occasion had served, to include a reference to Congregationalism in Ireland—whose beginning date back to the time of the Commonwealth, though its modern development sprang from an extension (in 1802) to Belfast and neighbourhood of the Haldane revival movement. See "A Century of Congregationalism: The Story of Donegall Street Church, Belfast," by James E. Archibald.

I

Turning to England, let me repeat that here, as in Scotland, the Congregational impulse sprang out of the moral necessities of the situation.

It was said of the Brownists, as it was said also of the Lollards, that they were just headstrong men, men fond of change, men who clung to their own way because it was their own. The truth was far otherwise. It demanded a deeper motive than obstinate self-conceit to make a Separatist in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Bonds, imprisonment, and the scaffold were the penality not to mention poverty and social ostracism. Browne had talents which might have lifted him to high position in the State; his actual experience brought him into "more than twenty prisons" before he was forty. Henry Barrow had in him the making of a great lawyer; his fate, instead, was some five years in London gaols and a felon's death at Tyburn. No, we miss the whole inwardness of the matter if we fail to see that the attitude of the Early Separatists was that of Luther—"So help me God I can do *no* other." It became forced upon them as a *duty* to separate. There was no thought, or talk, of clutching at a right to do as they liked. Duty was the word—a duty imposed by Christ himself, as they believed, because otherwise his holy will could not be done. What was his will in regard to the church? Surely, in the first place, that it should be pure—consisting of men and women bound to him in faith and love—bound to one another in love and service; in the second place, that these (few or many), meeting in his name and realizing his presence, should submit themselves and all their doings to the guidance of his word; that in the third place, to this end the openly unworthy outside the church should not be admitted, and the plainly unworthy inside should be drawn to repentance, or, in the last resort, excluded; and, finally, that the dictation of any other power than the will of Christ must be resisted, even, if need be, unto death. This conception of the church was not a theory of their own; it was, they said, what Christ taught and the Apostles practised. Nor did anyone claiming to be Christian venture in words to deny it. But its denial in fact was glaring and scandalous. The only church they knew, the church into whose communion they had been baptized, seemed to the enlightened eyes of Browne, Barrow, Penry, Robinson, the very antipodes of Christ's true church. Popery was stamped on its worship, ministry and canons: its supreme governor was a secular prince; its constituency was "a profane rout." Others too, called Reformists or Puritans, saw the evil and deplored it; but "tarried" in hope of a swift, or gradual, remedy from the Queen. And if the remedy could have come thus, Browne and Barrow (at least) would have been content. What, however, could they do when that hope proved utterly vain? Their conscience haunted them with the insistent cry—"Come out and be ye separate." No second step was possible till that had been taken. Obedience was the condition of blessing. Not till they had obeyed the command, "Come out," could they claim fulfilment of the promise, "I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord Almighty."

II

It is quite true that separation was carried to extremes. At first it was felt to be a duty so imperative that it tended to exclude every

other. Nothing in a "corrupt church" could be really clean; no member of a true church could compromise his purity by voluntary contact with even the edifices of the other, or voluntary attendance on its services. Barrow would fain have seen all church buildings of the establishment swept away; and it was for a time the common practice to "discipline" persons who strayed within their walls for occasional worship. This was Browne's attitude at first, and also Robinson's. Barrow maintained it to the end. But we reach the second stage in our history, and a higher one, in Browne and Robinson's later attitude, and that of Henry Jacob—when they not merely tolerated occasional communion with the Established Church, but even went so far as to justify and commend it. This implied no weakening of their protest; but it implied a clearer insight into its deepest ground. For their protest against a false church was in the interest of the true; and their craving for a true church was in the interest of a fuller, richer Christian life. Christian life, therefore, was the main thing. This made the deepest bond of union among themselves; and this should make the deepest bond of union between themselves and others. Moreover, a corrupt church, however much it might hamper the Christian life, did not and could not extinguish it. There were many genuine followers of the Good Shepherd in the Church of England. There were not a few in the Church of Rome. They were not a monopoly of any ecclesiastical fold. They existed inside and outside every fold. The flock of Christ reached beyond all local boundaries, all formal definitions, all external cults. And it was the voice of the Shepherd himself which said that the "Saints," the men of Christian faith and love, should be loved and owned wherever found. We have here a conception of Catholic unity far more sublime than any based on uniformity. It expresses, indeed, the only real unity; and just to say that it is not inconsistent with the Congregational idea would be saying too little. Rather it lies at the very heart of the Congregational idea. And I desire to note it as a special merit of men like John Robinson and Henry Jacob that they grew to see this—if not so clearly as some in our own day, like the late Dr. Mackennal, yet more clearly than many (perhaps most) of their descendants.

III

A third, and very different, stage of our history may be dated roughly from the accession of Charles I. There are said to have been some ninety Separatist Churches in and near London by 1640; but, if so, they were not all of the same type—certainly not of that regular and orderly Congregational type represented by the church of Henry Jacob. They were rather what may he called an ebullient expression, within the religious sphere, of the prevalent democratic spirit—a spirit chafed into frenzy by a prolonged course of violent restraint; and seeking self-utterance in all directions, social, political, intellectual, as well as religious. Milton was its most eloquent exponent in speech, Cromwell its most effective embodiment in action. It is usual to claim both these eminent men as Independents, and the claim is just, but hardly in the sense that is often intended. Milton's Independency would be better described as a full-blown individualism. He was never a member of any Congregational church, and in his later years withdrew from all public worship; whilst Cromwell's Independency was like that of the soldiers and civilians who backed him up—a

simple demand of the conscience to have direct dealings with God, and freedom to carry out his laws alike in church and State. As things were, this meant for the time being, a clean sweep of King and Priest. It seemed also to offer a great opportunity for Congregationalism. Its logical outcome would have been a multitude of self-organized churches in a non-interfering State. But the actual situation made this impracticable, even if Cromwell and the Independents had wished it, and I doubt if the bulk of them did wish it, or if they had worked out in their own mind any consistent scheme of church polity. Some of course had done so—the Independent divines, *e.g.* of the Westminster Assembly, and those who had accepted the "New England Way." The bulk of them, however, craved nothing more than to be let alone in the exercise of their spiritual gifts and the practice of any form of worship which they preferred. If this were secured, what the State might do in the way of establishing and endowing religion caused them no concern. Cromwell's own standpoint was similar; and explains his policy of broad toleration, on the one hand, and public provision for the maintenance of ministers, on the other. Its divergence is obvious from the Presbyterian policy, which aimed to impose upon the whole nation one uniform system of faith and practice, with forcible suppression of all dissidents. Moreover, its vital relation to a deeper and broader national movement, of which it was but the anti-clerical expression, ensured for the Cromwellian policy an easy triumph. Presbyterianism of the strict sort never had a chance in England, because, unlike Scotland, it had no roots in the soil. What successes it won over parliament were casual and precarious. Wherever its machinery was set up, an inveterate prejudice hindered its working, or soon brought it to a stand. In fine, a conspicuous lesson of the Commonwealth period is, that Independency, if it failed to create a large number of organized churches, was in principle harmonious with the general English mind.

IV

The Act of Uniformity (1662) branded both Independents and Presbyterians as Nonconformist. The series of persecuting measures whereof this was the first, brought them equally under the cross. Their differences passed out of sight; their substantial unity came into view. Community in suffering broke down barriers; and did more than arguments to make peace. Though most of the ejected ministers were nominally Presbyterian, they had no choice practically but to become Independent; for in the first place, the law stood against a Presbyterian régime; and, in the second, the sentiment of their congregations was Independent already. When the Toleration Act legalized Nonconformity, and set each section free to constitute its own order, the result, to the view of outsiders, was a visible identity; and, when formal heads of agreement were proposed by the London ministers of both in 1691, and were accepted, what wrecked the union was an outburst of *doctrinal*, not *ecclesiastical*, controversy. In this case, as more than once before, it was the communities of strictly Independent lineage that showed themselves the more strictly orthodox; and the dispute which started on a point of extreme Calvinism versus Arminianism was "the little rift within the lute, that, slowly widening, made the music mute." Churches controlled by Presbyterian pastors gradually passed over into Anti-Trinitarianism

and ultimately into sheer Unitarianism—a fact still legible in the description of many an old Unitarian chapel of the North of England. Churches, on the other hand, under Independent pastors (such as the sixty-nine who subscribed the first article of the Established Church at Salters' Hall, on February 19th, 1719) became the last refuge and strength of a narrow Evangelicalism. Disastrous consequences followed. Undue emphasis on creed shifted the emphasis from character. Soundness in the faith was preferred to soundness of life. Admission to a church, its discipline, its purity, were determined not so much by reference to moral standards as by respect to conventional statements of doctrine. And these same statements were carefully woven into new Trust Deeds—to hang as a weight about the neck, or as a torment on the conscience, of later generations. Hence our history during the greater part of the eighteenth century is melancholy. True it is, as Dr. Mackennal points out in his "Carew Lecture," that the biographies of leading Independents present "many charming pictures of Dissenting churches—churches rigorously self-sustaining and watchful over their poorer members—churches served by godly ministers living lives of great elevation, often of singular domestic graciousness and gravity."

I sympathize with his appreciation of a peculiar spiritual attractiveness in some of those little self-centred societies who could rejoice to sing:—

> We are a garden wall'd around,
> Chosen and made peculiar ground,
> A little spot enclosed by grace,
> Out of the world's wide wilderness.

No doubt the soul expressed in such words was often lofty though narrow; but not seldom it was narrow without being lofty. Dr. Mackennal admits this. Narrow rules of faith and conduct prevailed —based on a narrow intellectual outlook. Church discipline was vexatious and pragmatic. Members scrutinised each other's behaviour, scanned each other's doctrinal soundness, harassed their children with premature anxieties, grew formal in spirit and habit. The result was a type of piety which too long remained a characteristic of the Independent Church and drew forth a not undeserved ridicule. But it was no natural fruit of independency. It was an excrescence—due largely to those social and political conditions by which Dissent was straitened, repressed, and cut off from sources of generous culture and aspiration.

v

One of the tasks and triumphs of the 19th century consisted in clearing away those conditions. Under an inspiration, born of the Evangelical Revival, and fostered by the fresh breeze of freedom which blew from France, there was awakened a keener sense of their injustice and firmer courage to strive for their redress. Thus one after another the rights of full citizenship were achieved. By repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in 1828 Dissenters won admission to Municipal Office and the Civil Service. Residence and graduation in the two chief national centres of scholarship—Oxford and Cambridge—were secured by the Universities Tests Acts of 1871. Humiliating disabilities connected with such matters as the Registration of

Marriages, Births and Deaths, or the use of the parish graveyards, were gradually abolished. Nor were Nonconformists eager merely to acquire their own special rights, but eager also to share the duty and the glory of promoting the general advance toward a broader and freer life. And among the fruits of the long struggle, a struggle still going on—perhaps the best has been this—viz.:—it has delivered the churches, our own particularly, from their previous isolation; has developed a vivid consciousness of mutual dependence and responsibility; nay more, has elicited and strengthened the clear sense of a mission to those outside—to the nation with whose life their own is so deeply interfused and to the world with which in so many ways the nation is bound up. So the growth of County Associations and Home Missions, of a Congregational Union, and a Foreign Missionary Society, has not been an accident. It is a sign of the fact that we have moved forward within that great "stream of tendency" to social service which, fed from many springs, has steadily gathered strength; and, despite all obstructions, has become the mightiest spiritual force of our time. There was a feeling very deep-seated in the Independency of the eighteenth century and the early decades of the nineteenth, that "Separateness" belonged to the unchangeable essence of a church separateness from an evil world and unfaithful churches for the mere sake of preparation for something better in Heaven. The feeling now is widely different. Not "Come Out" but "Go Out" is now the watch-word. Not spiritual self-culture, but brotherly self-sacrifice; not edification, but evangelization; not Christ for the church but "the world for Christ" are now the conspicuous notes, I think the change has been inevitable; and I do not suggest a doubt of its having been providential. May I, however, point a twofold lesson from the past; and then, in the light of it, ask a question?

(*a*) First, we have long since ceased to vaunt the divine right of our church order as if it, and it only, reflected the pattern delivered in the New Testament. We think Browne, Barrow, Robinson and other early advocates of that position were mistaken in seeking a New Testament pattern at all. We believe that the attempts so often made to bring ministry, worship, discipline, into precise correspondence with the supposed teaching of Jesus and the Apostles exhibited a zeal without knowledge, and that all the disputes which have arisen through a determination to retain in our churches what was thought to be Apostolic—whether expedient or not—have illustrated the evils to which ignorance may give occasion. We have learnt that the types of church government, or administration, discernible in the New Testament were not uniform, but varied according to the genius of place and people; and this fact does not trouble us because, realizing the character of Christianity as a Gospel of the spirit, it is just what we expect. Churches, we say, were Congregational and were bound to be—in the sense that they consisted of freemen in Christ Jesus. This was their essential principle, but all else about them was left to the outworking of that principle in the light of experience. Hence there is no system of externals which can fairly claim to be Congregational to the exclusion of any other. There is room for the utmost diversity. There is no reason why a church should not have one Pastor, or half a dozen, or none; why it should not have Elders as well as Deacons, or Deaconesses as well as both, or none of these; why it should not sit, stand or kneel at the Lord's Supper and partake of the wine from one cup or a hundred; why it should not meet for "communion"

once a week, or once a month, or once a day; why it should not conduct its worship by the aid of a liturgy, or of free prayer, or a blend of the two; nor, finally, why it should not adopt any alteration of method or practice which convenience may dictate—provided always that its first principle is maintained, viz.:—that whatever is done shall be the deliberate act of a free Christian Congregation, animated with a pure desire to learn and do the will of their Lord.

(*b*) Secondly, in the light of this same first principle, we have learnt the true sense and scope of religious freedom. It does not mean that a church is free to do as it likes, but that, if it is to be self-ruled by conscious submission to its Lord—then it must be free from all extraneous dictation, whether that of its own traditional formalisms, or that of its own officials, or that of any ecclesiastical assembly, or that of the state. It must be free, also, to seek and find for itself the will of Christ, free to test whatever claims to express that will, free to follow the "true light" whithersoever it leadeth. And such freedom is legitimate because its root is the belief that a congregation of faithful men, large or small, is possessed of the living spirit of Christ, a spirit that does not limit itself to one here or there, but imparts its influence ungrudgingly to all humble hearts and open minds. We may call this the elemental creed of Congregationalism, and, therefore, it is not strange that, with the gradual apprehension of what it implies, which has come through long experience, there has come a growing conviction of the act that our churches by their very being are pledged to demand and give the widest tolerance. On the one hand, they are pledged to demand from the State not merely that it shall be tolerant of themselves—a degree of tolerance which contented the early Separatists and even the Independents of the Commonwealth period, though not a thorough-going one like John Goodwin—but also that it shall be neutral with respect to all Churches, inasmuch as the establishment of any church by the State is inconsistent with the true Church idea, is an indirect assault upon other churches, and is an obstacle to that "free and open encounter" whereby alone the truth can come to its own. On some such grounds "The Anti-State Church Association" was formed in 1844, its name being changed in 1853 to the more appropriate title "The Society for the Liberation of Religion from State patronage and control." On the other hand our churches are pledged to give, or exercise, the widest tolerance towards others and within themselves—towards others because they hold conscience to be the ultimate Court of Appeal in all things spiritual, and conscience cannot be forced; within themselves for the same reason. Let me say, in particular, that they are pledged to the widest tolerance in the matter of creed. Certainly we have failed *here—we* to some extent, and the fathers still more so. Nor is it hard to see why. For if Browne and Barrow, or if the Dissenting Brethren of the Westminster Assembly, or if the framers of the Savoy Confession of Faith, or if the makers of our old Trust Deeds, or if the compilers of our Modern Declarations really believed that pure Calvinism, or a diluted Calvinism, or any other system of doctrine was the very truth of Christ, and could be stated in words exactly answering to His mind, then the mere strength of their loyalty to Him would strengthen their dogmatic tenacity. And I, for one, do not blame them for clinging to what they might conceive to be "the faith once for all delivered to the Saints," and for making a public avowal of it. But that avowal, though never ostensibly a hard and fast creed, has never in effect been

anything else. Times out of number has the current congestion of faith, local or denominational, been used as a term of communion, an instrument of exclusion, or a weapon of persecution. Nobody could have retained his place in the churches of Amsterdam and Leyden if he had questioned the Doctrinal Articles of the Confession of 1596. John Goodwin was cut off from his fellow-Independents by his Arminianism. Churches or individuals who swerved from the Savoy confession were treated as heretics. Clauses of a Trust Deed were, as already said, the fingers of a Dead Hand which crushed out liberty of thought in our churches of the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries; while the case of men like Lynch and Davidson and others are more recent proofs of what dogmatic hardness can do to embitter the souls of those whom God accepts. And the fatal inconsistency is not yet quite extinct. But at least we have become aware of it. We see that, if the constitutive principle of a church, what makes it a church, what forms and holds it together, is the abiding presence in and among its members of a living Spirit, whose holy task it is so to inspire the love of truth and so to cleanse the inner eye as that knowledge of Christ and the things of Christ shall be growing perpetually clearer and fuller, then for a church to fancy it even possible that the sum of Christian truth has been compressed into the phrases of an ancient creed, or that its present apprehension and statement of the truth can be more than partial, is self-destructive and even a sin against the Holy Ghost. No doubt the essential content of Christian experience is unchanged, being centred in facts of the spiritual order, whose power is evermore renewed and verified. But such facts, from their very nature, are elusive. They shade away on every side into mystery. They escape the grasp of every finite mind. No human language is adequate to define them. The most a creed can do is to articulate some relative, imperfect and transient conception of what they stand for. A creed ought not to be held even by those who fashion it as something they will not outgrow—still less as something obligatory upon their brethren as a term of present and future fellowship. According to the central creative idea of Congregationalism, individuals and churches ought to be always outgrowing their creeds, just because they are always deepening their faith, and so enlarging their consciousness of a spiritual guidance, an inner light which has for goal attainment of all the truth. Nothing is more alien to the proper mind of Congregationalism than alarm at heresy. Nothing is more faithless than the wish and cry to put it down. Nothing is more certain than that its specific witness depends upon realizing that, where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

If there is one lesson more than another which our history has impressed upon me, alike by its successes and its failures, it is this.

And now, in a closing sentence, let me put my question. British Congregationalism has deeply influenced the ecclesiastical, political, and municipal life of the nation, especially as a constant force on the side of every movement for advancing the people to a just share of privilege and power. Again, it has long since risen out of obscurity and the day of small things. Its Churches and schools and societies are numbered by the thousand, its members and scholars by the hundred thousand, while by slow degrees it has formed itself into a self-conscious and organized body. Moreover (as already pointed out) it has well-nigh entirely thrown off the parochial spirit. Its sense of a mission to outsiders, its desire to win them, its fear to lose them, have

so intensified of late years that many of our churches are displaying a feverish eagerness to develop what are called methods of adaptation to present needs. So far good. I have no objection to urge. But my question is this—if, as we have insisted, our churches were constituted by a great principle; if they have flourished or decayed in the past by their fidelity, or otherwise, to an idea of the Church as made up of genuine Christians, whose chief concern was the life of Christ in themselves as a primary condition of right influence on the world, are we in danger of losing that idea of the Church? or, at any rate, in danger of losing confidence in it? Does a spiritual society—inspired by lofty spiritual ideals—relying upon spiritual forces and "seeking first" a spiritual kingdom of God as man's deepest need and God's holiest will—does this seem a shadow compared with the calculated means and mechanism of a so-called practical wisdom? Then, as churches, we shall fade away; and the place of honour which knows us now will know us no more. On the other hand, if, learning to avoid the faults of our forefathers, we hold fast their faith; and, enlightened by experience, have the courage and patience to work out their ideal in the midst of our modern problems, I believe the future is with us more than with any other branch of the Church of Christ.

The address of the Rev. F. A. Noble, D.D., of Phillips, Maine, was, in his absence, read by the Rev. A. J. Lyman, D.D., of Brooklyn.

Address by Rev. Frederick A. Noble, D.D., LL.D.

HISTORIC CONGREGATIONALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

It is a fact of more than passing interest that the three institutions which are fundamental to the civil, the educational, and the ecclesiastical systems which prevail in the United States, and which are most cherished by the people, are direct importations from the mother land. They were set up by men who were born on English soil and trained under English traditions. These three institutions are a free state, a free school, and a free church.

The *Mayflower* compact was drawn up and subscribed by the parties in interest, down in the cabin of the little ship which had brought them from the old world to the new, before the foot of a single pilgrim had touched the shores of America. This compact, made and sealed by Englishmen, was an incorporation of democracy. It was the assertion of the right of a people, on the basis of simple manhood, to regulate and control their own affairs. Bancroft has said that the putting forth of this instrument was the birth of "popular constitutional liberty." Goldwin Smith affirms that the agreement "heralded a policy of self-government, and may take rank among the great documents of history." Under this action "a civil body politic" was formed in virtue of which the members of it "were to enact such just and equal laws as might be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." Here were the germ and prophecy of the coming republic. But the compact was an English conception and an English contribution to liberty.

The same claim may be advanced as to the origin of the common schools which are so pronounced and vital a part of the educational system of the States. One of our leading educators has expressed the opinion that "the public school system is unquestionably the most distinctively American institution which the country has produced." But the idea of a school for all the children at public expense was borne across the Atlantic in the same ships which transported the Pilgrims and the Puritans to their new homes in the wilderness. Those brave and far-seeing colonists did not wait until they had ceased to be Englishmen and had become Americans before they established schools. They went about the high and holy task at once. Indeed schools were set up so promptly and in so many places at so nearly the same time, that a committee appointed by the Legislature of Massachusetts to determine the locality of the first free school in order that the spot might be marked by a suitable monument and the town receive due honour, was unable to settle the question. The early records had either been lost or were so imperfect, and there were so many claimants for the coveted distinction, that no satisfactory conclusion could be reached. The thought and purpose, however, of the free school, like the free state, came from abroad; and the credit of the origination of the scheme must go to our English ancestors, though were that the question before us, it would be easy to show the indebtedness of the English to the Dutch for the free school idea.

These statements, which are true concerning a free commonwealth and a free school, are equally and still more manifestly true when applied to a free assembly of believers. It was not alone the idea or hope of an independent and self-governing church which the settlers at Plymouth took with them when they went forth on their great epoch-making venture; but they had the thought actually embodied in an organized fellowship. The church which was founded at Scrooby, and carried over and held in its integrity at Amsterdam, and tenderly cherished and sacredly maintained at Leyden, and which was a part of the precious freightage of the *Mayflower*, had been in existence well-nigh a decade and a half when Carver and the company he led set foot on the famous Rock. These immortal pioneers had to organize their government and arrange the details of their laws after their arrival on the western shores; they had to fix on their plan of education and move on towards its realization as best they could; but, from the outset and earlier, their church was a fully ordered institution. Congregationalism was not a mere seed to be planted by our Fathers when they reached their destination, and then left to sprout and grow; it was a sturdy sapling of the tough oaken sort, with roots and trunk and branches, which had been tenderly lifted out of the earth in which it started, and as tenderly set down in the virgin soil whose moisture and fertility had not been exhausted by alien growths, and in an environment where it would be free to unfold in line with its own law of life.

What has been the outcome? Into what have those few churches planted on the far eastern border of the nation developed? What worthy achievements are there to be entered to their credit?

Numerically it must be admitted the results are not such as are likely to foster an overweening pride. Face to face with comparative tables of denominational statistics, American Congregationalists are in little danger of putting on airs and exulting in the great Babylon

which they have builded. The Presbyterians have grown into, not only an intelligent, wealthy, aggressive and influential body, but a large body. The Baptists and the Methodists, each of them, number their communicants, to say nothing of their adherents, by the millions, Congregational figures still linger on the hither side of three-quarters of a million.

A longer roll-call might have been anticipated. For it is not an exaggeration to say that no group of Christians in all the centuries ever had a clearer field in which to operate and win a larger success than the Congregationalists who settled in New England. For many years they were practically the sole occupants of the territory and the masters of the situation. But it took more than two centuries,—to be exact it took from the landing at Plymouth Rock in 1620 to what has passed into history as the Albany Convention in 1852, for the churches of the Congregational faith and order to come to self-consciousness. For a century and more, a community of Christians almost anywhere in New England could hardly be anything else than a Congregational church. For another century and more, a community almost anywhere outside of New England might become a Congregational church, if they did not try to be one, and everybody else was willing that they should be one; but if an effort, and especially an effort which involved demonstration, was made in that direction, it exposed the movers to the offensive charge of sectarianism; and sectarianism, that is, sectarianism in a Congregationalist, was blackened into an unpardonable sin. Hence other bodies of Christians have been enlarged and enriched by a constant stream of rare contributions from Congregational sources. Not a few of the churches of another name than the one we bear in New York and Brooklyn, in Cleveland and Detroit, in Chicago and St. Louis, in St. Paul and San Francisco, have been aided into their commanding positions and their great strength by men who by birth and training and traditions were Congregationalists. Its own increase was literally the last thing thought of by New England Congregationalists.

Adjourning further observations of a general nature to a later stage in the discussion, it is in place now to indicate two or three of the points which have occasioned debate and sometimes heat in the development of the Congregational churches in America.

The polity of the churches remains substantially what it was at the beginning. In the western world Congregational churches were never simply independent churches. They were that; but they were more. They were self-governing, but they were bound together by the moral tie of fellowship. From the day when Fuller, who was at once a physician beloved and a wise, faithful deacon, went over from Plymouth to Salem, and, after ministering to the sick, talked with Endicott about the separatist way of conducting worship and ordering the affairs of a church, the idea of fellowship was in the air. At a later date, when Bradford and his associates in the delegation went to Salem to give "the right-hand" to the new church which had been set up and officered, the idea of fellowship was well on its way to realization. It soon became a fixed principle in the American system of Congregationalism. More recently there has been added to the scheme the factor of co-operation. It is now recognized as a vital part of our economy that the stronger churches in every community shall be helpers of the weaker, and that all shall work together for the

upbuilding of the kingdom. This is done not alone through organizations, societies and committees; but directly by church stretching out hand to church in the spirit of a warm, personal and brotherly relationship. Strictly speaking this is but an enlargement of the idea of fellowship. It is making fellowship not merely sympathetic and advisory, but practical. It is, however, such an advance on the old conception of fellowship that it deserves to stand by itself as a characteristic feature of American Congregationalism. Hence were one asked to name the fundamental articles of Congregationalism in the States to-day, the answer, if given by one who is open-eyed to the signs of the times and in full sympathy with the aggressive work of the most earnest churches, would be: Autonomy, Fellowship, Co-operation. But in the United States, as elsewhere, Autonomy comes first.

Congregationalists, however, even under the shelter and example of democracy in the State, have been able to maintain intact the autonomy of their system only by the utmost watchfulness. Liberty costs: it costs to win it, and it costs to preserve it after it has been won.

Every system of government, whether in family or school, or church, or commonwealth, has its infelicities or weak points. Were all individuals without individuality, but in capacity, temperament, disposition, taste, aims, and in responsiveness to appeals to reason exactly alike; and were this likeness to mark all bodies of men in all parts of the world, and in all generations, it would not be difficult to devise rules and regulations which would have no outs when applied to cases calling for discreet and patient handling. But this is not the condition of things. Under the divine ordering, and within limitations which conserve the unity of the race, individuality and not uniformity is the law. This opens the way to differences of opinion, and is what makes government in all the spheres where restraint, direction and control are required, such an intricate problem.

Congregationalists, looking over denominational boundaries, have seen other bodies of Christians dealing somewhat more effectively, as it seemed to them, with cases calling for discipline than it was in their power to do. Consequently cries have gone out and plans have been urged for a stronger government. This is what has given to Presbyterianism its attractiveness in the eyes of not a few Congregationalists from the time of Thomas Cartwright in England down to the abrogation of the "Plan of Union" in America. It appeared to be a better scheme for dealing with refractory cases. In the early years of the eighteenth century, when the Mathers were in power in Massachusetts, a standing council of ministers was devised to keep things straight in the churches. It was strongly opposed and went to pieces. Democracy was too deeply entrenched in the love and confidence of the membership of the body to be successfully assailed. A little later, but before the Massachusetts attempt to supplant the autonomy of the churches by an outside committee government had broken down, the Connecticut ministers adopted a series of stringent rules, known as the "Saybrook Platform," though the platform covered more than there is occasion to notice, for the administration of church discipline. Under these rules there were to be standing councils of ministers who should oversee the churches, decide on the fitness of particular ministers for particular parishes, and deal with their fellow ministers who might go astray either in faith or conduct. This plan received the endorsement of the civil authorities, and thus became a law of the State. This form of



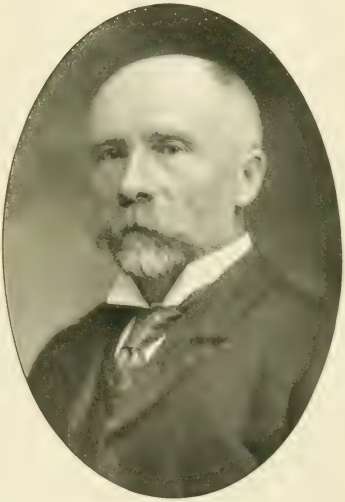
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regulation continued in Connecticut for three-quarters of a century. Congregationalism, indeed, did not wholly cease to be in some sense the Established Church of that Commonwealth until 1818. It was a long, hard struggle between autonomy and outside rule.

But this was not the end. The Connecticut Congregationalists, who stood in dread of certain doctrinal tendencies which they observed in their Massachusetts brethren, and who in the interest of a stricter discipline had gone far towards Presbyterianism in their polity, were prepared to take another step. A "Plan of Union" was adopted whereby Congregationalists and Presbyterians might work together. The motive of the movement was laudable, and the method seemed fair. For fifty years home missionary operations were carried on in New York, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, and other western sections under this scheme. It was not Congregationalism; nor was it Presbyterianism pure and simple; but it leaned so much in this latter direction that the Presbyterian body reaped the larger harvest. Reference has already been made to this in the paragraphs concerning the limitations of our numerical growth. But it is a fact to be kept constantly in mind in considering this phase of the subject. "While," as Dr. Prudden has said, "two-thirds of the money and a majority of the missionaries came from Congregationalists, two-thirds of the churches became Presbyterian." It has been estimated that "over two thousand churches which were in origin and usage Congregational, became Presbyterian." This is what that one attempt to overturn autonomy and secure a stronger government cost our Congregational churches in the United States.

Still the struggle is not over. Schemes which involve the discarded principles of the Massachusetts Proposals, the Saybrook Platform, and to some extent the Plan of Union, reappear from time to time in the recommendations of State Associations, Congregational Clubs, and little coteries of nice gentlemen who are quite assured that Congregational Churches are in desperate need of just the wisdom and authority which they have at command. One of the reasons given, why the recent abortive attempt to bring Congregational churches into an organic union with churches which are subject to episcopal oversight and control, was that the Congregational churches of our country would be better off if brought under a more central and concentrated authority than is afforded by self-government.

Were discipline the main business of the church of Christ, and were other bodies which are under the regulation of popes and cardinals, of archbishops and benches of bishops, of sessions, presbyteries, synods and assemblies always able to suppress heresies and arrest scandals on short notice, to preserve harmony and maintain order in their fellowship, and to keep out of the civil courts, there would be more to say against leaving individual churches to manage their own affairs. But on the whole the balance does not seem to be very much in favour of other communions. There is little danger, therefore, that the Congregational churches in the land of the Pilgrims will ever consent to surrender their precious birthright of autonomy.

Along doctrinal lines the Congregationalists in the United States have not been without their sharp controversies. In less than twenty years from the settlements of Boston there were two parties in the church—a Conservative and a Radical party. This has been true of the body in every stage of its development from the beginning until now. Sometimes the

Radical element has been more active and more extreme than at others; but it has always had a voice and an influence.

At the outset the Congregational churches were openly and stoutly Calvinistic in their faith. Later they held to a modified Calvinism. But the Radical section of the denomination did not stop with a modified statement of the faith held by the great Genevan reformer; they went on until that which to devout and scholarly minds through the centuries has seemed to be the New Testament conception of the nature and mission of Jesus Christ in the world was eliminated from their creeds.

The way for this serious defection in doctrine was prepared, in part at least, though there were other influences working to the same end, by the adoption of what has been called "The Half Way Covenant." This was a partial membership in the church into which persons who had been baptized, and who were of good standing in the community, might enter, even though they had no such religious experience as is commonly associated with conversion. A church made up of this kind of adherents, or having in it any considerable number of this kind of adherents, would inevitably become cold and formal, and would naturally wish to have the preaching and the articles of faith brought down to their level of belief and experience. This practice did for the churches of New England what it would do for the churches of Old England, or any other land, it made many of the members impatient with very much talk about the exceeding sinfulness of sin, and with insistence from the pulpit that salvation comes to men through faith in a sin-bearing and crucified Christ. The outcome of it was that a comparatively large body of intelligent, wealthy and powerful churches, while retaining their Congregational form of government, went over into the Unitarian faith. Harvard College and the church which was brought over and set down at Plymouth by the Pilgrims were included in the defection.

But it would be a mistake to infer that all evangelical faith and all convictions founded on an intelligent and firm apprehension of the evangelical faith have dropped out of the minds of Congregationalists in the United States. Unitarianism is not yet a spent force. In influential quarters strong sympathies with Unitarian views and strong tendencies towards the presentation of truth in a Unitarian garb are in evidence. But these views and these tendencies are not so general and potent as they seem to be. The great preponderance of ministers in our Congregational churches, the masses of the members in these churches, whoever may doubt it, whoever may attempt to cite facts to the contrary, are sound in the faith. To do anything worth doing, to make headway with our Christianity, they have to be. Negations have no vitalizing force in them. The confession and the prayer of the father were not: "I do not believe; help me to believe less and less," but: "I believe; help thou mine unbelief."

The men who laid the foundations of New England had a positive faith and deep convictions. The men who succeeded them and developed the institutions of New England were in large part men of like faith and convictions. The men who went out from New England with their gospel story, with their Christian homes, and Christian schools, and Christian churches, and with ideals and aspirations which looked towards the building up of a great Christian nation, were men who had a Bible whose utterances were utterances of an Eternal Voice and a God who was both loving and righteous, and a Christ who came into the world to seek and to save that which was lost. Western

Reserve settlers, Ohio Valley settlers, Illinois Bands, Iowa Bands, and all the rest of them, neither would nor could have done anything to advance Christian civilization without a positive faith in what have been recognized through the centuries as the great fundamentals of the Christian religion. Into what forms of expression the leading doctrines of our faith may be turned when present-day discussions have come to an end and new discoveries and new claims and new views have all been duly weighed in the balance of thorough scholarship and sound judgment, cannot now be determined. Still we may be certain that those truths in Christianity which have been the secret of its suitableness to the needs of men and the sources of its power in the ages that are gone will not be essentially changed. Astronomers may bring us much new information about the heavenly bodies; but the stars will remain the same.

It may be said and ought to be said, that there is no body of evangelical Christians in the States whose membership is more open-minded to all new light, to all fresh disclosures of truth, to all the established conclusions of a ripened scholarship, to all that registers progress in thought, than the Congregationalists. They are ready to see old truths in new lights; but they also want to catch some glimmers of the old light in the new truths. Congregationalists in America believe in the saving power of the gospel of Jesus Christ. They believe in the call for a gospel with saving power in it; and they believe that this gospel which the Son of God announced, and the New Testament writers recorded, and the great apostle preached, and Martin Luther rescued from the defiling clutch of an unscrupulous hierarchy, and John Knox thundered into the face of obstinate rulers, even as he breathed it into the hearts and homes of Scotland, is the gospel through which souls are to be saved, and the kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdoms of our Lord.

Changing the view point, it is now to be said, that while the numerical growth of the Congregational churches in America has not been all that could be desired, and divisions more or less strenuous on the points just noted have caused the diversion and waste of not a little of the energy which should have gone into aggressive and upbuilding undertakings, still the record made in these almost three centuries of service is one to warm the heart with deep gratitude to God for his guidance, and to inspire reverence for the men who were in the thick of the struggle and discharged their duties so valiantly, and to kindle the soul with fresh enthusiasm and stir great and glowing hopes of the future. The ends and aims for which these churches have stood, and the stimulating and healthful influence which they have exerted in all departments of the common life, domestic, social, educational, political, in addition to their direct achievements, make a story worthy to be called a Chapter in Continuance of the Book of Acts.

From first to last these churches have stood for a high type of character. Personal purity, integrity, righteousness, truthfulness in speech, honesty in dealing, fidelity to trusts, industry, thrift, self-respect, sobriety, interest in the general welfare, and aspirations which would put the soul under bonds to best endeavours, have been devices on the Congregational banner; and it has never gone well with men and women inside the fold of this body who thought they could be religious without being moral. Not that all Congregationalists have

been saints; but the public sentiment of the denomination has insisted that all should be saints in the making. Texts which enjoin obedience to divine commands were always favourite texts in the preaching of the ministers of this faith and order. Paul's great counsel that whatsoever things are true, honourable, just, pure, lovely, and of good report, should be the subject of earnest meditation with a view to translating them into action and incorporating them in life, is a counsel that has been conscientiously heeded and faithfully applied in the self-governing body of our Lord's disciples in the western world. There has been on the part of many an earnest striving after the mind of Christ, an earnest effort to practice the presence of God; and were a modern rosary of holy names to be constructed, the successors of the Pilgrims and the Puritans would not be wanting in worthy representatives. It was a Congregational merchant, who, when assured by a would-be Southern purchaser, that, if he would abate his opposition to slavery, many buyers from New Orleans, Richmond, Charleston, Savannah and other Southern cities. would patronize him, made the brave reply: "We sell our goods, sir, and not our principles."

These churches have stood for a high type of spiritual life, and for the use of all means and methods by which an intelligent, consistent, earnest and fruitful spiritual life may be set forward or recovered when lost.

Everybody knows what would be an ideal condition for the church of Christ to maintain. It would be for each member of the church to be spiritually alive and active, always eagerly intent on the mind of the Master, always hungering and thirsting after righteousness, always responsive to every suggestion of the Spirit, always ready to follow where the Lord leads, always struggling to realize to the full the high conception of likeness to the Perfect One. It would be for each church to illustrate true brotherly love in its own membership and in its relations with other churches, to bring forth the much fruit which is to the glory of God, to transform and uplift life in its own locality, and to the extent of its abilities through prayers, sympathies, gifts and efforts to reach out and transform and uplift life the world over. Members of this type would be ideal members and churches of this type would be ideal churches. Such standards and aims were not foreign to the Fathers.

But these standards and aims were not realized. The churches became spiritually moribund; and religion was at a low ebb. Why was it? We have already seen in part why it was. Under the operation of "The Half-Way Covenant," not a few had been admitted into membership in the churches, not because they had found Christ and wanted to identify themselves with the followers of Christ and join hands with them in doing his work, but for political and social reasons. Membership in the church was a badge of respectability and a stepping stone to place and power; and these men put on the badge and sought the position and influence associated with it. Then for a period of more than fifty years, beginning with the outbreak of Philip's War in 1674, the New England colonies had little rest. War with the French, alarms and assaults by the Indians, discontent and divided feeling on account of the conduct of the rulers sent over from the mother country, had a deadening effect on the spiritual life of the people. Added to this there were the burdens of their every-day life. It is little wonder that in these circumstances, with war's alarms, with civil conflicts in

hand, with the conditions of life what they were, and with an element of worldliness openly welcomed into the churches, religion lost out of itself a large part of its comforting and vitalizing energy.

But the true disciples of our Lord were not satisfied with this state of affairs in the churches. They longed and prayed and wrought for an outpouring of the Spirit. With an earnestness which reminds one of the old prophets the leaders set themselves to the task of bringing those who had a name to live, but were dead, back into life, and persuading the godless and the profligate, the unbelieving and the rebellious, into faith in the living God. The man who had most to do with changing the outlook of things for the better was Jonathan Edwards. He was a young man just past thirty. He had been preaching for a number of years without any extraordinary results. Men listened, admired, and then would turn again to their regular round of thought and life. In 1734, in his pulpit at Northampton, he began to proclaim both the alarming and the saving truths of the Word of God. The dry bones were mightily stirred. Six years later George Whitefield came and lent his testimony and appeals to the revival movement. Efforts in this direction continued for a decade.

The result is known as the great awakening. It was this awakening which saved the churches from helpless decay. It did some other things,—some of them exceedingly unfortunate; but it did this, which it was of all consequences to have done then and there—it brought the churches once more face to face with things eternal, made them realize what a vain and empty mockery is the form of godliness if there be no godliness within the form, and kindled desires in the souls of multitudes to know Christ in a rich and deep expression of his renewing love and to work with him in a blessed fellowship of communion and service. It emancipated the churches from formalism and saved them to the faith.

After their founding, there is no other event in the history of the Congregational churches in America which is so significant and which so well rewards careful examination as the great awakening. It identified the foremost minds in the annals of the American churches with the revival method of quickening spiritual life in churches and in communities which are spiritually dead. It added to the rolls of the New England churches not less, so it has been estimated, than fifty thousand regenerated persons. It demonstrated beyond all gainsaying what tremendous forces there are latent in the truth of Jesus Christ for the renewal of men who are dead in trespasses and sin, and the elevation and reconstruction of society, if only that truth can be fairly opened to the mind and pressed home on the conscience. Days of Pentecost, revival efforts, easily lend themselves to excesses and extravagances, and there may be incidental results which are not good. Not all of the gathered products of a harvest field are fit for the corn bin. Congregationalists in America, like Congregationalists everywhere, are divided in their estimate of the value of revival efforts. But the larger sections of the Congregational body on our side of the water believe in these two things: they believe in keeping the ministry and the membership of the church up to a high level of spiritual life, and never allowing the spirit of prayer to languish, nor the hands to fall idle at the side, nor interest in spreading abroad a knowledge of Jesus Christ to abate; and they believe also that when spiritual decline has come, and the churches are no longer alive to their duties and faithful to their trusts, that means should be taken and methods employed to

bring back into the life a commanding sense of God in Christ, and of the indwelling of the Divine Spirit.

These churches have stood for the rights of man as set forth in the word of God, in the Great Charter of King John, in the *Mayflower* compact, and as they were re-affirmed and announced in terms which all ears could hear in the declaration of independence. With exceptions so few that wherever they have occurred they have been painfully conspicuous, these churches have magnified the manhood which is common to all races, climes, colours and conditions. Other churches could thrive in an atmosphere where slaves were bred, and toilers went to their tasks with backs scourged and limbs manacled; but somehow Congregational churches and systems of human bondage could not co-exist. Slavery died in Massachusetts and Congregational churches died in South Carolina. When the war in defence of "the sum of all villainies" burst upon the nation, and Abraham Lincoln found himself face to face with the most stupendous task which has confronted any great ruler in these modern times, he had only to blow his bugle to secure a loyal and swift response from every Congregational church in the land. Or, if there was hesitation and delay in any quarter, it was only through fear that the potent word which should deliver three millions of human beings from a cruel and degrading bondage might not be uttered. From the hour when the Forefathers escaped from the persecutions of Elizabeth and James in England, down through the hour when their immediate descendants had to endure the bitter tyranny of Andros in Massachusetts, and down through the still later hour when revolutionary patriots at Concord "fired the shot heard round the world," until the hour when the emancipation proclamation was issued at Washington, Congregationalists have shown a passion for liberty. Oppressed people the world over of whatever race or colour struggling for freedom may be sure of their sympathy.

These churches have stood for sound learning, and for learning so widely diffused and so easily secured that all the people, low as well as high, poor as well as rich might have a share in its blessings. The founding of schools and colleges has seemed to be as natural to Congregationalists as breathing; and wherever they have built their homes and erected their churches, institutions of learning have also arisen. One of our writers has said that "we are known throughout the land as the college-building denomination." A giver whose wealth goes largely to new and struggling educational enterprises, and whose benefactions are already far past the million mark, and who from his associations might have been expected to turn his aid in other directions, justifies his generosity in this direction by saying that Congregationalists have a genius for organizing and managing schools. History warrants the opinion. The Puritans had not been in their new home in the wilderness a single decade before they had Harvard College founded and in operation. Sixty-five years later, Harvard at Cambridge was followed by Yale at New Haven. Before the close of the eighteenth century three more colleges were added to the list in New England. This list has grown since; and when we count up the institutions now established which are devoted to the higher learning in the United States, and which are indebted for their existence to Congregationalists, there are found to be more than forty of them. To this number there are to be added our eight Theological Seminaries.

These seats of learning, beginning in the section originally settled by our Congregationalist colonists, stretch across the country and are found in the middle west, in the south and on the Pacific slope; and everywhere they are sources of light, stimulations to intelligence, and helps indispensable to the elevation and progress of society.

This, however, is only a part of the story. Were one to go into details it would be seen that in a large majority of instances it was Congregationalist ministers who took the lead in founding and conducting the schools which have had their fostering under Congregational auspices. But it is also a fact that our Congregational ministers, backed by intelligent and conscientious Congregational laymen, have had a large share in promoting the interests of education in general. It was through the influence of Manasseh Cutler, who was at once a Congregational minister, a man of science, and a law maker, that what has come to be known in history as the "Ordinance of 1787" was passed with a clause inserted which reserved every sixteenth section of the land covered by the Act for maintaining free education. Through this reservation very large sums to be devoted exclusively to the support of free schools have been created in several of our great interior states. As has been pointed out by another, it was Congregational ministers who formulated the educational systems of Ohio, Michigan and Oregon. Two of our leading Congregationalists, both of whom have been closely identified with preceding International Councils, are now at the head, as they have been for a long time, of two of our most successful state universities, the one of Michigan and the other of Minnesota. Since the office was instituted by the national government two at least of our commissioners of education have been Congregationalists. Private schools, secondary schools, the starting of libraries and literary clubs and lecture courses, in a large number of communities east and west, owe much to the encouragement given them by the Congregational ministers who were on the ground.

It is a constant surprise to a student of beginnings to find how many of the best things in an educational way in the Republic run back to the initiative of Congregational ministers. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century others had set up schools for the education of women, but it was a Congregationalist minister, out in a little corner of Connecticut, Joseph Emerson by name, who discovered Zilpah Grant, and who, through her, directly and indirectly, and her more distinguished associate, to be mentioned later, set in motion the train of influences which have resulted in our present magnificent output of educational institutions for women. This is a service whose value there is little danger of overestimating. In the whole line of discoveries, inventions and improvements which are to go to the credit of the last hundred years, it may well be doubted whether there has been a single step in advance which means so much to so many individuals and to society at large, as the new facilities which have been afforded to women for a mental training equal to that which men receive. The world waited long for a public sentiment which would allow, to say nothing of encouraging, women to make the most of their intellectual faculties; but that sentiment is now abroad and operative. As the centuries go by the significance and worth of this will be better understood and more fully appreciated.

These churches have stood for a missionary activity which is

commendable both for the spirit and measure of it. Not all ministers, not all laymen, not all churches of our body, have done what they might and ought to have done to carry a knowledge of Jesus Christ to those who were ignorant of his name and to establish a divine righteousness in the earth. That, perhaps, would have been too much to expect. But Congregationalists in general have not prayed for the coming of the kingdom, and then mocked the Lord and defrauded their own souls by doing nothing to have it come. The wish that they might render missionary service, expressed by the members of the church at Leyden, and given as one of the reasons for migrating from Holland to America, never lost its power over either themselves or their descendants. In the early years Eliot in the Bay Colony, the Mayhews at Martha's vineyard, and Bourne in the region of Cape Cod, wrote their names large in the missionary annals of their day. At a subsequent period the work done by these men in behalf of the Indians was taken up and carried on by Edwards and Brainerd. It is a significant incident that Philip Doddridge, in the midst of his excessive labours and the many demands made upon him in England, found time and means to aid in the work when Edwards was doing his best yonder in Massachusetts to save a doomed race from its fate. The purpose to be of use in the world, to glorify the author of our being and our redemption by winning souls to the faith, by enlarging the bounds of knowledge, exalting standards of thought and character, and filling whole communities with enthusiasm for righteousness, by opening blind eyes to the moral beauty of the Son of God, and bringing alienated hearts into loyalty and under the power of the endless life, has been as fire in the bones of Congregationalists from the outset.

It was only natural for the early Congregationalists of New England, and for their successors in and out of New England, to feel that they must exercise, watch and care over their own chosen country. The ideal which they cherished was a God-fearing and righteous nation, They knew that such a nation could be realized only on the basis of God-fearing and righteous citizens. To this end there must be Christian homes, Christian churches, Christian schools, and such other Christian institutions as are factors in the maintenance and progress of a Christian civilization. If they would have laws marked by justice, they must have just makers of laws. If they would have public sentiment and public policies in line with the ten commandments and the Sermon on the Mount, this settlement must be created and these policies must be instituted by men whose minds were informed with religious ideas and who were intent on doing the divine will.

Hence in loyalty to him who spoke of beginning at Jerusalem, and in the fervour of a wise and patriotic instinct, Congregationalists, as soon as settlements began to spread beyond the boundaries of the territory originally occupied by the Colonists, and they were in any condition to help, entered on the task of following these settlers up and going into these new communities with the message and the germinant institutions of the Son of God. Dr. Clark, in his exceedingly instructive and valuable book on "Leavening the Nation," notes the fact that a Missionary Society for carrying the Gospel to the new and destitute parts of the expanding country was organized in Connecticut in 1798. That was while George Washington was still living, and the echoes of the gun of the war for independence had hardly died out of the air. Much earlier than this there had been efforts, though of a much

less definite and organized sort, to carry the Gospel into sections of the country which had just begun to ring with the woodman's axe. A year later a society similar to the one formed in Connecticut was organized in Massachusetts. The conversion of the Indians was an object kept steadily in view in these and kindred organizations; but there was a patriotic motive which was felt to be compelling. Inside of ten years from the starting of the Connecticut Home Missionary Society, the four remaining states of New England had started societies for helping new and destitute settlements to the privileges of the gospel. At the close of the first quarter of the nineteenth century there came into existence a national society for doing home missionary work. At the outset other bodies, like the Presbyterian and the reformed churches, co-operated with the Congregationalists in their missionary labours. Gradually the others withdrew, and now the organization is known as the Congregational Home Missionary Society. Detailed statements of results are not here in place; but it is not too much to say that no nation was ever more effectually aided in holding itself to worthy ideals and in achieving high intellectual and moral ends than the Republic has been by the services rendered through this organization which is made up and directed by intelligent, far-seeing and patriotic Congregationalists.

Congregationalists have also shown their home missionary zeal by their systematic and determined efforts to reach the children of all nationalities and in all sections of the country through well-conducted Sunday schools; and by making use of Christian Endeavour Societies, and Christian Associations, and Reading Clubs and Study Classes, to hold young men and women to high standards of life. The intellectual and moral elevation of the coloured people of the South presents a perplexing and difficult problem; but the record made by our body in its more than a half century of work in behalf of the black race within the United States is one to fill the heart with gratitude and hope.

In the more recent years the moral regeneration of our large cities has been a task whose sharp challenge Congregationalists have accepted. A million or more of foreigners come in upon us every twelve months. The most of them seek residence in our metropolitan centres. They set their faces towards the land over which floats the stars and stripes because this country seems to them the land not only of liberty, but of opportunity. It is the land where they and their children have a chance. So long as this vast tide of newcomers flowed from England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Scandinavia, Germany, Holland, France and other nationalities trained to the uses of freedom, nothing was to be feared. On the contrary much was to be expected and much came from these accessions to the population of the States. In these latter days great numbers have come from quarters where government in their estimation is only another name for oppression and religion has drifted into a round of exactions and senseless mummeries. This makes this class of immigrants the ready foes of law and order and the enemies of the church of Christ. They cannot reconcile freedom with any measure of restraint; nor have they any use for a religion whose exponents are extortionate and self-indulging priests. It is sorry to see what difficulties are involved in attempts to evangelize masses of people like these, and to make of them intelligent, industrious, thrifty, sober-minded and self-respecting citizens. But both the spirit of Christ and our national safety impose upon us the

duty of reaching these foreigners with the truth and doing our best to build them up in righteous character. Their safety and the safety of the state make a two-fold plea for bringing them into the fellowship of the Son of God.

Congregationalists in not a few of our leading cities are taking up this work with a faith and vigour which promise large success. Already splendid results have been secured. Twenty-five years ago our churches in Chicago organized a City Missionary Society. The business of the Society was to go into any section of the city where settlements were beginning, and where no other denomination had pre-occupied the ground, and start a Sunday-school, a prayer meeting, house-to-house visiting, and, if the conditions came to be such as to justify it, to gather a church and aid in erecting a house of worship. Something like a million dollars, within this twenty-five years, has been put into this work, and nearly fifty churches, aided by this society have come to self support. Some of them are now among our leading churches. English-speaking people, Poles, Bohemians, Scandinavians, Italians, and others whom it was possible to reach, have been brought under the influence of the Gospel and into the helpful fellowship of Christian churches. Congregationalists see no other way of saving men, of saving cities, of saving the country: no other way of reconciling class to class, wealth and poverty, capital and labour; no other way of arresting corruption in courts and legislatures, of restraining overgrown trusts and corporations; no other way of keeping the nation alive to the ideals and standards which were cherished and followed by those who laid the foundations of our institutions, than of bravely fronting conditions just as they exist to-day, and carrying the saving truths of the Gospel into every nook and corner of the land.

Congregationalists started the first foreign Missionary Society that was organized and incorporated in the United States. In a couple of years it will be a round century since that society was founded; but there never will be a century when the good it has done will not be in evidence. It has gone to millions of people in the spirit and with the message of the Master. No tribe, no kindred, no tongue, has been so far away and so low down that the agents and ministers of this organization have not gone to it, or been ready to go to it with healing for the body, with light for the mind, and salvation for the soul. Other foreign Missionary Societies have grown out of this; and our brethren of the Baptist, Presbyterian and Dutch Reformed Churches on our side of the water have occasion to rejoice that God put into the hearts of three young men at Williams College, in Williamstown, Massachusetts, to gather at a haystack and devote themselves to Missionary work in foreign lands. That candle was lighted by the Lord, and it has sent its beams afar. In Turkey, in India, in China, in Japan, in Africa, in islands which were dark and desolate until they were lighted up by beams from the Son of Righteousness, there are hundreds of thousands of souls, many of them redeemed souls, there are churches in large numbers, there are hospitals, there are schools of learning, there are industrial institutions, all doing splendid service, which bear testimony to the wise zeal and the full consecration of the holy men of God who one hundred years ago lifted their eyes above the rim of their own little horizon and took the world, as their Lord had done before them, into the arms of their faith and love. It is not

difficult to see how God had opened the way for all this; but the significant and gratifying thing is that these men of a century ago, with all their home burdens upon them, fell in with the divine plan, and lent themselves so effectively to the carrying out of the divine intent.

Congregationalists in the United States have made noteworthy contributions to the names which are likely, on account of their superior abilities or their unique services or both, to be held in high esteem for many generations to come.

The two greatest names in the political history of America are not ours. George Washington was an Episcopalian. Abraham Lincoln was a Presbyterian. Theodore Roosevelt, who is yet to have his final apprisement, is of Dutch descent, and he clings to the church of his fathers. Our body, however, has been represented by shininglights in the statemanship of the nation. When England consents toforget Gladstone, the United States may not think it worth while to try to remember Webster; but not till then. In struggles for liberty, in legislative halls, in diplomatic circles, in the forums of the people, men of our fellowship have been conspicuous for their talents and influence.

In other departments the claim now made is at once justified.

Beyond question Jonathan Edwards must be regarded as the most profound and subtle thinker as well as the ablest theologian which the western world has produced. Dr. Chalmers called him "the greatest of theologians." Dr. Gordon, who preached the sermon before this body, says that he is "perhaps the only American intellect that deserves a place in the ranks of the world's great thinkers." Like John Wesley he grows with the years. By birth, by training, and by all his traditions, this man, whose mental capabilites were equalled only by the simplicity and devoutness of his nature and the completeness of his consecration, was a Congregationalist. In the centuries since his Leyden pastorate Robinson has had no follower so able and renowned.

There can be no extravagance in saying that Henry Ward Beecher was one of the most commanding pulpit orators of our modern times. He was not the only great preacher of his day and generation; nor of the day and generation immediately preceding his own. Nor did he excel in all points as some others excelled in single points. One might name ministers in Germany, in France, in Scotland, in England and in the United States, who surpassed the great Brooklyn divine in some particulars. But take him all in all,—take him in his capacity to apprehend the heart of the gospel, to understand men and their inmost thoughts and yearnings, to detect and interpret those drifts in the providence of God which underly the mere surface sentiments of the hour, to lay bare moral issues and magnify righteousness, to make the divine great by exalting the possibilities of the human, to quicken aspirations in the soul and kindle enthusiasm for all that is highest and holiest, and to set forth the idea that this world in which we now live is God's world, and that it is the business of every man in it to see that God has his way in every heart, in every home, in every school, in every legislative hall, in every financial transaction, and in all the activities and relations of life, and who among all the messengers and prophets of the Lord of this later era may we venture to pronounce superior to him who made Plymouth Church a centre of light and power through all the years of his mighty ministry? By his love of

our polity, by his loyalty in times which tried men's souls to our principles, Beecher like Edwards demonstrated his fidelity to that theory of self-government in church and state which drew the Fathers from the old world to the new, and made Congregationalism a force among men.

The two great events in American history are the achievement of our independent nationality and the abolishment of the measureless curse of slavery. One who wishes to make a careful study of the system by which human beings were held in bondage under the Republic,—to look into its origin and growth, its influence on the domestic, social, religious and industrial life of the people, the arrogance it bred in a whole school of politicians, and the causes which led to its final overthrow will have to take account of the tremendous moral power that was lodged in "Uncle Tom's Cabin." After Mr. Lincoln had been elected to the presidency and was duly installed in the White House, the writer of this remarkable book called upon him; and it is reported that when he saw her standing quietly by an open window in the reception room, he disengaged himself from his other guests, and, walking up to her and taking her by the hand, said: "Is this the little woman who brought on the great war?" This was the exaggeration of personal compliment conveyed under the garb of pleasantry, but there was a vast amount of truth in what the words implied. No work of fiction that was ever written with a view to exposing and overthrowing a monstrous iniquity had in it so much of the dynamic force of the justice which is eternal in God, and of the persuasive energy by which men are convinced of a great duty and fired with an enthusiasm which is at once humane and patriotic, as was contained in the matchless story of the wrongs and hardships, the patience under suffering and the unyielding faith in Christ, which were endured and illustrated in the pitiable victim of our old-time oppression. Information was given, conscience was aroused, high resolves were formed, public opinion keyed up; and when the war came larger numbers than otherwise would have been the case were ready to enlist under the banner of freedom. It is difficult to foresee a time when Harriet Beecher Stowe, who wrought so effectually with her pen for the rights and privileges of the downtrodden, will be denied a place in the list of names which Congregationalists in the United States delight to exalt and cherish.

It would be an unpardonable omission not to include the name of one other person in this high-honour roll. Reference has already been made to her work in connection with the founding of institutions of learning for the broader and more thorough education of women. Others as well as she are entitled to credit for forethought and efforts in this interest. Other colleges for women have sprung into existence and rendered splendid service since Mount Holyoke was established at South Hadley. But so long as clear vision shall be held in esteem, and faith in God and dauntless courage and self-sacrifice and a passionate love of humanity and eminent success in a worthy cause are counted merits, American Congregationalists will not cease to write the name of Mary Lyon in golden letters in all their memorials.

The Mathers of Boston, the elder Dwight of Yale, Mark Hopkins of Williams College, Horace Bushnell of Hartford, Nathaniel Emmons of Franklin, President Finney of Oberlin, Dr. Harris of New Haven, Henry Martyn Dexter of "The Congregationalist," Dwight L. Moody

of Northfield, are other names to be held in remembrance and to occupy niches in our Congregational Temple of Fame.

The past is secure. There are mistakes and failures to mar the consistency and beauty of the record. Some of them were due to a wavering faith, to a befogged judgment, and to bad leadership; and others of them to an earnest desire to avoid even the appearance of a narrow sectarianism, and to illustrate in a practical way the unity of all believers in Christ. But when all things are taken into account the story is one to awaken gratitude, inspire faith, and stir enthusiasm for righteousness. In this year of grace, 1908, three hundred years from the exodus from Scrooby, Congregationalists in the Republic are alive to their responsibilites, and in larger numbers than ever before are determined to do their share in evangelizing the home-land and carrying the gospel to the ends of the earth. They do not all think alike, and they do not all emphasize the same things; but as a whole the body was never before so informed with the mind of Christ, was never working along so many lines of fruitful activity, and was never giving so much to promote education and further the ends of missions and improve conditions in society. When another three hundred years shall have rolled away and our successors in that far time are taking note of what has been done in those years by our branch of the Church of Christ, and experiences one by one of failures and successes are recounted, there is no reason to doubt that Congregationalists in the western world, as all around the globe, will be avowing their faith in the crucified Christ, and declaring the gospel to be the power of God unto salvation. That is the faith in which the Fathers stood. That is the faith in which all our great victories have been won. That is the faith in which those who come after us will conquer. It would be disloyalty to the Master, disloyalty to Scrooby and Plymouth Rock, disloyalty to ourselves, not to believe that Congregationalists on both sides of the water and in all lands will be in the struggle, heart and soul, until the kingdom for which we pray has come, and God's will is done in the earth as it is in heaven.

The Rev. Hugh Pedley, B.A., of Montreal, spoke on "Historic Congregationalism in Greater Britain."

ADDRESS BY REV. HUGH PEDLEY, B.A.

CONGREGATIONALISM IN GREATER BRITAIN

Two things weigh upon me as I begin this address: the immensity of the subject and the brevity of the time. It behoves me, therefore, to make my introduction as bare as possible. By way of explanation of the character of the paper let me say that from the outset I felt the impracticability of a purely historical treatment. To present the history of Congregationalism in British Guiana alone or in Newfoundland alone would require far more than the allotted twenty-five minutes. What, then, could I hope to do when the field of survey was such a vast one as the whole of Greater Britain? The best thing I can suggest in that direction is to urge upon you the possession of a copy of Dr. Brown's

recent book, "The Colonial Missions of Congregationalism." I know of no better use you could make of a shilling.

My plan, then, is not to enter into historical detail, but to take a general survey of my subject. It seems to me that a good service would be rendered if at this œcumenical gathering we should acquaint ourselves with one great section of the world-aspect of Congregationalism. In pursuance of this plan let me treat my subject under the three heads: Field, Fact, and Explanation.

I. THE FIELD

This is Greater Britain, which, as you know, includes numerous island settlements and isolated outposts in various parts of the world, such places as Gibraltar, Malta, Aden, Singapore, Mauritius, Hong-kong, New Guinea, Borneo, and the Falkland Islands. I shall confine myself, however, to the great continental areas over which the flag of Britain waves, and in which the influence and power of Britain are the chief political factors.

In Asia the great sphere of British power is, of course, India, a land impressive for many reasons;—for the ancient character of its civilization, for the number of its inhabitants, for the variety and complexity of the elements composing its life, and for the glamour of mystery in which the whole is steeped. It is one of the surprises of history that this land, with its three hundred millions of people, should even restively acknowledge the sway of Britain. India is in a category by herself, and hardly, I imagine, comes under the survey we are making.

In Africa there are large territories in which British influence is paramount. To the south we have such great states as Cape Colony, Natal, the Orange River, and the Transvaal, which have a total population, white, coloured and native, of about 4,996,084, dwelling in an area large enough to maintain from fifty to seventy-five millions. Further north, and on the east coast, there is a spacious country, where the presence of Britain is marked by a well-equipped railway penetrating far into the interior. Where Livingstone heard the lions roar the natives hear the shriek of the locomotive. Distances which Livingstone consumed months in travelling are now accomplished in a day or two. Farther north, again, is Egypt which, though not counted part of Greater Britain, is likely to become of immense strategic value in its development.

Towards the Southern Pole there lies a whole continent that in a very intimate sense owns the sway of Britain. We group in one mass Australia, Tasmania, and the Dominion of New Zealand, which, in an area nearly equal to that of the whole of Europe, has a population only two-thirds of that of London. Owing to her distance from the Motherland, the development of Australasia has been comparatively slow. But her day is coming. She will have her era of expansion. By the magnetism of her virgin resources, the beauty of her scenery, the blandness of her climate, and the freedom of her institutions, she will draw the people to her shores. Her hundreds will become thousands, and her thousands tens of thousands. She has a great continent to be peopled, and our hearts are stirred with profound emotion as we think of what shall yet rise above that far southern horizon.

In America Great Britain has several parcels of territory. She has a number of possessions in the West Indies. She has the great island of Newfoundland, and she has the semi-continent of Canada. In the

West Indies there is a measure of congruity between area and population. Jamaica, for example, has a population of 580,804 people on a territory of 4193 square miles. In other parts there is great disparity. Newfoundland has only about 200,000 people on an area of 42,000 square miles. Canada has land enough for 100,000,000, and a population of less than 7,000,000. Like Australia, it is one of the immense opportunities of the world. A very large section of its territory lies between the parallel of latitude which runs through Florence, and that which touches St. Petersburg, and is therefore in that range which, on European ground, contains the cream of modern history and the dominating forces in western civilization.

So much for the field. We are impressed with two facts—the vastness of the area, and the immensity of the possible future. None but God can forecast that future with accuracy, and yet of some things we may be reasonably certain. One is that this almost limitless land will be the home of free institutions, peopled by men who believe that on the whole they are best governed who govern themselves. Another is that this Greater Britain, as it comes to the fullness of its expansion and power, will have the religion of Christ as the regnant spiritual force. Now think what these two facts signify. Think what it will mean to the whole political future of humanity that under every sky there should be the institutions of freedom actually before the eyes of men; that erected on every continent and seen from every sea there should be a great banner unfurled to tell men that the night of oppression was passing, and the dawn of a new age had begun. Think what it will mean to your whole Foreign Missionary problem that within easy reach of the great masses of the unchristianized nations there should be countries in which the religion of Christ is the supreme religious factor. Compare the opportunity of the eighteenth century when such men as Carey and the early Moravians went forth into the immensity of heathendom with that of the twentieth century when great Christian states are planted right in the heart of heathendom. Greater Britain means the doubling of Anglo-Saxon Protestantism before the end of this century. Is not that a tremendous asset for the evangelization of the world? And is it not a matter of very great concern to every branch of the church what position it occupies in the new opportunity for the kingdom of Christ?

II. THE FACTS

The facts, I mean, so far as Congregationalism is concerned. What relation have we sustained to this wonderful development? It might reasonably be expected that Congregationalism being a system which stands for the fullest and freest expression of the people's life would have at least the same proportions in Greater Britain as in Great Britain. If here, in the face of an Established Church, and fettered by the conservatism that exists in an ancient order, it has won for itself a certain relative position, it ought surely to hold its own in lands where such conservatism and inequalities are practically unknown. What are the facts? In the book of Ezekiel we are told of one who appeared "with a line of flax in his hand, and a measuring reed." His work was one of measuring, and so is mine. As he had two implements of measurement, so have I. My "line of flax" is the strength of other denominations; my "measuring reed" is the strength of Congregationalism in Great Britain.

Let me use the latter first. The population of Great Britain and Ireland is 41,458,721; the Congregational element in this population, taking the seating capacity of the churches as criterion, is 1,793,503. In other words British Congregationalism, numerically considered represents about one in twenty-five ($\frac{1}{25}$) of the whole population. This then is my measuring reed—one in twenty-five. Let me now proceed to apply it to Greater Britain, with the omission, however, of India, the dealing with which would come more appropriately under the head of Foreign Missions.

Turning to South Africa I find that in Cape Colony the total population is placed at 2,409,804 and the Congregational portion at 112,202 or one in twenty-one ($\frac{1}{21}$). This with one exception, viz. British Guiana is the highest proportion in any part of the world. In the other countries of South Africa it has been more difficult to get definite information. If we include Zululand in Natal there is a total estimated population of 1,108,754 and a Congregational element including the American Zulu Mission of 18,065 or one in sixty-one ($\frac{1}{61}$). For the Orange River Colony I have no Congregational statistics, though I see that both the Church of England and the Wesleyans are largely represented. In the Transvaal we have only about 2000 church members in the European population, though some fine work is being done among the coloured or half-caste people. Johannesburg itself has a central church with about fourteen out-stations and a membership of seven hundred. Broadly it may be said that in South Africa, and especially the older parts, Congregationalism has held its own.

From Africa we voyage across to Australia. This as you know has taken the federal name of Australasia and includes a number of states in one great commonwealth. Taking these states in the order given in the English year-book the following is approximately the ratio of Congregationalism to population:—

New South Wales. The total population is 1,154,242, the number of Congregationalists 24,834, and the ratio one in sixty ($\frac{1}{60}$).

Queensland. The total population is 503,266, the number of Congregationalists 6,290, and the ratio one in eighty ($\frac{1}{80}$).

South Australia. The total population is 362,604, the number of Congregationalists 13,336, and the ratio one in twenty-seven ($\frac{1}{27}$), which is somewhat abreast of the English standard.

Victoria. The total population is 1,201,341, the number of Congregationalists 18,416, and the ratio one in sixty-five ($\frac{1}{65}$).

Western Australia. The total population is 184,124, the number of Congregationalists 4,404, and the ratio one in forty-two ($\frac{1}{42}$).

New Zealand. The total population is 888,578, the number of Congregationalists 5,675, and the ratio one in one hundred and fifty-six ($\frac{1}{156}$)

Tasmania. The total population is 172,475, the number of Congregationalists 5,544, and the ratio one in thirty-three ($\frac{1}{33}$).

Such is the state of affairs in Australasia. Putting all the statistics together it will be found that the ratio there is one in sixty-two or considerably less than one-half the proportion found in the mother country.

We come now to the third great continental area included under Greater Britain, viz. the continent of North America. Here, if we take into account closely adjacent countries, we have four main divisions

under British suzerainty, the West Indies, British Guiana, Newfoundland and Canada. For these the facts are as follows :—

THE WEST INDIES. Here the only district of which I have any information is Jamaica. The total population is 639,491, the number of Congregationalists 10,090, and the ratio one in sixty-three ($\frac{1}{63}$).

BRITISH GUIANA. In its three provinces there is a total population of 278,328, the number of Congregationalists is 13,796, and the ratio one in twenty ($\frac{1}{20}$).

NEWFOUNDLAND. The population of this island is 217,037. Nearly the entire Protestantism is of the Anglican and Methodist types. The Presbyterians number 1,497, and the Congregationalists about half that number, giving a ratio of one in two hundred and fifty ($\frac{1}{250}$).

CANADA. There must surely have been some malicious intent, some sly perception of the unfitness of things that led to the putting of a Canadian representative in the pillory by asking him to be the expounder of Congregationalism in Greater Britain. With profound regret let me say that having put my measuring reed to Congregationalism all over the British world I find that with one slight exception it is in Canada that it sinks to the lowest level of relative power. The total population of Canada as given in the last census is 5,371,315, the number of Congregationalists 28,243, and the ratio one in a hundred-and-ninety ($\frac{1}{190}$).

Summing up the results of our survey we discover this to be the condition of things in Greater Britain. For a total population of some fifteen millions there is a Congregational element of about one quarter of a million, or a ratio of one in sixty. This is the revelation of the measuring reed. What is that of the other instrument, the line of flax; the proportionate strength of the other sections of the Christian church.

The total population of Great Britain and Ireland as we have seen is 41,458,721, and the figures for the five principal Protestant bodies are as follows, approximately :—

Church of England	15,000,000,	or a ratio of one in two and two-thirds.
Presbyterian Churches	4,000,000	,, ,, ,, one in ten.
Methodist Churches	4,000,000	,, ,, ,, one in ten.
Baptist Churches	1,500,000	,, ,, ,, one in twenty-eight.

These figures are largely in the nature of estimates, especially in the case of the Anglican church, but they are sufficiently accurate for purposes of comparison.

Turning once more from Great Britain to Greater Britain and for the sake of brevity and clearness keeping myself to such large areas as Cape Colony, Australia, and Canada, I find the following to be the proportionate strength of each of the bodies :—

CAPE COLONY (Population, 2,409,804).

Church of England	1 in	8	as compared with	1 in	$2\frac{2}{3}$
Presbyterian	1 ,,	28	,,	,,	,,	1 ,,	10
Methodist	1 ,,	8	,,	,,	,,	1 ,,	10
Baptist	1 ,,	170	,,	,,	,,	1 ,,	28
Congregational	1 ,,	21	,,	,,	,,	1 ,,	25

AUSTRALIA (Population, 3,765,575).

Church of England	1 in	2·7	as compared with	1 in	2·7
Presbyterian	1 „	9	„	„	„	1 „	10
Methodist	1 „	8	„	„	„	1 „	10
Baptist	1 „	94	„	„	„	1 „	10
Congregational	1 „	56	„	„	„	1 „	25

CANADA (Population, 5,371,315).

Church of England	1 in	9	as compared with	1 in	2·7
Presbyterian	1 „	6.5	„	„	„	1 „	10
Methodist	1 „	6	„	„	„	1 „	10
Baptist	1 „	16	„	„	„	1 „	28
Congregational	1 „	190	„	„	„	1 „	25

As we sum up the results of our comparison we find that the bodies with a compact organization have maintained, and in some cases surpassed, in Greater Britain the ratio they have in Great Britain, while the two bodies that have been governed by the individualistic or independent principle have fallen far behind. So far as we Congregationalists are concerned we are not one half as strong as the strength of the body in the home land might reasonably lead us to expect. Were the proportion maintained we should stand thus in the leading sections of Greater Britain.

In Cape Colony	96,392	instead of	112,202
In Australia	150,623	„	„	67,282
In Canada	214,853	„	„	28,293
	461,868			207,777

In one great colony we have a little more than our share, in another less than half, and in another, my own Canada, only about one-eighth. This is surely a state of affairs that demands our earnest consideration. For Congregationalism to be behind in Greater Britain is to fail at a strategic point, to impoverish the life of a great empire, and to retard the advance of the kingdom of Christ. We come naturally, therefore, to the third division of this paper.

III. THE EXPLANATION

In studying the reasons for our failure they arrange themselves in the two categories of uncontrollable and controllable.

Among the uncontrollable causes the chief are these,—the lack of social prestige and official encouragement, and the paucity of Congregational emigration.

Taking up the former of these it is quite evident that two at least of the great Protestant bodies have profited, viz. the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian. Both of these have been government institutions in the sense of being officially related to the government. The Anglican Church is the Established Church of England, and until 1843 the Established Church of Scotland included the great majority of the Presbyterians of Scotland and to-day is the church of a very considerable portion of the people. Now when we remember how much this means, how the government officials and military authorities in the

formative days of the colonies gave whatever religious influence they had to these two historic churches we can see how great was their initial advantage. And when we remember, further, that they received large consideration in the shape of money and lands we can understand how that advantage was enhanced and perpetuated.

Turning to the factor of emigration, we find that it has not been as strongly in favour of Congregationalism as of some other branches of the church. The movement to the colonies has been largely from the two extremes of society, the upper class going out to occupy positions in the civil and military service, the poorer class to earn a better livelihood. The middle class has not been unrepresented, but it has not been largely represented, which means that Congregationalism has not been largely represented. From personal observation in different parts of Canada I know that until recently if a train load of English-speaking emigrants landed at Montreal, Toronto, or Winnipeg four-fifths of them would belong to the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist Churches, leaving one-fifth to be distributed among Baptists and Congregationalists.

Among the controllable causes of our comparative weakness I would mention the following:

First, the lack of denominational cohesiveness. This is apparent in two directions. Congregationalism has in its system no distinct place for men who are master-minds in administration. I do not say it has no master-minds, but it has no place for them. It has been trying to write its book of Acts in Greater Britain with the immense, if not fatal, omission of the Apostle Paul. We have had, and still have, men in the pastorate who ought to be in the episcopate, not an episcopate of gown and gaiters, but one of Pauline vision, Pauline range, and Pauline energy of faith; but we have no recognized place for such. We make but little provision for the order of mind that makes a commander-in-chief. If Cromwell had been with us as a churchman we would have found no higher place for him than the colonelcy of a regiment, and not even that, only the captaincy of a company, with the possibility once in his lifetime of attaining unto the decorative presidency of the whole army for the space of a year. The other direction in which this weakness is felt is the difficulty of getting the larger as distinct from the local brotherhood to act as a whole. Latimer in his sixth sermon before Edward VI., delivered on the 12th day of April, 1549, gives this quaint reminiscence of his boyhood.

"In my tyme my poore father was as diligent to teach me to shote as to learn anye other thinge, and so I thynke other menne dyd theyr children. He taught me how to drawe, how to laye my bodye in my bowe, and not to drawe with strength of arms as other nacions but with strengthe of the bodye."

"With strength of the body";— that is where we have failed, failed not perhaps in the realm of sentiment and influence upon public opinion but in that of administrative and aggressive propaganda. We have been so permeated with the spirit of protest against tyranny that we have had little room for the unity that makes for orderly and effective progress. There is light thrown upon our backwardness in other parts by the fact that in those places where we have maintained our ground, viz., South Africa and British Guiana, the foundations have been laid by that powerful organization the London Missionary Society.

A second cause of weakness has been the tendency to conventionality, and rigid respectability by which many of our churches have been characterized. In many cases we have failed to offer as congenial an

atmosphere for the common man as either the Anglican or Methodist Church; and, as Beecher once pointed out, the church that is powerless in the great under class of society is destined to decay.

A third cause of weakness has been the disruptive power of the church-meeting. In an old and fairly homogeneous community such as we find in British Congregationalism this statement may not be so relevant. In the church-meetings here where people understand one another things go smoothly and harmoniously, but in a new country where a church is composed of every variety of tradition, race, culture, political sympathy, and theological stamp the church-meeting is fraught with immense possibilities of evil. If it were reserved for mutual instruction, and for the consideration of large schemes of Christian service, and were not devoted to the discussion of petty details the danger would be greatly lessened, and more than counter-balanced by the educative effect, but tested by actual results it has been a most potent influence in destroying the usefulness of our churches. In many congregations the attitude towards the church-meeting where it is not that of absolute indifference is one of either nervous apprehension or ungodly delight in a fray. In nearly all our Canadian cities there are in other churches Congregationalists enough to double our strength, and they are there because of quarrels in the church of their earlier days. It was the spirit of strife that in the beginning of last century took a certain devout woman in Boston from the Congregational fold, and with her the boy Phillips Brooks, whose name is of such fragrant memory; and Greater Britain has not been without its parallel instances.

So much, then, for Congregationalism in that "hope of the ages"—Greater Britain. It has not been without its evangelical romance, its salt of heroism, its fire of faith, its light of lofty vision. It has had some part in the moulding of new-born states, and in the spiritual enfranchisement of virgin areas of the world. Her sons and daughters have borne witness to the truth and clung with loyal hands to the standard of religious freedom. They have trodden the hard road because it was the high road. All this we gratefully recognize, but our eyes if clear of any filming of vanity cannot fail to perceive that we have fallen far short of the place that might have been ours. What then are we to do? Resign ourselves supinely to the flow of events? Crouch submissively in our low and weak estate? Be a little thing, ever growing less because we are little? I speak for Canada, at least, when I say that for us there are two possible courses, either of which would be in line with all that is best in our history. One of them is to have a share in the formation of a new church order in which the virtues of the older forms will be preserved;—the constructing of a united church in Canada in which the name Congregational will be bracketed with the other honourable names Presbyterian and Methodist. That in my view would be a glorious consummation. The other is, failing this consummation, that we set before us these two objectives;—first an organization of our churches that will adequately embody the balance between freedom and organization which is one of the richest heritages of our modern civilization, and, secondly, a fervent and irresistible return to that faith in the fact of Christ, that sense of His living presence, that loyalty to His spirit without which, organization or no organization, we are most surely doomed to perish.

The Rev. Professor Williston Walker, PH.D., D.D., of New

Haven, Conn., was the last speaker at the morning session. His topic was "The Relation of Congregationalism to National and Œcumenical Minds."

Address by Professor Williston Walker, New Haven, Connecticut

THE RELATION OF CONGREGATIONALISM TO NATIONAL AND ŒCUMENICAL MINDS

Religion is more than organization. Christianity is something vastly deeper and profounder than the Christian church. It is an inner life of the spirit, a divine life reproducing itself in the lives of men. This transforming, inspiring, and quickening indwelling of the spirit of God in the hearts of Christian disciples may be described in a true sense as the continuance of the incarnation. Deeper than any question of outward organization, more real than any form which the church has assumed, is this great, fundamental, abiding fact,—the reproduction of the life of Christ in the lives of his disciples.

This inward and invisible reality, like all other inward and invisible forces which influence men, demands organization, in order not merely that those who feel its power may be linked together in fellowship, but that it may do its appropriate work effectively in the world. Organization in every field of activity is as much a necessity as the spirit of which it is the expression. Patriotism without a government or an army and navy to give effect to its impulses is without power; but a government, or an army or a navy, be it never so admirable as a type of an organization, without a loyal and devoted love of country behind it is an empty thing indeed. So is it with the Christian church. It is the indispensable organized form through which the redeemed life of humanity finds its expression. But it is of value only as that invisible life gives to its visible institutions content and meaning.

Organization should mean adaptation. The forms which have proved useful in one age become obsolete and ineffective in another. New problems demand new adjustments, and hence the Christian church, from the days of the Apostles to our own, has been constantly changing, constantly adapting itself to new situations, constantly developing new organs and agencies by which the one continuous life of God to which it witnesses might be more effectively applied to the needs of men. The fundamental question regarding any form of church organization, however honoured, must ever be, how adequately does it do the work of Christ for the present age?

Viewed in the retrospect of the Christian centuries, each of the conspicuous forms in which the church has been organized has borne its witness to one or more great ideas as to the nature and principles of the kingdom of God. Not one of them, from the close-knit absolutism of Roman Catholicism to the untrammelled submission to the guidance of the Spirit asserted by early Quakerism, has been without its significance, or is without a claim to our respect, if not always to our sympathy, as an embodiment of principles sincerely held and forcefully dominant over the lives of men. We praise to-day the witness of Congregationalism, and we do rightly so. Our pride in

the history and achievements of the Congregational Churches is no mere filial laudation. It is a just tribute to that for which they stand, and for which they have borne their testimony with increasing effectiveness since the days of their humble beginnings in the later struggles of the Reformation age. Our Congregational Churches have witnessed firmly to the immediate and present Lordship of Christ. To them he has not been a historic master who long ago instituted and commissioned an authoritative priesthood by which his grace could be transmitted to successive generations of men. He is to them a present living Lord who, out of the abundance of his abiding care for his church, gives to it the ministry that it needs to-day, equips that ministry for its work, and is the immediate, though invisible, head of every Congregation of his faithful disciples. They have no less steadfastly maintained the fundamental necessity of Christian character for membership in the church of Christ. They have demanded, as the condition of union with his disciples, some conscious sense of allegiance to our Lord, and a determination to make his mastery dominant in the personal life. They have believed that none other than those who were thus striving to live the life of Christian discipleship were worthy to bear his name. Equally positive has been the witness of our Congregational churches to the essential democracy of Christian fellowship. As brothers in a common household of faith, sons of one Father in Heaven, as equally privileged and endowed with all Christian graces and duties, Congregationalism has demanded for each member of the church a share proportioned to his abilities and opportunities in the administration of its affairs, and for each congregation a self-governing independence in the control of all that appertains to its spiritual welfare. Congregationalism has had other witnesses, but chief of all are these testimonies to the Lordship of Christ, to the primacy of character, and to the essential equality of his followers. They are witnesses that the Christian church has greatly needed. We believe, with a confidence born not merely of study of the fundamental principles of the Gospels and Epistles, but of more than three centuries of historic development, that the Congregational witness has value and significance and power for the present and the future no less than for the past.

This witness is a powerful leaven in the churches which have been far from sympathizing historically with the Congregational idea. Its fruit is undoubtedly more apparent in the freer conditions of America, than where great State establishments are powerfully entrenched. In the new world, thanks to the influence of Congregationalism, all communions are affected by it. Our Presbyterian brethren have long ago practically adopted our theory of a regenerate church-membership. Our fellow Christians of the Episcopal communion are very largely at one with us in the share possessed by the congregation in the call of a minister. The Lutheran churches, state-bound in the home land, have become practically Congregational, now that all connection with the state is loosed. Even Methodism and Roman Catholicism feel the stir of the layman demanding greater recognition. None of the bodies mentioned, least of all the two last enumerated, has our full measure of freedom; but all in America have gained something from us; and I am fain to believe that the Congregational witness is not without its effect on this side of the sea. So long as freedom, democracy and simplicity are of worth, that witness will remain of value.

Nor should a witness be forgotten, not peculiar to Congregationalism

only, since it is shared by all the churches of Puritan origin, but to which Congregationalism has always given large place, its insistence on the value of education both in pulpit and pew. It is a witness that has not only covered America with schools and colleges, but that has aroused ever increasing response in other branches of the Christian family. A learned ministry and an intelligent membership has always been the Congregational ideal.

It ill becomes us, however, much as we rejoice in that for which Congregationalism bears testimony, to forget that other churches have their witness also, and a witness, moreover, to which we Congregationalists in our natural insistence upon our own principles, have sometimes turned too deaf an ear. Among such witnesses to which we would do well to give more heed than has always been paid by us, are two which may be described as characteristic of the national and œcumenical mind. That imperial habit of thought has viewed the church in its aspects of continuity and inclusiveness. It feels the power of a mighty past, the growing force of all the Christian centuries from our Lord's ministry to the present. It looks upon the Christian life to-day not merely as a present struggle with new conditions and recent problems, but as, in a true sense, one with that of those who, having "fought a good fight" in their day do now "rest from their labours." It rejoices in association in an institution, not of yesterday or of recent foundation, but of the ages.

While the œcumenical mind thus emphasizes the continuity of the church, it is no less disposed to lay weight upon the breadth of its significance in its relation to the entire community. It would not merely claim the witness of the nation for Christ, as John Knox did that of Scotland for example, but it holds that every child born within a Christian land is a proper object for the solicitous care of the church. It asserts that the church has its responsibilities and its duties, not merely to those who cordially and loyally recognize their sonship in the kingdom of God, but to those who are still sons, though they own not the filial tie and are wandering far from the Father's house.

I am making no plea in behalf of the particular forms in which these two witnesses characteristic of the œcumenical and national minds have generally manifested themselves. Our fathers justly rejected sacerdotal claims which had laid on men's shoulders burdens too heavy to be borne. They repudiated those forms of State churchism by which these œcumenical witnesses had been overlaid and misinterpreted. They believed with all the power of intense conviction that the continuity and authority of the church are not wrapped up in the succession of its officers, least of all in a succession maintained by a single external rite. They held with martyr courage that the church should admit to its full privileges and communion none but those who were consciously striving to realize their personal relations to Christ. They repudiated the idea that church-membership and political allegiance are coterminous, or that submission to any single human head can be the test of real union with Christ. But while we thus rightfully reject the forms in which these principles of the national and œcumenical mind have too often found expression, have not the principles themselves which underlie these forms a permanent abiding value, and are they not those to which Congregationalism has a right to lay claim? Do we in our individualism always give them sufficient weight? Is there anything really and fundamentally inconsistent between their witness and that which historic Congregationalism has

borne and is bearing? Have we not a right, and more than a right, have we not a duty, to claim for ourselves a part in the great succession maintained not by any tactual imposition or sacerdotal continuity, but by the oneness of the Christian life? Are we not "built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ Himself being the chief corner stone," and have not we a right to claim our heirship in the heritage of Christian character and Christian achievement which has filled the centuries? Surely we stand in an honourable succession, and we do well to recognize our indebtedness to a past that stretches backward not merely to the Reformation age, but to the work of the apostles and the first planting of the Christian church.

No less have we duties to the community as a whole. However exclusive our theory of church membership may rightly be, the Gospel with which we are entrusted knows no exclusiveness of service. It is sent to all, its message is for all, and the duty of all to proclaim it is not fulfilled until all have been given an opportunity to hear and to obey. This is the great thought which underlies the imperial and territorial forms in which the Christian church has so often and so extensively sought organic expression. It is the thought that those national organizations have so largely misrepresented by externalism and unspirituality; but which must be part of the Congregational consciousness since it is an integral part of the Christian Gospel, that our duties to the community in which we live are not fulfilled until we have done all in our power that the Gospel should have its appropriate influence upon every one who dwells within its borders.

It is in regard to the principle last mentioned that the age makes its insistent demand upon the Congregational churches, and, as a consequence, there is most need, at this point, of their readjustment and development. Every living organism—and the Congregational churches surely are living organisms—can maintain its life and its growth only by constant adaptation to its environment. Changed conditions imply altered methods and emphases; and it is a truism that our age is pre-eminently a time of transition and readjustment. Theological formulæ, long honoured, claim restatement, conceptions of the sources and evidences of Christian truth, long held to be unalterable, are demanding revision. The burden of the Christian life itself is changing from the future to the present, from a better world to come to the making better of the world that now is. And above all, a conception of the duty of the church towards humanity as a whole, struggling, sinning, achieving, failing, but capable of the vision of God, and needing justice in relations one with another, and the assertion of the power of the spiritual as against the visible and the material, is dawning upon us as never before. These facts, patent to the observation of all, make the problems and the situation which confront the Congregational churches of the present vastly unlike those which they encountered even as recently as half a century ago.

What a church aims to do depends primarily upon its theory of salvation. Its service to men is founded upon its sense of what men need. Its efforts are decided by the results which it deems desirable to bring to pass. If salvation is conceived, as it was by the fathers of the Greek church in the days of the Roman Empire, as fundamentally a translation of our mortality into immortality, a making divine of that which is human, the church must emphasize, as they did, the importance of a theological system consonant with that belief, and of a sacramental ritual by which that estimate of salvation may be

realized in the experience of the believer. The theology of that ancient age, which seems so unreal in many of its aspects, is unreal simply because of our altered conception of what constitutes salvation. Is salvation viewed as primarily justification with God? Is it the rescue of a few souls, here and there, from the mass of those fitted for destruction, their reconciliation with God, and their redemption from a lost humanity? Is salvation a matter of the selection of individuals, be they few or many, from the mass of a condemned and apostate humanity? Then, with Augustine and Aquinas, and Luther and Calvin, and Wesley, we must lay all weight on the means of grace, the forgiveness of individual sins, and the reconciliation of the sinner with God. We shall look upon Christianity as we have, historically, as a selective process in which the individual and his relations to God are the primary concerns.

Is salvation the regeneration of society? Then it must emphasize all the social and moral and spiritual forces that make for the upbuilding of the community as a whole. Nothing that has to do with human welfare, nothing that serves to develop right relations between man and man, nothing that aims to ameliorate and improve the social and moral well-being of our fellowmen, nay, even their physical conditions, can be foreign to the Christian spirit.

The present speaker is very far from believing that the conception of salvation which he has described as individual and personal, as involving the forgiveness of personal sins and the establishment of a right personal relation between the individual soul and God, is erroneous or outworn. So long as men are individual, it will be true that the development of character, the attainment of spiritual growth, the entrance into fellowship with God, will be individual and personal experiences. But the historic emphases upon the individual and personal aspects of salvation are one-sided and imperfect emphases nevertheless. The changing conceptions of our age are bringing the social aspects of the Gospel to light, and are pointing out to us what must be increasingly the field of Christian activity and hence must give scope to Christian endeavour. These conceptions of salvation now dominate our social and philanthropic activities in so far as they are freed from the grasp of materialism and give expression to the life of the spirit. What a quickening our age is witnessing, what social consciousness of the demand for justice among men, of the spirit of mutual helpfulness and brotherhood in all its varied aspects, of the recognition of the duties that we owe one to another, as brothers!

The great problems of adjustment that face the Congregational Churches to-day are not, therefore, merely those of witnessing to the principles of their historic past. That they have done and are doing effectively. Their testimony to freedom and democracy is one increasingly heard. Their witness to the guidance of the divine spirit, leading men fearlessly to more light yet to break forth from God's word, is one the need of which can never die, but the response to which is increasing. The demand for theological restatement, great as it is, is not that which is most pressing upon them. The further demand of the hour is to meet effectively the new duties and the larger responsibilities which the enlarging conceptions of salvation are laying upon them, as upon Christians generally. How to add to that for which they have so well witnessed a positive advance, so that realms of service that should belong to the church should not slip from

its grasp by refusal to undertake new duties and enter on larger responsibilities, is the question before us.

You will, perhaps, tell me that our Congregational Churches are already doing this very work. Their zeal for foreign missions, their service to weaker organizations in the home-lands, is known to all men. Indeed, their willingness to assist in labours carried on by other branches of the Christian family, their indifference to denominational concerns, has often been such as to rob them of their own proper growth. Their sons and their daughters have largely shared in philanthropic and reformatory endeavours. But, as churches, we have not yet adjusted ourselves as we ought to the duties upon us by reason of the enlarging conceptions of the meaning of the Gospel message. We are not sinners in this respect above others; but we need a fresh anointing that our ears may perceive the greatness of the call to social service that now sounds forth.

It is often declared that all churches are losing their hold on modern life. We hear voices about us which declare that they no longer satisfy the needs of men, that their message is to the few rather than to the many, and that the interests with which they concern themselves are not those most vital to the modern world. In its larger aspects this criticism is false. No witness to the real and abiding verities of the spirit has been or is so effective as that of the Church. But, in so far as this criticism has any value, it has significance because the churches have so largely allowed the direction of modern social, reformatory and philanthropic agencies to slip from their control. In so far as they are willing to permit the efforts for social salvation which the age demands to be wrought out by other agencies than their own, or by agencies in which they do not have an active part, they are really narrowing their interests, by refusing to "enter in and possess the land" opening now before them.

The chief peril before any Congregational Church at the present day is the danger of becoming a club. That this peril is often very real no thoughtful observer can deny. A club has many uses. It is often an organization worthy of high respect,—but it is exclusive, self-centered, undemocratic. How far removed from a club is a company of congenial souls, whose highest object is their own good? It may be a very lofty conception of good that is their ideal. It may be nothing less than personal salvation, than development of character, than knowledge of God, than his worship. But if these good things are sought for those within the membership of the church, or for those who sit in its pews, alone, such a church is simply a club, by whatever name it may dignify or conceal its real corporate life. It may be helpful to its membership in high degree. It may be attractive and delightful in its association of kindred spirits; but it remains a club nevertheless. Only as a Christian congregation feels the outgoing impulses of duty to a world lying in dire need of what it has to give, only as it reaches outward to aid men in the turmoil and struggle and discouragements of life, does it deserve the name of church. "I came not to be ministered unto, but to minister," said the Master, and it is forever true that "the disciple is not greater than his Lord." Is justice denied between man and man? Is social oppression becoming more and more evident to a thoughtful and increasingly sensitive public conscience? Are corporate greed and political corruption dangers increasingly discerned in the body politic? Is class feeling embittering the relations of men? Is labour refusing its just efficiecny,

and capital demanding more than its equitable share of the rewards of the combined efforts of directing skill and unreflecting toil? Above all, is a rising materialism substituting the pleasures and rewards of a very earthly prosperity for the high satisfaction of duty, righteousness and faith, then the church has its work visibly before it, and the challenge calls upon it to grapple with its foes in the name of Christ. It cannot be selfish, no matter how noble that selfishness may appear, without being untrue to its Master.

It is not enough to say that the church fulfils its duty by the cultivation of the religious spirit, and that when that result is achieved, those whom it thus inspires may be trusted to work for the regeneration of society without its immediately directing supervision. The development of the religious spirit is, indeed, a prime obligation of the church. Its call to cultivate the spirit of reverence and worship can never be unheeded. It is the condition of its power. But, in itself, it is not enough. Power undirected, is too largely power wasted. A Congregational Church ought to have a definite program of moral service to the community in which it is set. That it now seldom has. We have far too largely allowed the philanthropic, reformatory and socially elevating functions of our modern life to drift out of the control of the church. They are generally in the hands of Christian people, let us thankfully admit; though this is by no means always true. But the church as an institution is far too content to let them be directed by voluntary associations having no immediate affiliation with it. Such matters, we are sometimes told, are not the church's "proper sphere"; as if its place was not always that in which it can be of most service to men, and its interests all that contributes to make the kingdoms of this world more fully the kingdom of God.

The philanthropic and reformatory movements in which Christian people so largely share, are too often given an almost non-religious colouring, by an unworthy fear lest the church shall seem to be stepping aside from the proper mission by insisting upon her rightful part, as an organization, in their activities. Not in any divisive spirit, or by unduly multiplying agencies to accomplish the same work, should we go forward. But we ought, as far as possible, to claim for Christ and for the organized body of Christ's disciples, this great domain to the possession of which the Gospel has given impulse.

How this result is best to be achieved will depend on the peculiar circumstances and environment of each congregation. It is evident that the problem is not the same for a church in a scattered rural community that it is for one situated in a crowded factory town. But no Congregational Church is doing its duty to the present age which does not encourage and expect its membership to take an active part in all the outreaching and uplifting efforts to which they can set their hands. It should be considered as much a service of the church to strive to aid the community on a board of poor relief, in the supervision of its Education, in the securing of better relations of labour and capital, in endeavours to mitigate the evils of intemperance, disease, and social wrong, as to sing in a choir or sit in a deacon's seat at the Lord's table. The church should expect and encourage its members to undertake such tasks. As far as possible, it should train them for these endeavours. Wherever feasible, especially in the smaller and less organized communities, it should itself lead, as a body corporate in such work.

Our Congregational polity is a help, rather than a hindrance, to such

outreaching relationships to the communities in which our churches are set. It has no weight of ancient ritual, no incubus of traditional forms. It is free, flexible, and democratic. It can safely experiment, and easily adjust itself to unlike environments. Far from being unadapted, it should be the best adapted of all types of church organization to meet the changing needs of the age, and to appropriate for itself that which is a vital, permanent and valuable, if too often misunderstood, element in the national and œcumenical ideas,—the service of the whole community as the duty of the church.

Discussion

The Chairman: We have about ten minutes for discussion.

Remarks by Rev. W. L. Walker, Glasgow

I heartily agree with what has been said by Professor Walker. I should like to say a word on Congregational polity. We sometimes tell people that it is a bad sign when they are thoroughly content. I think we may apply that to ourselves. I believe Congregationalism is certainly the best church system, or I would not be a Congregationalist. And I think there is nothing good that might not be better. Now when we come to New Testament principles I have long felt that there is something not quite right in our Congregationalism when tested by the New Testament idea of the church and of church practice. They had the apostles going continually about among the churches, exercising authority, giving advice, and even exercising control. Now we are told that each church is complete in itself. Each church is left too much to itself, sometimes to its own destruction, and this extreme individuality and exaggerated Independency becomes a serious matter, both to ministers and churches. We talk about the liberty of the churches and the freedom of the minister, who is often at the mercy of the man who holds the church. In a large church where there is a balance of opinion and where the minister is not entirely under his people he may be free. But in the smaller church where he is dependent on the people he preaches to, his freedom is a mere name. He is not free. He has to live, and he has to be careful how he speaks lest he offend the congregation.

Now I say these are things that ought not to be. We speak about Independency, and I always quote John Owen, of whom we heard so much the other day. I would not permit the care of my soul to any church that stood aloof from other churches and regarded itself as complete in itself. There is a lacking Christian spirit there, and so I want us to put our heads together, as representatives of Congregational churches and say whether we could not do something towards organisation, still preserving Christian freedom. For I cannot for the life of me see how, if it is possible for this principle of freedom to be observed in a congregation, it ought not to be equally well observed and maintained in an assembly of all congregations. I cannot see how we can have Christ in the one case and not have Christ in the other, and perhaps a great deal more fully.

Our American friends, our foreign visitors, perhaps do not know what a poor exhibition, sometimes, our little churches have made for

Congregationalism, and I think they have done a great deal to damage the Congregational ideal in the view of our Presbyterian friends. The same thing holds good with respect to the support of our smaller churches. Contrast our system with regard to the United Free Church mode of sustentation. There, each church agrees to contribute in a certain proportion to the general fund, whilst with us ministers are left, well, almost discarded, because the members of our churches have not the same devotion to our principles as they have in the Presbyterian church. There is great room for improvement in our system, and the fear of organisation is keeping us back from a great deal we might do in this country.

The discussion was not continued, and the Chairman pronounced the benediction at 12.30.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Mr. Charles A. Hull, of New York, presided at the afternoon session. The opening devotions were conducted by the Rev. R. Veitch, M.A., of Leicester.

"Christian Conscience and the State Authority" was the first subject under consideration at the session. It was introduced by the Rev. D. L. Ritchie, Principal of the Nottingham Theological Institute.

Address by Rev. Principal D. L. Ritchie

CHRISTIAN CONSCIENCE AND STATE AUTHORITY

Conscience is a word of vast ambiguity, and the State is a term used to include many contradictions. Definition is therefore necessary, for definition not only saves from much obscurity and needless discussion, but, if diligently practised, would, in controversy, put an end to much defamation.

By conscience is meant the law imposed by our ideal self on our actual self, the higher self within the self. Here the complex and much controverted questions of the origin, history and education of conscience, so interesting in themselves, need not be disturbed. It is enough to say that only those theories that regard conscience as a product of materialistic evolution, and merge it in the civilisation in which it is found, and make it the mere reflection of the opinions and prejudices of its own society, are ruled out, and that conscience is held to be "the fire in man which the earth did not kindle, the signs of a parentage which prove him to be divine." It is that higher self within the self, which, to use the famous words of Butler, "If it had strength as it has right, if it had power as it has manifest authority, would absolutely rule the world."

Further, it is the Christian conscience that is here dealt with, and it stands for the moral sense in man conquered by the miracle of grace in Christ. It is the moral consciousness in its response to the revelation and lordship of Christ, and Him crucified. It is conscience not regnant but conquered, not arrogant but humbled, not assertive and accusing but cleansed and delivered. It is conscience free because bound, free from all other lordships and services because bound to the service of Christ, its deliverer and Lord. Because of this service it claims autonomy within its own sphere, and asserts its liberty against all intrusion and compulsion from without. As the child of free grace it claims to be free. It stands fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made it free, and, because it has accepted his yoke, refuses every other yoke of bondage.

But while asserting such liberty, while claiming thus to be a law to itself, how is the conscience to be saved from the crudities of individualism and the cruelties and comicalities of conscientiousness? Torquemada was conscientious, so also are the Anglo-Israelites and the Christian Scientists. There are so-called manifestations of conscience and assertions of its rights that make it clear that some people would be better of another conscience to keep their consciences. But the Christian conscience is the conscience enlightened because redeemed, not merely individualistic but social, for when redeemed it is delivered into a society without which it cannot be Christian any more than personality can be without society. It is saved and set in the church—the body of Him who is the Head of the church and the deliverer of conscience; not lost in it, but set in it, with its own sovereign function to discharge; and, in that society rightly thought of and faithfully served, it can be continually enlightened, humbled, strengthened, and delivered from the crudities and arrogances of an assertive individualism. By Christian conscience is, therefore, meant the ideal self educated in the school of Christ—the church; and under His direct Headship.

The state is the supreme controller of social relationships, and must be thought of not merely in an individualistic sense as a mere expediency, as a means to an end, the function of which is chiefly utilitarian, but in the Greek, socialistic sense, as an end in itself, as an association for the sake of the good, the function of which is essential and moral. Psychology has made it abundantly plain that society and personality are two sides of one truth, and that the one cannot be without the other. The true self is also the social self. The range of the authority of the state as controller of social relationships, and the field of its operations, are therefore wider than an exaggerated individualism is ready to grant. Society is more than a "social contract." Hobbes and his somewhat rough and ready explanations of human nature, society, and the state persist in lingering in some quarters, but they were never able to bear examination. The authority that regulates society has a larger function, and a more solemn duty than that of keeping the ring while competitors struggle for liberty, economic, moral, or spiritual. As there can be no isolated self who is not either "a beast or a god," as Aristotle put it, society has rights and claims, and the state that orders society has authority, greater and more divine than a mistaken individualism has yet dreamed. Even individualism itself cannot reach true self-realisation apart from a socialism that implies a state and its powers of authority. In constitutional law "the State," says Sir W. Anson, "is the power by which rights are created and maintained, by which the acts and forbearances necessary for their maintenance are habitually enforced." There is an "ought," a moral imperative that binds society as well as the individual. The powers that be are verily ordained of God. The state has its own sanctities, and they too must be respected and even revered.

Here then are two authorities, the conscience and the state, and each with its own sanctities. How and where then does the boundary of the one meet the frontier of the other? What is to be the attitude of the Christian conscience to state authority? What claims has state authority on the Christian conscience?

In the presence of the state the Christian conscience while freely admitting, and indeed accentuating, the authority of the state in its own domain, at once asserts a spiritual autonomy, a freedom from such

control as is not in its nature spiritual. The redeemed conscience, as the slave of Christ, refuses every other service and lordship. It claims freedom not to do its own will, but the will of its Redeemer, not first the right to govern itself, but the right to be governed by its own Master and by Him alone. Moreover, its realm is such that in it the edict of the state does not run, nor can its authority be executed. Its most powerful mandamus cannot extort obedience from the conscience. The state cannot compel conscience because it has no weapon by which to reach it. It can only deal with results, it cannot get at the inner sanctuaries of the soul and the springs of conduct. When we come to the conscience, to the spiritual and the government of the spiritual, it is clear that we have found the frontier of the state and the limit of its authority.

There are, therefore, two attitudes of the Christian conscience to the State that may be emphasised: (1) *A Protesting Attitude;* (2) *A Serving Attitude.*

The first attitude of the Christian conscience to state authority is a protesting one. It protests against all intrusion in its own name and in the name of the society—the church, the household of the faithful—in which it realises itself. It protests in the name of its Lord to whom it and the state are alike subject, for a servant cannot serve another servant while the master of the house calls him. In other words, it protests in the name of the autonomous spiritual principle against any invasion of the liberty with which Christ has set it free, or any attempted compulsion by decrees that can never be enforced. Even although they could be enforced, it would still protest. The persistence of the state in trying to enter the domain of conscience has always ended in mere persecution that has never been effective in constraining obedience nor in silencing conscience. Persecution always meets with passive resistance, oftentimes secret, sometimes open and declared. Now, beyond question, it is a grave step for any one to take up the attitude of open passive resistance even to decrees of the state that infringe liberty of conscience; but is a conscientious man not shut in to such action with all the reproach, and loss, and suffering entailed? How else shall he be able to answer the Lord of conscience? How else is he to find true self-realisation, and to have that high, clean soul and its peace within, the price of which is above rubies. Moreover, it has to be noted that, although such resisters may for a time be scorned and insulted by fellows of the baser sort, in all ages men have not been able to withhold admiration for those who for conscience' sake have suffered and won liberty for others. John Hampden is one of the shining names in British history. John Bunyan is another. George Fox is a third. And these are but prominent names in an army of the faithful who, in loyalty to conscience and in vindication of its freedom, have dared and suffered all things, even unto death. This right of liberty of conscience applauded and asserted by the worthy in all generations, kings and states, and alas! churches also, have been slow to appreciate and to admit. Rome of old could not understand it; and so Pliny, with Trajan's sanction, put Christians to death, not because they were bad men, nor bad citizens, but because, although innocent, they were obstinate. Modern States do not fully appreciate it, although they are slowly learning. The church has often been unmindful of this right, and has repeatedly attempted to compel conscience by the arm of the law and by forces other than those of moral enlightenment and spiritual lordship. But she has always failed,



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and will fail, for conscience can never surrender to authority other than that which is spiritual. It defies all threats, and scorns all penalties in the name of its right to be free.

Again, it is in the name of the Lord of conscience, and the autonomy of the spiritual principle, that men protest against the control of the church by the state in every form of church establishment. And no church establishment however mild its yoke can be treated as a benevolent expediency. Jerusalem, which is from above, by her very nature, is free. She is free from state control, and from every control that is not spiritual, in order that she may be loyal to the lordship of her living Head; not free to do her own will, but the will of Him who redeemed her, and called her, and who alone, without interference of even other of His own servants, has the right to rule her. The state has duties that are moral, but one fails to see how it can exercise functions that are spiritual. Cæsar has no more right to summon the church to Nicea or Canterbury, or Edinburgh, than the church has right to compel Cæsar to tarry at Canossa. And certainly by abandoning the resources of Christ and the affections of Christians for the exchequers of kings, the church has received not good but ill. And what is worse, she has interfered with Christ's unique and most delicate but most sovereign rights in His people, and to their all. This is not to dispute the sanctity of the state, nor in any way to deny its divine authority. It is only to point out the boundary of its authority and to remind it to keep within its own frontier, and to look after its own business. But, to-day, so far as argument from principle is concerned, the advocates of establishment have nothing to say. Their heavy guns have all been silenced. They do not seem to have a last shot left to fire in the name of principle. There are few now-a-days to do Erastianism reverence. In defending establishments the argument that is usually urged is that of some practical utility; and certainly that plea can be taken low enough down, as when it is urged in England that some of the benefits of establishment are that it provides at least one gentleman in every parish, and guarantees some society for eminently respectable people. However, that renowned scholar of the Scottish establishment, and the revered teacher of some of us, Dr. Flint, has declared that there is no principle of establishment, but only a principle of national religion; by which he means that a nation in its corporate capacity, as well as an individual in his private capacity, is called on to obey the moral law, and to acknowledge the Headship of Christ. He is the rightful King of nations as He is Lord of men. But surely such obedience and such acknowledgment do not depend on an established church. In the presence of so many distinguished delegates from other lands where established churches are unknown, where in the true sense the churches are free from state control, it would be an affront to argue that, apart from church establishments with their insults to Christ and their social injustices and wrongs to men, there may be a true national recognition of God and an endeavour by states to obey the moral law. Does the Headship of Christ over nations suffer in the United States or in Canada, in New Zealand or in Australia, for lack of established churches there? Or is there anyone, knowing history, audacious enough to assert that the Kingship of Christ over the nation has been due to establishment here? On the contrary, the evidence is all the other way, and the more that one thinks of it the more one is certain that Christ's Headship over the nation can be realised only (to use a New England

phrase) by Christ's "political Headship over His church." There is, indeed, no principle of establishment, but only a principle of national religion, and establishments are a wrong application of the principle, and issue in no true gain to the state, but in grievous wrong to the church. Moreover, one may be confident that when the assertion of principle has failed the plea of a questionable utility will not for ever hold the field, and that the release of the church from the bondage of the state will come sooner or later in every land. It only needs a clear vision of the true nature of the church as bound to obey her Lord, and so free to be governed by Him without the interference of the state, to effect deliverance. There are some signs that this vision is dawning on many in the established churches of all lands, and that the liberating stroke may not require to be made from without but will be affected from within these churches themselves. They will then be free to truly serve the state by first obeying their Lord. In return for such service it is the duty of the state to guarantee autonomy to the churches.

The second attitude of the Christian conscience to the state is that service.

But how may the Christian conscience best serve and strengthen the authority of the state? It resents interference from the state and requests to be left alone in the enjoyment of its liberty and duty of service. But can the Christian conscience leave the state alone? Certainly not. It is its duty to enlighten, to quicken, to energize; and to fail to do this would be to fail in one of its main functions. The kingdoms of this world are to become the kingdom of our Lord and Christ. In this regard He and the state alike have strong claims on the conscience; and the church and the Christian conscience in duty to themselves must pay such claims: for the Christian conscience cannot realise itself apart from a society; and while the church in all her helpful ministries is more intimately that society, yet the church is in a true sense a part of the organic life of the whole social order that is affected for good or ill by state authority. The Christian conscience in the church must enlighten and quicken the state until it finds in the state a true yoke-fellow in realising her Lord's purpose in His kingdom. It must act like a ferment in the life of the state until its ordered society becomes an expression of the kingdom of God. For liberty the conscience and the church must repay service.

To all this it is sometimes objected that Christ's kingdom is not after the manner of this world, and that He refused to have to do with states and their politics. He sublimely went on his way, it is said, to establish a kingdom of God within men. But that is surely only half the vision. True it is that Jesus magnificently concentrated on His holy purpose, and refused to be diverted from it by the entanglements of secondary questions in regard to Cæsar and the state. Nevertheless in all His life He set His seal to the state and to its sanctity, as did also His followers after Him. He obeyed the laws of His country, turned from political agitation, and recognised the rightful claims of constituted authority. He acknowledged the Roman power as of God even while its representative was perverting justice. His famous *ad hominem* argument, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's," is doubtless often burdened with meaning that it cannot bear; but surely, while it emphasises clearly and pre-eminently the claims of God, it nevertheless can be claimed without entering into any of the allegorising mysteries of the Unam Sanctam, and the two swords, and other mediæval political

theories, that the argument gives a place and function and right to the state. Of course all attempts to claim Jesus for one form of state authority are hopelessly irrelevant, if not impudent. He was neither monarchist nor republican, individualist nor socialist, absolutist nor anarchist, yet the true vision of the state comes from him. He laid the foundations of a kingdom that is to transform all kingdoms. He introduced the leaven of the kingdom of Heaven into the consciences of men, and it will never cease to work until the whole lump of life is leavened. The thrones of the world are to be His throne. In order that it might come without he set up the Kingdom within. To achieve this appearing of the Kingdom is the business of the Christian conscience through the church quickening and enlightening the state.

It is, therefore, not easy, nor is it wise, apart from the autonomy of the conscience, to set theoretical limits to the action of the state. Indeed, there can be no limit to state action except hurt to the highest life of the citizens of the state. It is free to do so long as it can do good. Bluntschli has well said that "the idea of the state is called up by philosophical speculation; the conceptions of the state can be discovered only by history." And surely Thomas Aquinas was nearer the truth when he asserted that "the state was a necessary part of the world's life, and law an outflowing of the divine nature" than are those who set artificial limits to state action, and maintain that Christians should leave the state to its own devices and politics to the devil. That has been and is the sad failing and grievous sin of many Christians. At the impact of the Christian conscience the state may go far and help much in hastening the kingdom of God on earth. Should the Christian conscience, for example, not rouse the state to deal with the appalling drunkenness of this land. I speak as a Scot, who passionately loves his country, who owes everything under God and devout parents to its magnificent educational institutions, and asone who feels his country's stains like wounds. The drunkenness of Scotland's Capital has pained and shocked our visitors from twenty lands. Has the Christian conscience no service to render to the state in that? Certainly, Christianity lends no weight of authority to the barren theory that reduces the state's functions to mere police, or declares that the state has to do with crime and not with morals. Too long have these abstractions numbed the Christian conscience, and imprisoned the church in the tomb of pietistic formalism, unctuous uselessness, and traditional compromise with the world. Christianity is individualistic only in that it raises the worth of every single life. It is as truly socialistic when it asserts that the wealth of life is to be found only in fraternal love and service. Who will, therefore, set boundaries to the action of a state enlightened and energised by the Christian conscience? It must not be forgotten that there may be an economic servitude with fetters rivetted by state action, worse than many a political servitude, and that the Christian conscience demands liberty for everyone to realise life in Christ in all its fulness. The Christian conscience and the church without in any way departing from or neglecting their own peculiar duties must have something to say, for example, on Mr. Webb's national minimum:—subsistence, leisure, sanitation, education. It cannot be silent, how much less idle, in the presence of widespread poverty with its accompanying ignorance, disease, and vice. It must protest against starvation wages, excessive hours of labour, insanitary conditions, darkened minds. It must quicken the state to deal with casual employment, enfeebled old age,

and crime that has become disease. The world no less than the conscience has been redeemed and it all belongs to Christ. Every Christian has been sent forth on a redemptive social mission. In short, the Christian conscience must energise the state into action until all states shall be an expression of the "fatherly monarchy of God and the fraternal obedience and service of men." It is a duty that it owes to itself, to the state, and to Him who is the Lord of both. For liberty it must return service, for service is the function and duty of liberty.

The Rev. William F. Slocum, D.D., LL.D., of Colorado Springs, Colorado, U.S.A., was the next speaker. He introduced the subject of "State and Religious Education."

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM FREDERICK SLOCUM, LL.D.

STATE AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

Every educational system ought to have at least the basis of religion in it. The soul is a unit; whatever influences it at all affects it religiously. "The intellect," "the moral nature," "the will," "the spiritual nature," are merely terms by which the various functions of the ego are characterized. The exact sciences may be so presented that they awaken a sense of the sublime, of the order of the universe, or even of its infinite creator. Or exactly the opposite effect may be produced by an inadequate, unscientific teacher whose first love is not for the truth, and a spirit of irreverence and distaste for true religion may be the outcome of his teaching. Hence the question arises at the outset of this discussion: Can the religious ideal be carried into any educational movement so that whether it is under the control of the state or upon a foundation independent of political control, the basis of religion will be laid in the mind?

Religion seeks always to command the whole nature of man. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength *is* the first and great commandment. The command "*Be ye perfect*" implies vastly more than the mere subjection of the function of the will. Perfection necessitates the full development of all the possibilities of soul and body. The creator seeks for the evolution of humanity to its ideal destiny, until it is perfect in accordance with the divine conception.

The attempt to relegate religious instruction to institutions which have limited ideals of man, foredooms it to partial failure at least. Obedience to a church or an educational foundation which admits nothing of value outside of itself must produce a limited type of humanity. Whatever is not against the truth is for it, and whoever casts evil out of the soul, even if he seems not to be following prescribed ways, is rendering service that is more Christ-like than is that of those who oppose him in the name of Jesus. The mighty and subtle purpose of God for humanity is broader, more far-reaching and universal than is usually thought, and He utilizes means and agencies that cannot be circumscribed within any ecclesiastical or political organization.

The larger faith with its optimistic outlook discovers the kingdom of God winning its conquests by means of everything that makes for the intellectual and ethical evolution of the race. The religious movement is so comprehensive, so universal, so large in its commanding purpose, that it lays hold of every agency and movement for good and says, "This is mine."

The term "secular" as applied to education has at times been used in so narrow a sense that it has caused the larger mission of education to be lost sight of, and its value minimized. The mere reading of the Bible and repetition of the Lord's Prayer in a schoolroom does not make the school religious any more than the committing to memory of a catechism or a creed in a church makes the church educational. Both religion and education are profounder movements than such superficial efforts imply.

In the conflict against scepticism, irreverence, irreligion and vice, the battle has often been so strenuous that a narrow and inadequate position has been taken for the sake of effectiveness. While latitudinarianism may be a danger, yet bigotry, sectarianism and dogmatism are greater perils in the evolution to a higher and more effective religious life.

It is possible that in the fear of the secularization of education, religious leaders will lose the spiritual value there is in many schools which, while they have no special denominational affiliations, are really training the moral nature and at least preparing it for what might and would be a religious life if the home and the church were doing their full duty.

The consciousness of God in the human soul is exceedingly comprehensive, and the evolution of that consciousness in the race as in the individual eventually must fashion all else. Development of the spiritual nature by truthful, accurate and scientific methods and training may be at least a preparation for this religious consciousness. Such education is not necessarily an awakening of the life of God in the heart, but it can be the bringing to life of the spiritual forces which ought to be dominated by the divine imperative if the commitment of the whole nature is absolute.

It is always a radical mistake for the leaders in a religious movement to antagonize an intellectual movement, simply on the ground that it is purely intellectual. The victory of religion as a motive and efficient force in human life cannot come from conflict with purely intellectual life. It is true here as elsewhere that they who take the sword shall perish by the sword. Attempts to place educational movements under the domination of sectarian, ecclesiastical or theological control have never produced the best results, either for education or religion. It can be said with equal potency that the arbitrary domination of either the church or the school by political authority has not resulted in the best for either the school or the church. Academic freedom and religious liberty are essential to the highest usefulness of both institutions. Moral and spiritual effectiveness and intellectual purity are all impaired by arbitrary application of authority of any kind.

Civilization has reached a point where it will not suffer any such domination. The centuries make for freedom. This is not the time to increase dogmatic, theological and sectarian authority over educational foundations. The stars in their courses are fighting against any such attempts. To do this would only place limitations

upon academic freedom, and so upon the largest and best intellectual life, and cannot, in the nature of things, secure the highest ethical or religious results. The trend of all that is best in the age is against such domination.

It cannot be that the world is to return to the philosophy of John Locke, with its dangerous conception of the human mind. Spontaneity, life and activity, and not passivity, are the normal attributes of the soul. Man can never realize his true, his highest self, under any system of education which treats his soul as a *tabula rasa* on which an arbitrary system is to write its dogmatic creed.

The tyranny of dogmatism in its various forms causes both irreligion and immorality. Germany would evolve higher religious and moral types if it would cease forcing upon the minds of its children by legal compulsion, a catechism containing many statements which no scholar believes. Is it not probable that France will develop better ethical ideals and a higher type of religion than it did when its schools remained directly under church rule?

If the contention so far made is correct, then the problem which confronts us is a very serious one, but full of great interest and fraught with matters of far-reaching importance for the future, not only of the church but of civilization. The question is raised: How are religion and morals to be inculcated, and especially in the schools?

The phase of the question which this paper is to discuss bears upon the functions of the state schools and of the institutions of learning that have been established on independent foundations.

That the state has a serious duty in the education of its children no one questions. There can be no stable basis for any commonwealth except in the wise, effective and broad training of its youth. But it requires careful consideration to find what the state can do for distinctly religious education. Thus far all it has accomplished in this direction has been inadequate and unsatisfactory; neither political power nor arbitrary authority has succeeded in making nations of individuals religious.

Still, much can be done by the state school to establish the basis of religion in the minds of students. If Boards of Control would demand not only that teachers they employ should have suitable pedagogical training, but that they be reverent, earnest and high minded, with a sense of personal responsibility for their students, a long step in advance would be made in the religious as well as the moral life of the youth; and the staunchest advocates of the entire separation of the so-called secular and religious education would uphold the authorities in making such demands. What a saving power such teachers have been in lower schools, in colleges and in universities many thousand of lives testify. They have worn no badge of church, but the church and the home owe them an immeasurable debt of gratitude.

After all has been said and done, however, the maintenance and development of religion in the life of a nation cannot come and never has come directly from education by the state.

Nowhere has this been attempted more thoroughly than in Germany. In Prussia every child must receive "instruction in religion" in school. The subject is prescribed by the regulations of the ministry to which all schools, public and private, are obliged to conform. In the eight years' course of the Volksschule more than 15% of the whole time is

given to instruction in the history and dogmas of religion; that is 1,280 hours. This is more than is given to the subject of arithmetic. In the gymnasium, the realgymnasium and the oberrealschule the prescription is the same. In the Fredrich's Gymnasium of Berlin nine out of its twenty-four instructors teach "religion," as it is expressed.

In fact, "religion" is the first-named subject in the school programme; it is studied throughout the entire course, the amount of time devoted to it varying somewhat, but it is always large. Only one subject, "the mother tongue," exceeds religion in its allotment in the schedule of studies. For the whole twelve years of the higher school education there must be a total of a little over 1,000 hours' instruction in religion, or about $8\frac{8}{9}\%$ of the whole time.

Professor Rein, the noted pedagogical writer, in support of this religious training in state schools, says: "It is an empty illusion to suppose that anyone, whether of the common people or higher rank, can be educated without the aid of religious motives." (Beitrage zur Weiterentwicklung der Religion, Munich, 1905, p. 302). Dr. Lentz, one of the directors, writes, "To remove religious instruction entirely out of the school and hand it over to the church would be to destroy the crown of all our school work, to rob it of its consecration and blessing." (Lentz, in Leitschrift fur Philosophie und Pädagogik, Vol. XII., No. 1, p. 30).

The idea of such men as Rein and Dörpfeld is that religious instruction is to be made the foundation and centre of the whole school. Moral instruction they insist is inadequate and lacks the best educative forces, "concreteness," "rich colour," "freshness of interest," etc.

Dörpfeld, the best known pedagogical writer, especially on the Volksschule, devotes one of his three volumes on special educational methods to religion, and in almost all of the statements put out by the various German states in regard to the aim of education they place the emphasis in the following order: religion, morals and patriotism.

The question which, however, is of interest in a consideration of the attempt to force the study of religion by law into schools under the jurisdiction of the state is: What is the result of such instruction? Does it really conserve religion in the lives of the people? Is it making the German nation pre-eminently a religious nation? Dr. Edward O. Sisson, in his article on "The Spirit and Value of Prussian Religious Instruction," does not hesitate to say that the very men who so highly praise religious instruction in the abstract, in not a few cases charge the present widespread irreligion and estrangement from the church to the religious teaching in the state schools. This is true in spite of the fact that the most thoroughly trained teacher in the world is the German. In no country is the instruction on so sound and philosophical a basis. "The secondary teachers of Germany have no peers. They are, without doubt, the finest body of teachers in the world," says one who has a right to utter such an opinion. (Dr. Hughes.)

A German scholar has said recently, "Religion as taught in the Berlin Gymnasium which I attended had nothing to do with life. Its teaching killed the religious spirit and did not encourage morality." "Many of the clergy," says another, "complain that religious instruction in the schools fails to reach the lives of the pupils."

Of course, it must be recognized, as Professor Paulson tells us, that an increasing number of the best trained teachers, especially in the

higher schools, are out of sympathy with the rigid orthodoxy of the course of study and disbelieve much that they are required to teach.

The conclusion that is forced upon us, is that the teaching of religion in the German schools has not made the nation religious. This conclusion does not mitigate against the pre-eminent leadership of the German educational system from its lowest forms up through its great universities. It only indicates that the development of personal religious life in the individual must come from elsewhere than state schools, and that the opinion that every German child must receive instruction in religion from teachers appointed by the state and controlled by the state has not been the force that has produced the real religious life we find in the German people.

It may be said that this failure comes from the fact that religious instruction is traditional, dogmatic, not to say uncritical. Certainly, one does find the severest criticism of it among the most thoughtful Germans themselves, many condemning it so strongly as to say that "religious instruction in German educational institutions harms rather than helps in the process of character-formation and the establishment of life principles." (Dr. E. O. Sisson.)

Slowly and definitely it is being recognized that it is not the function of the state to teach formal religion in school, college and university, and the history of the policy that assumes this function shows that such instruction cannot be successfully given under the dictation of arbitrary authority with prescribed laws and regulations. Pastor Ernest Bunk, speaking recently of the church losses in Germany, says that more than 12,000 defections took place in the year 1906 from the Evangelical Church over the whole country, and in 1907 in Berlin alone there were 4,000. Whatever the cause of this loss to the church may be, the significant fact is that the religious education in the schools is not preventing it.

Pure religion and undefiled comes to people in another manner. A change in the form of the dogmas taught in the German schools would only bring condemnation later on for new forms and methods. The normal religious life must have the elements of spontaneity and it is too fine, too spiritual to be put under the control of political domination. The mere commitment to memory of dogmatic creeds or even of the Scripture itself by arbitrary authority never has made individuals or nations religious.

This still leaves the pressing question, Where must one look for that definite, wise, helpful religious education which will make moral and spiritual leaders?

No class of institutions can assume the function of providing such leadership. Spiritual power and religious life are so subtle, so personal, so much the result of unseen forces that one cannot always tell whence they come and whither they go; but there are schools where the influence *is* pre-eminently religious, from which students have passed in large numbers to definite Christian service, and where the whole atmosphere helps to develop positive religious character.

The theological "college" or "seminary" has its definite professional educational purpose, which it is fulfilling with increased effectiveness, caused largely, no doubt, by the improvement along all lines of professional training. The monastic exclusiveness of theological education has been broken through by the demands of modern life, and the keen passion for scientific training in all professions has naturally driven university methods into the theological college, and is

inevitably drawing the divinity schools into the larger life of the university. The religious life of the divinity student must evolve with higher ideals of learning than it has had in the past. This is not only the hope of the profession, but it is essential for the life of the church.

So only will the church maintain, not to say recover, its place of pre-eminent leadership in the world of ideas and of action. What is needed just now is not so much a reconstruction in theology as a great intellectual and spiritual leadership which will dominate the world and command its entire respect.

In spite of the extent of the appalling failure of the home which all far-sighted people are deploring to-day, it holds true that no institution can equal it in its power to make a religious nation. It has the opportunity for positive, wholesome, continuous personal influence and training which is unsurpassed and which cannot be made good by any other organization or set of influences.

The Christian home has been the strongest factor in the evolution of the life and work of the past century; but on every side we hear it asked if the home as a distinct and potent religious educational factor has not largely ceased to be. If this is true the church which recognises the family as the moral basis of the state must use redoubled efforts to restore it to its place of authority in godliness and righteousness. Many now assert that the school and not the home is the great formative force in character. If there be truth in this, two things follow; the new century must look elsewhere than the home for its profoundest religious influences and its religious training must come from other sources.

The evolution of modern times requires trained men and women for the work in which science and philosophy are pressing their demands; the larger, broader, deeper religious life of the new century necessitates minds so trained that they can enter with commanding force and the power of leadership into the opportunity which religion is bringing to the youth of the Christian nations. A new era has come. Religion must be co-ordinated with the social, political and economic problems of this new day and generation. However far-reaching and valuable the service which the home has rendered in the last century, that service must be supplemented for the production of the necessary leadership of the new century. The world looks to its trained leadership in every department of human life as never before. The field of religion is not an exception, and it is not merely a trained ministry which is demanded. Every department of human life requires trained religious leadership. If Christianity is an applied science, who shall apply it to the present social, economic and political life in which society, commerce and politics present problems which can be solved only by scientific and philosophic minds? Until the press, the social order, industry and politics recognize the principles of Christianity as the true philosophy of human life, calamity hovers near. Who will say that the church is meeting its great opportunity presented in these times? Is it to rise to its large privilege? This new century will answer that question. To meet this opportunity the church must have a life vastly larger and profounder than it has had in the past. Great and devoted leaders must arise in every department of human affairs; men who will bear the religious ideal into every movement which makes for the higher and purer humanity, until strife shall cease and the golden rule shall be the working principle of

all human affairs, and the Sermon on the Mount shall indeed be the constitution of the new civilization.

Each century has opened new fields of conquest to the Christian. The first disciples passed on an enlarged work to the church fathers; the scholars of the early centuries formulated a theology upon which the church organized for its supreme task; the reformation won its battle for liberty and human government and found its conception of freedom in the right to worship God according to the dictates of one's own conscience. This led to the settlement of a new continent, and now the church is awakening to a vision of a Christianized world; but the hardest problem of all times awaits us in the new era. Life was never so complicated; the social and political problem never so difficult. Still never did the years have more of promise than now, but Christian philosophy and Christian ethics must be applied to present-day problems or disaster and pain are before the people of the earth. Justice and peace interpreted by the life and teaching of Jesus are the only hope of the nations. Who is to bear the evangel of this twentieth century into human affairs?

Is there any institution which can train leaders for the largest, the most serious and important, the most difficult movement of all the centuries?

Is there a foundation in the educational system to which the Christian world can look for the production of religious leadership? When the home, the church, the school have all contributed their share, there still remains undone a distinct work of training for that leadership of which we have been speaking.

There is one institution which seems specially fitted for this mission; I refer to the college, as distinguished from the university: from its past history, its organization, its prerogatives, its educational ideals, it is adapted for this high mission.

In this it is aided by its undergraduate courses; its mixture of required and elective work; its years of disciplinary studies, whose purpose is both intellectual and moral. It more than any other institution emphasizes the value of learning for its own sake, and advocates always a broad preparation of the student for life rather than merely for a special profession, hence it is pre-eminently fitted to send out men ready for religious leadership.

Both England and America have turned to their colleges for the training of their religious and ethical leaders. As a rule, these colleges were founded and have been maintained for this purpose. Unless recreant to their trusts they are fulfilling the greatest of all missions in the movement for higher education. The fact that 65% of the candidates for service under the American Board in the past decade and a half have come from the smaller colleges of the United States is a most significant fact.

There are, however, one or two things that should be emphasized strongly, if the needed religious leadership is to come in still greater measure from these colleges. The time has gone when they should be dominated by any sect. Their value to the church will be great only as they have that same liberty which is the genius of the Congregational and Independent Churches. Academic freedom is as sacred as is ecclesiastical, and a sectarian college is a misnomer. If the price set by the Congregational churches for their sympathy with these institutions is sectarian control, then it is too expensive a price for these colleges to pay. Just as the churches with independent

blood in their veins, they must be left untrammelled for the sacred work to which they are called.

The control of these colleges must not be from without but at the centre of the institutions themselves. They ought not, in the nature of things, to be forced to teach any special creed, but all the more they can, and in many cases they do, stand for the highest and most aggressive religious and ethical life. Had the colleges from which the strength of the church has come in the past been under the narrowing domination of any church board, they could not have been such a power for staunch, vigorous, effective, vital Christian influence throughout the world as they have been.

When this has been said in regard to the mission of the college, it must be also kept in mind that the home and the church have a vastly more serious duty and privilege than ever before. They will both find their mission only as they rise to the obligations that the present brings them. Their work is not less than in the past but greater. The greatest need in state, in church, in the world of commerce and politics, is trained, eager, wise Christian leadership; men and women who see the truth, feel its power and its mission, and who will consecrate themselves entirely to it.

The production of such leadership must be the result of scholarship, of scientific training, of an education in which pre-eminence is given to service and character; in which the religious ideal of human life dominates all else; and in which men are fitted, trained, and equipped to love truth and righteousness for their own sakes and to use them for the betterment of humanity because God commands it and because it is the rational end of all human action.

Mr. T. McKinnon Wood, LL.D., D.L., M.P., of London, followed. He dealt with "The Contribution of Congregationalism to Civic Life."

ADDRESS BY MR. T. MCKINNON WOOD, LL.D., D.L., M.P.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF CONGREGATIONALISM TO CIVIC LIFE

Dr. Dale, in his "History of Congregationalism," draws a distinction between the terms "Congregationalist" and "Independent." It is with the Independent side of Congregationalism that I have to deal.

It will not be possible throughout my paper, without being tedious, always to distinguish Congregationalists from other Free Church denominations. In their civic position the Baptists are as much Independents as the Congregationalists, and, in many of the great civic struggles to which I shall have to refer, the Protestant Dissenters stood together and suffered, or slowly won their freedom, as one body.

I rejoice at what has been accomplished during the last few years to consolidate the Free Churches. I like the phrase "the Free Churches." It is a phrase of happy significance. Giving up no whit of their independence they are gaining strength by association. Their influence upon the life of the nation is incalculably increased—by which I do not

mean influence in party politics but the influence which it is their duty to exert on great moral and social questions. I earnestly hope and believe that their union will increase their power of promoting in harmony and with concentration of effort that wider work that is to be done by churches going out of themselves and aggressively attacking social and moral evils and difficulties, attracting and influencing those outside the sphere of their regular traditional work by means of new and varied agencies.

I like, also, the phrase the "Nonconformist Conscience," and it never hurts me when it is spoken with a sneer. It is a tribute to a force whose moral and civic importance even opponents recognise. And I may add this, that I am hopeful that in such a matter as the Licensing Bill, and after that in other moral questions, men will feel that they have to reckon with a force even wider, which may be called the "conscience of the churches."

But I shall be asked what special claim do I make for Independency. What is its special contribution to the civic development of the nation?

This, I think, may be claimed for Independency—that it has stood in the van of the Free Churches in one respect. Earliest of all and most completely it developed the idea of perfect Religious Liberty, of Toleration of Opinion, the vital condition of growth, and most distinctly of all it defined the limits of the true spheres of Church and State, and asserted the absolute spiritual independence of the citizens.

It would be work of very deep interest to trace the development in purity and completeness of the Independent idea in its relation to civic life, from the days of the Brownists through the brief but brilliant period of the political ascendancy of the Independents, through a century and a half of social, political and civic inferiority and disability, to the present day. But the canvas is not large enough for the picture.

No doubt it would be historically inaccurate to claim that the early Independents had entered into the full ideal of religious liberty. The battle against the ecclesiastical and political supremacy claimed by Rome was too recent. They were engaged in fighting the claims, not in their essence dissimilar, made by the Protestant prelacy. Even by arms some of them were prepared to establish the rule of the Saints. But the true seed was early planted by the best of the Independents. The harvest has been widely spread. In the great American Republic, in the vast areas of the British Colonies, the idea of religious equality is universal. It has pervaded the thought of the world; everywhere, if not finally triumphant, it is influential.

In the history of Toleration of Opinion in the seventeenth century two names stand out from all others—those of the great Independents, John Robinson and John Milton, and of these Robinson was the earlier. These two men, in their best hours, laid down the principles from which we have learned the doctrines of freedom of thought and civic equality.

Robinson, the pastor of the church of English exiles at Leyden, from which went forth the Pilgrim Fathers, was a man of gentle and manly piety, of sound learning and a noble breadth of thought. How much above and beyond the thought of his age are his famous words of farewell to the Pilgrim Fathers.

I take his words, and, after his, Milton's, as the texts for my paper. They breathe the large mind of Congregationalism. I admit they are long texts, but I do not apologise for that. They will be the best

part of the paper. It would not always be a misfortune if the text was longer and the sermon shorter.

"I charge you," said Robinson, "before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow the Lord Jesus Christ. If God reveal anything to you by any other instrument of his, be as ready to receive it as you were to receive any truth by my ministry, for I am verily persuaded the Lord hath more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. For my part, I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of those reformed churches which are come to a period in religion and will go, at present, no further than the instruments of their reformation. The Lutherans cannot be drawn to go beyond what Luther saw. Whatever part of his will our God has revealed to Calvin, they will rather die than embrace it; and the Calvinists, you see, stick fast where they were left by that great man of God, who yet saw not all things. This is a misery much to be lamented. For though, in their times, they were precious shining lights, yet had God not revealed his whole will to them. Were they now living, they would be as ready and willing to embrace further light as that they had received."

John Milton, with an even wider theme, pleading for the liberty of Unlicensed Printing, rises to the height of his great argument when he refuses to allow that any authority should set itself up as a censor of thought, and pleads as example God's method of leaving man free to choose between good and evil. "For God sure esteems the growth and compleating of one vertuous person, more than the restraint of ten vitious."

"Truth, indeed, came once into the world with her Divine Master, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on; but when he ascended, and his Apostles after him were laid asleep, then strait arose a wicked race of deceivers, who as that story goes of the Ægyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris, took the Virgin Truth, hewd her lovely form into a thousand peeces, and scattered them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of Truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, Lords and Commons, nor shall ever doe, till her Master's second comming; he shall bring together every joynt and member, and shall mould them into an immortall feature of loveliness and perfection."

"There be who perpetually complain of schisms and sects, and make it such a calamity that any man dissents from their maxims. 'Tis their own pride and ignorance which causes the disturbing, who neither will hear with meekness, nor can convince, yet all must be suppresst which is not found in their Syntagma. They are the troublers, they are the dividers of unity, who neglect and permit not others to unite those dissevered pieces which are yet wanting to the body of Truth. To be still searching what we know not, by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it (for all her body is homogeneal, and proportionall) this is the golden rule in Theology as well as in Arithmetick, and makes up the best harmony in a church; not the forc't and outward union of cold, and neutrall, and inwardly divided minds."

From these noble ideas, so nobly expressed,—root ideas of Independency,—follow necessarily the whole of our ecclesiastical, civil and political positions.

Grant these ideas and man stands free, admitting no other man to stand between him and his Maker. His moral and religious responsibility is not weakened. His personal responsibility is emphasized; is put in the strongest light. He can therefore admit no priestly class as

his spiritual directors. The authority of churches may claim his respect, even his reverence, but not his servile obedience. He calls no man master—save God only. His church is a congregation of the Faithful, small or large, voluntarily met together because of common thoughts, for a common worship, and I hope more and more to be associated in common social effort. The State rules him in temporal and secular affairs, but no further; and in his view it has no word to say as to the religious conscience and beliefs of its subjects.

These men were fighting, though they did not all of them realize it, not only for spiritual freedom, but for intellectual freedom, for unrestricted liberty of thought. They were fighting no less for civic equality—self-government in the church was bound to lead to self-government in the State. Well did the Stuarts know that. The thought was too fine for the age. Neither Presbyterian nor Prelatist would accept it. It was too high for many of the early Independents themselves. Generations of reaction followed.

But the fire was lighted never to be wholly extinguished. The principles of Robinson and Milton have spread through all the Free Churches. They have penetrated denominations which were not originally based upon them. They have made their way even into the Established Church. They have triumphed in the government of the State and the civic development of the nation; but they still have work to do. We do not speak as having already attained or as being already perfect.

For a century and a-half the conscientious Nonconformist was a person of limited civic rights—only half a citizen. From the death of Cromwell till the nineteenth century, the Congregationalist in England had to hold his religious independence at the price of grave civic disabilities. The Corporation Act, the Act of Uniformity, the Conventicle Act, the Five Mile Act, the Test Act, the Schism Act were passed to maintain the civic superiority of the Established Church. Their effect was to prevent the conscientious Nonconformists from holding magistracies, from taking their part in municipal government, from holding commissions in the Army and Navy, from sharing the full advantages of the ancient seats of learning. At Oxford subscription was required from every undergraduate. At Cambridge this was not so, but there also the Nonconformist could not take his degree or hold a fellowship or any office in a college. He could not become a fellow of the College of Physicians or the College of Surgeons. He could not be a Director of the great Corporate Companies, such as the Bank of England, the Indian or Russian or Turkish Companies, though his fortune might be invested in their stocks. He could not even be an Exciseman or Customs House official unless he took the Sacrament. Yet, curiously enough, he could be a Member of Parliament and he possessed the franchise. If the Dissenter accepted any of the protected offices and still refused to qualify by taking the Anglican Sacrament, he could be fined and imprisoned and "placed almost beyond the protection of the law." He was disabled from bringing an action in law, from being a guardian to a child, or an executor, or from receiving a legacy. In 1745, when the House of Hanover was in serious danger, a great body of Protestant Dissenters took arms for its defence. "Their reward," says Lecky, "was a special Act of Grace pardoning them for the offence they had committed." *

* Lecky, in his "History of England in the Eighteenth Century," deals very fully and impartially with the whole subject.

When, in 1787 and 1789, Mr. Beaufoy moved the House of Commons to repeal these Acts, he spoke as a Churchman, and vigorously denounced a system which was a direct inducement to perjury and a profanation of the Sacrament. He pointed out that the most sacred rite of the Church was made a test of qualification for gaugers and tax-gatherers, and that a clergyman was bound to administer it to the most evil liver or profane person who desired to qualify for any office.

Dean Swift, a vigorous supporter of the test, writes in his "Journal to Stella": "I was early with the Secretary but he is gone to his devotions and to receive the Sacrament. Several rakes did the same. It was not for piety but employment, according to Act of Parliament."

It even became the custom for the clergyman to ask the "legal communicants" as Lecky calls them, to divide themselves from those who came purely for the sake of devotion.

No wonder that Cowper wrote :—

> Hast thou by statute shoved from its design
> The Saviour's feast, his own blest bread and wine,
> And made the symbols of atoning grace
> An office key, a picklock to a place,
> That infidels may make their title good
> By an oath dipped in sacramental blood?

One of the strangest uses to which the laws against the Dissenters were put was an invention of the Corporation of the City of London. In 1748 the Corporation made a bye-law, imposing a fine of four hundred pounds and twenty marks on any person who "being nominated by the Lord Mayor for the office of Sheriff refused to stand the election of the Common Hall," and of six hundred pounds on one who, being elected, refused to serve. The proceeds of these fines were to be employed in building a new Mansion House. To fill the office of Sheriff it was necessary to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Anglican Church. It became the practice to select wealthy and conscientious Nonconformists, who were then objected to and fined, and no less a sum than £15,000 was thus extorted.

In vain William of Orange tried to abolish the Test Act. He could only carry an Act of Toleration, which permitted Dissenters to worship in their own chapels with the doors open. The annual Indemnity Acts, the first of which was passed in 1727, to be followed by a similar Act every year with a few exceptions for a whole century, till the repeal of the Test Act in 1828, enabled many Dissenters to serve on Corporations and in other offices, but it was a grudging and inadequate and insulting protection. The Indemnity Act only purported to relieve those who had omitted to qualify "through ignorance of the law, absence or unavoidable accident." Many conscientious Nonconformists refused to avail themselves of this transparent subterfuge, which Lord North called a "mental fraud," and it was always open to opponents to give notice before the election that the dissenting candidate had not qualified, and that objection rendered his election invalid. So ignominious was the civic position of the Dissenter.

Worst of all, control of the education of his children was denied him. The doctrine of the sacred right of the parent to have his children taught in his own faith had not then occurred to the Church

of England. It was urged in vain for generations by the Nonconformist. It was not quite the same doctrine, for he held it in a humbler spirit. He never thought of claiming that the State should provide his religious instruction. He only asked for liberty to provide it himself, to set up his own schools and academies, and pay his own teachers.

But that elementary right was denied him. Nonconformist teachers were made subject to fine and outlawry. The claim of the Church was nothing less than absolute control of education throughout the kingdom. Ignorance was held a less evil than schism.

It was only so recently as 1871 that the full privileges of the English Universities were granted to Nonconformists. It was only in 1868 that compulsory church rates were abolished, after an agitation of nearly forty years. It is only eighty years since the Test and Corporation Acts were repealed, and even then a declaration was required that the holder of office would do nothing to injure the Established Church, "or to disturb it in the possession of those rights and privileges to which it is by law entitled." This last vestige of the old system only disappeared in 1866.

I think we may honestly claim that the Congregationalists have fought the battle of freedom in a broad, tolerant and catholic spirit. They have fought for equality, not for ascendency. They have shown their respect for other opinions from which they strongly differ. The two cases I should like to refer to reflect honour, not upon Congregationalists alone, but upon the whole body of Nonconformists.

One of the most interesting events in the civic history of the Nonconformists was their action in the time of James II. in regard to his famous Declaration of Indulgence. That would have given great relief to Protestant Dissenters as well as Roman Catholics. The bribe was a splendid one: the temptation almost irresistible. But the Nonconformists were true to their principles of civic freedom. The Declaration was no Act of a responsible Parliament, but an Act of absolutism by the sovereign, and the Protestant Dissenters were found refusing to free themselves from unjust fetters by unconstitutional means. They were among the supporters of the seven Bishops. They preferred to continue to wear their bonds rather than betray the liberties of the nation.

So in the time of Charles II. the Dissenters objected to the Declaration of Indulgence by the King, and one of them, Alderman Love, of the City of London, declared that they "would rather see the Dissenters suffer by the rigour of the law than see all the laws of England trampled under the foot of the Prerogative." Great and patriotic words. Every Dissenting Member of Parliament displayed the same true and lofty spirit of citizenship.

It may be said that some of them were then influenced by another motive: their strong Protestant feeling. But, to their honour, when the time came to fight the battle of Catholic Emancipation, the growing influence of Nonconformity was exerted on the side of freedom. When the Catholic Relief Bill was carried in 1829 Daniel O'Connell acknowledged their help. "I stand here," he said, "in the name of my country to express our gratitude, in feeble but sincere language, for the exertions made in our behalf by our Protestant Dissenting Brethren."

Congregationalists have always been deeply interested in education. It was their cherished tradition to maintain a learned ministry, and they produced many men of high intellectual attainments.

It is an interesting fact that the first school for the poor of which I know,—founded not for the purpose of educating the children of one denomination or for the purpose of teaching the doctrines of one denomination, but upon an entirely unsectarian basis,—was the school founded in 1687 at Nathaniel Vincent's Congregational Church in Southwark. But the penal laws ruthlessly stamped out such efforts.

In 1808 some leading Dissenters, among whom were prominent Congregationalists, took over the famous school of Lancaster the Quaker, and a few years later the effort resulted in the "British and Foreign School Society," founded to teach children of all denominations. The Bible was to be read, but no catechism was to be taught. "The National Society for promoting the education of the poor in the principles of the Church of England" was founded soon after the initiation of this effort as a rival organisation. The same argument was used as we hear to-day that no religious teaching of children is possible save upon a dogmatic and denominational basis.

In the year 1807 occurred an event that is generally forgotten, but which was of extraordinary significance in the educational history of England.

The first attempt was made to introduce the principle of State Education in Whitbread's Parochial Schools Bill, which proposed to create schools in every parish, supporting them by the rates. The teachers were to be appointed by the magistrates. This bill passed the Commons without a division, but when it reached the Lords it was opposed by the Archbishop of Canterbury on the ground that the provisions of the bill left little or no control to the minister in his parish. This would go to "subvert the first principles of education in this country which had hitherto been and he trusted would continue to be under the control and auspices of the Establishment, and their lordships would feel how dangerous it might be to innovate in such matters. Their lordships' prudence would no doubt guard against innovations that might shake the foundations of our religion." How often has that speech been delivered.

Through this obscurantist action of the Archbishop and of the Lords it was sixty-three years before a national system of education was established.

From beginning to end of the long struggle for a national system of education, the difficulty has been the same, the persistent claim for clerical domination, for selection of the teachers upon denominational lines.

To this principle the Congregationalists were resolutely opposed. When Lord Brougham's Education Bill of 1820 was found to contain the condition that the teachers were to be members of the Church of England, recommended by the clergyman of the parish, and required to qualify for their office by receiving the Lord's Supper at church within a month previous to their application, the Dissenters vigourously and successfully opposed the bill.

In 1839 Lord Melbourne's Government proposed a measure with a strong Liberal tendency. It was intended to increase the grants by £10,000 a year and to establish a Normal School for the training of teachers, in which the Bible was to be read every day, but denominational religious instruction was to be given at special times by ministers of religion who had no place on the college staff. It was to be open to every one, irrespective of creed. The grants were to be administered by a Committee of the Privy Council. This proposal

was bitterly opposed on behalf of the church: the Congregationalists supported the Government. Disraeli denounced the principle of State Education, and declared that its effects were to be seen in the East in the stagnation of China and in the West in the stagnation of Austria, "the China of Europe."

The scheme was destroyed, and in 1843 Sir James Graham announced a proposal for the education of pauper children and of children working in factories. But it was soon apparent that the bill would give the Church complete control. The parish clergyman was to be chairman of the managing body, the clergy were to control the religious instruction, the teachers were all to be approved by the Bishop, and the children were to attend a service of the Established Church every Sunday. The Dissenters were thoroughly aroused. Petitions containing two millions of signatures were presented against the bill, and it was withdrawn.

These events brought many of the Congregationalists to despair of the possibility of a national system, and some leading men went so far as to argue that education was outside the province of the State. But happily this doctrine of despair was vigorously opposed by such men as Dr. Vaughan, of Lancashire College; by Henry Rogers, of Spring Hill; and by Thomas Binney, who exerted a wide influence in the country; and the Congregationalists came to be among the strongest supporters of a national system. Their demand has thenceforward been consistent. They demand a national system and complete religious equality.

More and more I believe, despite political and ecclesiastical difficulties which I cannot overlook, the country is coming to feel that the interest of education must be the preponderating interest to be considered in this controversy, that sectional interests must give way to the national interest. Men of all parties and creeds are conscious that religion and education are both suffering Those who are engaged in the actual work of education as administrators and teachers are earnestly pressing for a settlement, and I am grateful to the leaders of the Church and Nonconformity who are labouring to that end. I approach this question without a vestige or shadow of hostility to any church, but with the earnest hope that the time may be near at hand when men of every creed may see their way to join hands with the sole object of serving the children of the nation.

My last word is this: Independency includes a civic as well as an ecclesiastical policy. I think that I may fairly claim that in England, in America, and in the Colonies it is still true to the large-minded and far-reaching doctrines of Robinson and Milton. Its task was not light or easy or to be speedily accomplished. Churches and States have been slow to adopt its civic principles.

"Let it not grieve you," wrote a Congregationalist in England to a friend among the Pilgrim Fathers then suffering from many hardships in the new colony, "that you have been instrumental to break the ice for others. The honours shall be yours to the world's end."

No less lasting honours are to be paid to those generations of Independents at home who, rising superior to the bribe of power and the allurements of social prestige, suffering wrong, contempt and disability, fought with unwearied constancy in the very forefront of the battle for that full measure of liberty, religious and civic, which was their noble ideal. Theirs has been no mean contribution to the civic life of the nation and the world.

EVENING SESSION

Mr. John Massie, M.A., D.D., M.P., presided in the evening over a largely-attended public gathering held to deal with the subject of "Religious Liberty."

After the singing of the hymn, "Lord, while for all mankind we pray," etc., the Rev. G. Ellery Reid, of Sherbrooke, Canada, offered prayer.

The Rev. R. J. Wells announced with regret that the Rev. Dr. Ross was ill, and so unable to be present.

Address by the Chairman

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a very pleasant thing to me to be reminded in this concrete way of a memorable time in Boston about nine years ago, memorable specially to me because pleasure and profit were conferred upon me in those meetings in generous and forgiving return for my infliction of a paper on the Assembly. I hope I may be permitted, in this my only opportunity, to offer my hearty contribution to the warm welcome which is being here given to our friends from all parts of the world, and not least, to the representatives of those who were so hospitable to us at Boston, and who are now conferring upon us the favour of their inspiring presence.

Our subject to-night is religious freedom, the struggle for it in England where the marks of the fetters are still upon us. It was to have been also, but for the unfortunate illness of Dr. Ross, the struggle for it in Scotland, where my impression is that the marks are somewhat fainter and less discernible; and the working of religious freedom in America, where there are no fetters at all, and no marks, nothing in fact but borrowed reflections of them, and where before man as before God all religions can stand upright in manly equality, and therefore in full freedom and unimpaired dignity. I know that in America there is a certain self-exaltation on the part of certain members of a certain not very large church, self-complacency inherited from the dominance of its mother, who casts her shadow over the whole English-speaking race, till some ill-informed writers in something like Pan-Anglican jargon speak of the Church of the Empire. And we have been told that our gracious, and in this particular respect entirely innocent monarch, not long ago presented a notable Bible to the Church of America. And bishops and archbishops have made pilgrimages, passionate, and I hope also dispassionate, dropping hasty generalisations as to how many of the defects of America would be remedied if only she were blessed with an Established Church. Well, America can afford to smile at this insular ingenuousness. She is proudly conscious that her Church is absolutely Catholic, made up of the Christians of all her Churches joined together in spiritual flesh and blood with the congregation of faithful people all over the world, not limited by any material bonds of state connection, and therefore in

unfettered alliance with all Christians, even as the spirit itself is unfettered. Sometimes, I admit, we look with wistful apprehensiveness across the water lest Anglomania and the respect of persons lend themselves hereafter to the accentuation of ecclesiastical pretensions and schisms. But it is not for long that we are apprehensive. We soon recover ourselves in the profound confidence that the experience and grasp which America has of religious freedom will stand her in good stead as proof against such declension.

In touching upon that point I do not think I am likely to have trenched upon the province of any subsequent speaker, and if I touch upon another I think I shall be equally guileless of encroachment. The great cry in politics over here is for social reform. That cry is amply justified by facts. But it is false, it is merely demagogic, to go about from platform to platform and proclaim that the interests of the people have hitherto been neglected, and that the wisdom of social life lies with the talkers of to-day. If any reasonable being will only study past history, more especially history recently past, he will at once repudiate that partisan assertion. But vast and far-reaching reforms in town and in country, in land and in housing, in temperance and in education, are long overdue, and it is a hard and almost hopeless task for a Government, however honest and however earnest, to carry these into effect against the gigantic power of the interests that block the way. It is because those interests are united that they are strong. We need union in order that we may strive against them, and we need self-restraint that the whole army may march forward together, step by step, and there must be no wrecking of the piece by playing to the gallery. But this overpowering desire for social reform, this absorption of interest in the endeavour to raise the standard of living among the people, and the impracticable work of some who go about trying to go one better than the Government, all these have one salient danger. In the stampede for the advancement of material comfort, ideals stand in danger of being trodden under foot; and ideals are the food of genuine reform. To me at any rate, if I may intrude my personality upon you for a moment, it is a matter of regret that many friends of labour, commonly so-called, are concentrating their effort upon the problem of poverty and of raising the standard of material comfort. My word to them, if I may venture to offer one, is this: this ought ye to do, and not to leave the other undone. I am in some fear that those whose eyes are too exclusively fixed on justice to poverty will allow justice to religion to fade out of the field of their vision. For example, Nonconformity, the embodiment of the protest against state-endowed and state-patronised and state-regulated religion, Nonconformity is regarded by many of our labour friends—and I can truly say, often our labour allies—as middle-class, and therefore to be identified largely with the employer, and therefore to be part of the host of the enemy, even though Nonconformist members of Parliament may all be social reformers, and Nonconformist ministers and Nonconformist workers are pioneers of mercy in the slums. And then there are clergymen, enthusiastic clergymen, not a few who are dabbling in Socialism, and thus attract Socialistic sympathy to the Church to which they belong, and the injustice of the position of that Church is thus largely ignored, and the movement to remedy that injustice pooh-poohed. Socialists say, What does it matter whether religion is established or not. They just see one red spot, the red spot of material inequality, and they think it is not worth while to extend their view further. But it is

worth while. You cannot play fast and loose with the great principles of justice and equality to whatever region they may be applied. And surely these gentlemen might at any rate see, might at any rate remember that privileged ecclesiasticism and privileged territorialism, the privileged vested interests of all kinds have always pulled together, and the exceptions have not told against the rule. Are they so swallowed up in the degradation of the towns that they have no vision left for the social and ecclesiastical repression in our villages? Time fails me, and properly fails me as chairman, to enter into further detail, to give you illustrations of what I mean, or to produce evidence of what I have said. I simply desire this evening to leave this thought with you. I am inclined to fear that the justifiable pressure for social reform, the justifiable concentration of effort to raise the ordinary standard of comfort in this country is crushing into the background the struggle for justice in religion. And I am sure that for the sake of the passion for the advancement of one class, we cannot thrust back the consideration due to all classes. And I am sure that social reform can be no sufficient substitute for even-handed justice, nor can it fitly claim to monopolise political righteousness.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. A. E. Dunning, D.D., of Brooklyn, Mass., Editor of the *Boston Congregationalist*, to address the meeting.

Dr. Dunning, before giving his address, remarked that it was safe to say that the topic assigned to him would never have been needed in an assembly of churches in his own country. The Chairman had anticipated the introduction to this paper, and in better form of words than he (Dr. Dunning) should have ventured to make. "We have inherited," the speaker added, "the liberty for which many of our brethren are still struggling, and the information which I bring in this paper is mainly for expert uses. I trust my brethren from America will endorse what I shall say from their own experience of the Free Church idea in America."

ADDRESS BY REV. DR. DUNNING

THE ACTION OF FREE CHURCH PRINCIPLES IN AMERICA

The Free Church idea in America is the church and the state existing together in complete independence of each other, each possessing equal sovereign rights in its own sphere. Every religious body is thus left free to organize and administer its own affairs, without dictation, restraint or aid from the civil government, so far as it does not trespass on the rights of citizens of the Republic or aliens under its protection. Under these conditions all forms of ecclesiastical government exist, from the absolute monarchy whose subordinate rulers are appointed and directed by the Vatican at Rome to the absolute independence of the local voluntary association meeting to discuss religious subjects proposed by its members. Each and all these

organizations are equal before the civil law, entitled to full protection, free to cultivate and teach what they believe. This in America is the free church in a free state.

The distinctively Congregational idea of the free church in America is a spiritual democracy based on spiritual character and life in its members, begun and nurtured through union with Jesus Christ, owning no superior, other than him, in authority over their faith—he the one Master and all brethren. Only Christ through the renewing agency of the Holy Spirit can make any one fit for the fellowship with him which constitutes such a spiritual democracy. Any person's fitness for such fellowship can be determined only by his peers, who claim the renewed character which qualifies them and him for this fellowship. There can be no court of appeal from their judgment but Christ the judge of every man and the head of his church. No civil authority can put any person into a free church or take any person out of it, or order the method of his worship or prescribe the ecclesiastical government of his church. This is the Congregational idea.

The ideal at which Congregationalism in America aims is a body politic whose twin forces of government shall be free churches on one hand and free civil institutions on the other, mutually independent, yet mutually supporting each other in efforts to realize the divine ideal in society. This is the kingdom of Christ on earth, in and among us now, yet always future. The life of his church consists in realizing and in seeking this ideal. The ecclesiastical and civil freedom already attained, so far as its meaning has been learned, has been reached through the experiments, mistakes, courageous and laborious efforts of our fathers, who learned experience through the things which they suffered, with thought, prayer, self-sacrifice, patience, not as though they had already attained, but pressing forward toward the ideal ever emerging more clearly into view. Much progress toward it has been made now that the conviction has come to prevail not only that each generation but each denomination of believers has some part to contribute for the common work to the common end, so that instead of contention among sects, there is coming to be co-operation in confidence that our Lord will triumph, "till we all attain unto the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a full grown man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

Briefly stated, then, our free church principles are, freedom from outside control; the universal priesthood of believers, all equal before their Redeemer and King; the progress of society toward his perfected kingdom, and the proclaiming of this good news to all mankind.

In describing the action of these principles in America we must point first of all to the revival in our time of the primitive conception of the Kingdom of God, that the value of the individual in it is measured by his willingness to serve all men, and his interest in serving. Jesus expressed it when he said, "If any man would be first he shall be servant of all," and of himself, "I am in the midst of you as he that serveth." Paul expressed it when he said, "We are members one of another"; and of himself, "I am debtor both to Greeks and to barbarians, both to the wise and to the foolish." This principle has emerged in our generation as a new gospel. The saying of Aristotle, "Unus homo, nullus homo," is being translated into the saying, "The self-made man belongs to an extinct species." No man can be made without the service of many, and no man is worth

making except that he may serve in making many. We still hear echoes of the preaching which would compel men to strive for heaven by fleeing from human society as Bunyan's Christian fled from the City of Destruction with his fingers in his ears. But this preaching in its strongest affirmation has the sound of an echo of the past, and it is everywhere met by protests which no longer can be dismissed as heresy or opposed as irreligion. "A single life," says Professor Wallace, "may find salvation for itself, but it may be doubted whether such salvation is worth the trouble."

A change has taken place in prevalent ideas of human society and of the relation of the individual to it, which is often compared to the transition from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican system of astronomy. The earth was once regarded as the centre around which the sun, moon and stars moved. Now this earth is known to be a world whose place is in a vast astronomic order to whose laws its orbit must conform. The individual man has ceased to be regarded as for himself the centre around which the social order moves, and the purpose of his being is seen to be, to adjust himself to the social body so as to secure the greatest good of all the individuals composing it. We are in the midst of a nation-wide, perhaps of a world-wide revival of the sense of social responsibility, of the duty of serving in the family, the neighbourhood, the state, the nation, the world. Philanthropy in all forms has come to be regarded as heroism. It goes beyond the church, even passes by it, organizes itself into social settlements, clubs, trade unions, militant orders to regenerate society. It takes possession of legislatures, and becomes the rallying cry of political parties to such an extent that they find it difficult to create any great opposing party issues. Our President Roosevelt preaches this modern interpretation of Christianity. The candidates for his office vie with one another in following his example, and an army of lesser lights reflect the glory of their message of self-sacrifice in service. Never before were there so many preachers of the Christian gospel in America as now, nor so many platforms which are used as pulpits, not for priests, but for prophets, according to the Congregational, not the Episcopal theory. A new enthusiasm has been let loose in the nation, and the vital question is, who shall direct it, and to what results in a renewed society?

Our Christian churches, awakening somewhat slowly to the fervour and force of this great social movement, are in the process of adjusting themselves to it. They are perplexing themselves with questions, such as these:

Should they adapt the Bible to the modern social message, or insist that the social message shall conform to the traditional interpretation of the Bible? Should they recognize these new social organizations as allies, or tolerate them as having a partial mission for good, or oppose them unless they acknowledge the supremacy of the church? Should they assume to be inspired and infallible custodians of the faith once delivered to the saints, and set forth formulas which must be accepted as tests of co-operation in extending it, or should they seek in the current life of service for men enlarged revelations of its character, to be adopted into the life of the church?

In this situation churches congregationally governed have a peculiar opportunity. They are complete units in a fellowship of ecclesiastical freedom. Without any binding creed, they are drawn together by a common faith manifested in life, the life of the Spirit in the

individual and in the church. Holding their own titles to their places of worship and the homes of their pastors, they cannot be dispossessed by any faction which may temporarily control the majority of votes of the denomination. The institutions of learning they have planted have been committed to trustees, without denominational control, in the conviction that no kind of valuable knowledge is the peculiar property of any sect, and that leaders in the search for it cannot be either wisely stimulated or directed by anchoring them to the creed of a past age, or fencing them within the field in which a new one is being constructed. The societies through which these churches carry on their common work of evangelization and benevolence are administered by boards chosen, or at least nominated by representatives of the churches, but practically free from their dictation; and by officials, agents and missionaries mainly appointed by these boards. And it is believed by many of us that the connection between the churches and their world wide work will be more vital by keeping an immediate relation between the givers and the recipients, and using promptly the money contributed rather than by accumulating funds in order to depend mainly on income from permanent investments. Thus the living church is free from the grip of the dead hand. In times like the present it is not compelled to cry out in distress, "Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?"

Our congregationally governed churches are also free from the spirit of irritation which belongs with the fear of compulsion in expressions of belief, forms of fellowship and methods of service. Some among us hold with strong conviction that the unchanging God revealed himself fully and finally in ancient times, and that this revelation of himself is adequately and completely recorded in the Old and New Testaments. Others among us are as strongly convinced that the substance of the ancient faith is to be appropriated in new forms in the environment of new knowledge; that the final word of God to his children is not yet spoken, in that the faith once delivered to the saints is still being delivered to and through his children. Some among us would limit their Christian fellowship to those who agree with them in the main definitions of faith, fearing lest by apparent recognition of some error as revealed truth they may lead some astray. Others among us would willingly work with those who evidently love Jesus Christ and serve him, though their conception of his person and mission may differ from ours. We would treat them as Priscilla and Aquila treated Apollos when "they took him unto them and expounded unto him the way of God more accurately." Some among us even hope that Apollos may have some valuable knowledge to impart to us.

There are those in our body who find their greatest satisfaction in methods of worship and service hallowed by long use, and deprecate innovations in either lest they detract from the spirit of reverence or dissipate effectiveness. Others find new life in new ways and new associations and perhaps are over confident that they have found in these the solution of great problems.

In the midst of these contrasts and oppositions the mutual confidence of Congregationalists, though it may sometimes seem to be weakening, is really greater because they are free to think and to act. Our growth as a denomination is undoubtedly slower than it would be if we were more compactly organized, with greater power of administration in delegated bodies. We have probably neglected important duties because of too little organization and we are taking steps toward

greater unity. But we hold that a comparatively small Christian denomination standing for the liberty wherewith Christ made free is better than a big aggregation of churches entangled in a yoke of bondage. We view without envy the growth of bodies episcopally and presbyterianly governed, steadily surpassing ours. We rejoice in their success and are not ashamed of our own mission. If it be said that we do not save so many as we might if organized under Episcopal authority, we reply that the larger salvation of individuals goes with the larger liberty, that our presence as free churches cultivates the spirit of liberty in other bodies and that we are called to our own peculiar service to save the community from its sins in freedom of worship and service.

There is, moreover, less danger of schism in churches congregationally governed in the strenuous times on which we are entering. If in these times of stress, confidence should be strained to the breaking point and some should withdraw by themselves either for the sake of loyalty to the old or the new theology or social order, they can do so without contention over the inheritance of creeds or property; and reunion will be easier when more peaceful days return. So it has been in the history of Congregationalism. Brethren temporarily divided who follow one Master will eventually come together according to his prayer: "I desire that they also whom thou hast given me, be with me where I am."

Under the conditions I have described what is the outlook in America for the union of Congregationalists with other denominations? We have during the decade since the second International Council diligently sought for a common basis of agreement with several bodies holding our polity in substance. With two of these we have carried on formal negotiations for five years. A representative council of the three denominations has with practical unanimity approved a common statement of faith, not as a test but a testimony, a system of ecclesiastical polity and an arrangement for holding titles to the property belonging to the churches in common. The carrying on of these negotiations has brought some hundreds of brethren together in a fraternity which has been to them a new revelation of the real unity of the body of Christ. The progress toward union, when it seemed near its consummation, was halted in part by the hesitation of our own National Council to take the final step. The sentiment of the Council was strongly in favour of the union, but it did not seem wise to some to take action until the terms are more clearly defined and more generally understood. The fundamental basis of union for Congregationalists in a free state must be the brotherhood of renewed souls in a free ecclesiastical fellowship. When that is fully understood and frankly avowed, organic union we hope may follow. Meanwhile, though economy of administration of common work is much desired, it may not be secured at the cost of liberty and life. Some Congregationalists among us purchased their freedom with a great sum. Others rejoice that they were born free. Liberty of conscience has always been a fundamental doctrine of Protestantism, and we are still Protestants. The church in our spiritual vision of it stands or falls on the equality of all its members in rights and duties. We can afford to wait a little while till those who would walk together by faith gain unveiled sight of that vision glorified.

The federation of churches is a work of great significance and making encouraging progress, though not as rapidly in the direction of organized

ecclesiastical campaigns as in England. In this movement Congregationalists have had an influence greater than other denominations in proportion to their numbers and may have yet greater influence. Free churches in America are approaching one another in the *spirit* of co-operation, and their actual co-operation is growing, though not always apparent as the action of an organization of churches. The assumption of possession of exclusive privileges conferred by God on a particular body of churches is becoming less of a temptation to such body to claim special honour or to separate itself from other organizations of disciples of Christ.

Episcopally governed churches claim hereditary titles for their priests and peculiar gifts and graces transmitted through successive generations from Christ and his Apostles. We do not covet these gifts and graces, and we are willing that they should enjoy them. On this understanding Congregationalists and Episcopalians are every year coming into closer fellowship. Baptists claim that they possess special advantages of fellowship with God and have special tokens of his approval through the immersion in water of the entire body of the candidates for church membership. We are glad that they secure these exclusive advantages and we do not covet them. Seeing this they and we are coming to acknowledge that—

> Though sundered far by faith we meet,
> Around one common mercy seat,

and many of our Baptist brethren are willing to meet with us around one common Lord's table. Thus we are all hopefully anticipating the time when, like the great Apostle, having become a man, we may put away childish things.

In many organized movements the really active members of American churches are working together to an extent rapidly increasing. The Y.M.C.A. has become a potent and complex ministry in most of our cities, includes men who are members of all denominations, has amassed property and erected buildings representing greater value than the entire holdings of several bodies of churches, with salaried workers who are becoming a professional class vying in influence with that of ministers. Churches of great cities and districts unite in evangelistic campaigns whose leaders are of various denominations. Sunday school and Christian Endeavour organizations, local, state, national and international, are steadily increasing the number of their officials and perfecting their plans for extending their work. Laymen's movements are growing suddenly popular. Brotherhoods of men are outvieing the older women's societies, the Student Volunteer Movement has become a permanent feature of the free churches; and though some of these multiplying organizations are more or less kept within the bounds of denominations, no power can keep these armies in separate camps because they have common purposes and their leaders are not interested in the things which separate Christians from one another but in the things which draw them together.

In social ministries such as college settlements, homes, hospitals, charitable societies, etc., many have only nominal relations with religious denominations to which largely they look for funds, and many others are interdenominational or undenominational.

In education, the early idea survives to a certain extent in new

communities of academies and colleges supported by the churches, with the hope of training youth for their membership. But in large sections of the country the states provide higher institutions of learning, both technical schools and universities, where every citizen student is entitled to free tuition, and it remains for the churches to furnish a religious annex to the college, where young men and women may continue to enjoy the ministry to which they have been used at home. The exigencies of the situation in the majority of cases will tend more and more toward a union of churches to provide one ministry for each of these institutions. Our primary and secondary education is mainly provided by the state and while secular is not irreligious. The teachers of the public schools, generally speaking, are Christian men and women, and no American assemblies exhibit a more sane and controlling religious spirit than the gatherings of teachers, local, state and national. We have no problems of "right of entry," "contracting out," etc., and these phrases would probably not be understood in such gatherings. Our churches are free to exercise all the influence in their power over children and youth belonging to their families, who attend the public schools. If any churches prefer to teach their children in parochial schools, they are free to do so, if they pay the bills and maintain required standards.

We are fully convinced that a free nation, composed of citizens of all sorts, conditions, creeds and nationalities, can realize a worthy ideal of citizenship only by educating its children, without any interference in that work by any church. Religious men, but not churches, should devote their energies to provide the education by the state which will make the worthiest citizens.

In promoting reforms, the common object draws all the free churches together. The denominational note is not prominent in the call of Christian ministers to higher ethical standards, to war against intemperance, gambling and social vice, to abolish race prejudices, and to show kindness to foreigners.

In politics, the churches of all names seek the same end, the righteous administration of just laws for protection in liberty of all classes, and the redemption of society. Various organizations for political ends seek the aid of the church. Trade unions appeal to it for support. Capitalists would purchase it for their uses. Unions and associations which find that they cannot command its services often declare that they have no further use for it and that therefore it has no longer any value for the community.

What path, then, opens before our Congregational churches assembled by representatives from all over the world in this third international council? Is not that path plain? Is not the great work before us to maintain with new enthusiasm the principles which created our life as a body of self-governing churches composed of men renewed through faith in Jesus Christ, and to strive more than ever before to co-operate with all his disciples?

The high inclusive purpose of the church, the redemption of human society, is not made less important because one class or another turns away from it. Nor is that purpose the monopoly of any one denomination. In America no union of free churches is needed for efforts to secure for them privileges denied to them and granted to others by the state or national government. They have no favours, however worthy, to ask from any political party, no debts to pay for past services. The state is free from the dominance of any church, and the churches need

to keep themselves free from the interference of the state in their own affairs.

A task of enlarged importance is rising before us; the functions of the state are constantly expanding. It is the tendency of the civil government to regulate and improve moral as well as material conditions. The churches may yet be definitely called on to defend their liberty. The state is burdened with business which the churches are not competent to administer, or to dictate the best methods of administration. On the other hand the affairs of religion are too delicate and intimate for the rough hand of the state to manipulate. It is far better, for instance, for the churches, unaided by the state, to teach religion to their children and to such others as they can persuade to learn, than for the state to dictate what religion shall be taught to all the children or what they shall be allowed to teach to their own. The common interest of Christian churches in America is to unite in maintaining a free church in a free state.

It seems probable that in the years immediately before them the free churches in America are to be drawn closer together in voluntary fellowship and federation by their home and foreign missions than by any other influence. Converts to Christianity from other religions and from no religion expect that Christian brotherhood will be illustrated by those who invite them to become brethren in Christ. A new emphasis on humanism in our Lord's command, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature," draws his followers together. While the churches as representing organized Christianity in America are making slow progress, perhaps are temporarily declining in numbers, Christianity was never so extensively diffused among the people as it is now. Foreign Christian missions never had so able or so many advocates as now. If the free churches are to maintain and strengthen their leadership, it will be through their being possessed, in a spirit of unity, by great aims, through realizing a great sense of the presence of God in them, through great faith, a great work clearly understood and joyfully undertaken.

We are called anew, through this council assembled, to dwell much less on the things which divide true disciples of Christ, which are the lesser things and more on the things which would unite all his disciples, which are the great things.

For these ends a thoroughly trained ministry, not only in the records of the ancient church but in the knowledge of and sympathy with the present life of men and movements of society, is more important than ever before. Fewer men and picked men are called for as leaders; more men and women as co-labourers with them, kindled with enthusiasm in the mission of a free church to emancipate humanity; a church anointed by the Spirit of the Lord to proclaim good news to the poor, recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to proclaim the acceptable year of the Lord.

Free church principles in action to-day, then, may be expressed in the single sentence that the church which will save its life shall lose it, and the church which will lose its life for Christ's sake and the gospel's shall save it.

The free church in America is coming to a truer conception of its mission, with its Master standing in the midst, than it has ever had. Conscious of his presence it will not be swerved from its purpose by assertions that it is out of touch with modern society. It will not

yield to the claims of rival institutions. It will not be depressed by the plaints of weakness from its own members.

The true church exists in America. Christ is its life. He knows his own, and they know him and in his name they will surely triumph.

The next name on the programme was that of the Rev. James Ross, D.D., of Glasgow, who had been announced to deal with "The Struggle for Religious Liberty during the Last Century in Scotland." Owing to illness, Dr. Ross was unable to be present, but the address he had prepared is given below.

ADDRESS BY REV. JAMES ROSS, D.D.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DURING THE LAST CENTURY IN SCOTLAND

The struggle for religious liberty in Scotland among Protestant churches may be said to have begun about 180 years ago, and has been more or less strenuous ever since. Its chief feature has been the assertion on the part of congregations of their right to choose their own ministers, without interference of the civil power or the Established Church. In 1733 the first great secession from that body took place by the secession of the Associate Synod, led by the brothers Erskine and others; and in 1752 the secession of the Relief Church took place, the members of which by their testimony claimed "relief from the oppression of Christians in the exercise of their religious privileges." In both cases the relief sought was from the operation of the law of patronage, by which presbyteries became bound to admit and induct to vacant parishes men who were nominated by the patrons of parishes, whether the people were willing or not to receive them.

In addition to the repressive action of the civil power and the Established Church, direct attempts were made to invade the liberties of Christian people. Among these, one of the most notable was the "Pastoral Admonition" by the General Assembly of 1799, by which an attempt was made to sweep from the kingdom preachers and Sunday school teachers not authorised by the presbytery of the bounds, to crush such men as the Haldanes, whose evangelistic work had begun in 1794, to keep such men as Rowland Hill from their pulpits, and to scare the people from countenancing "adventurers who wanted to teach the Bible to their children." It was not until the eve of the Disruption of 1843 that this discreditable document was repudiated by the majority of the Established Church, consisting of the party that formed the Free Church of a later date, although it was re-enacted after the Disruption, and remained unrepealed until 1850. The repressive action of the Established Church party opposed to dissenters was further shown in the attempt by Lord Sidmouth to introduce a bill to the House of Lords in 1811 with the view of securing that "no man should have a licence to preach unless he could produce a certificate of moral character from six respectable householders, and from three members of the sect to which he belonged, that he was fit for the office of teacher." Shortly before this a motion had been made in the court of

the East India Company that "all missionaries should be brought home, that one of them—Claudius Buchanan—should be prosecuted as a culprit, and that the circulation and even translation of the Scriptures should be prohibited." In addition to the attempt to pass this sweeping measure many other petty, though happily futile, efforts were made to hinder and harass dissenters in the exercise of their religious freedom. One of the most notorious of these was the "impressment" of a Baptist minister at the instance of a Justice of the Peace, and removing him from the King's jurisdiction while he was conducting divine service, a proceeding which was severely condemned by the Court of Session, and for which the offender was heavily fined. The names of children of dissenters were placed on the church register as irregularly baptized; students of the dissenting class were marked as "dissenters" in the rolls of the universities, to discredit them; farming tenants were evicted from their holdings for receiving preachers and attending their meetings, and preachers were threatened with imprisonment, and denied the use of school-houses, and were compelled to hold their meetings on the highway, from which efforts to remove them had to be resisted by physical force; and in one case in the north of Scotland an interdict was obtained against several Sunday school teachers forbidding them to teach the children. Most of these attempts were made at the instance of parties belonging to the Established Church, and though they all ultimately failed, they showed the animus against dissenters and the desire to deprive them of their religious privileges.

The last and most memorable struggle for the enjoyment of religious liberty took place in 1843, when a large majority of the Established Church left it and claimed to be the Church of Scotland "Free," thus implying that its action was in defence of the liberty as a Christian church which had been denied by the civil power. There was nothing really new in the contention and testimony of the Free Church, which was a protest against the oppressive exercise of the law of patronage by the civil power, in virtue of which ministers were forced upon an unwilling people. The chief significance and importance of this great movement was in the fact that, more than any other public measure, it stirred the whole community with a feeling of indignation at the injustice with which the Free Church had been treated; and there can be no doubt that the Disruption hastened on the movement that resulted thirty years later in the abolition of the obnoxious law of patronage in 1874. The chief drawback in connection with the Disruption was that the Free Church having surrendered its claims to the patronage of the state and thus ceased to be a national endowed church, still adhered to its claim to be the "Church of Scotland," and thus tempted its ministers and members to take a position of ecclesiastical ascendancy among other denominations that somewhat hindered the good fellowship that might otherwise have prevailed to a greater extent than it did.

Thus far the struggle for religious liberty, as between the Dissenting churches and the state and Established Church. But we have to remember that, even among those churches that had achieved their freedom from state interference, there had been a struggle of equal earnestness in their conflict with each other in striving to realise their several aims and ideals. At the beginning of the century now running its course there were many different denominations of Dissenters from the Established Church; but while all of them had their difference from and protest against that church, each of them had its own testimony to

raise not only against that church, but against all of their fellow Dissenters who differed from them on many points of doctrine and polity. I do not feel called on to describe in detail the many divisions that have taken place among non-established churches, in so far as these have meant mainly the uplifting of special testimony by one party against another. However important the divisions were to the parties directly concerned, most of them did not involve any repression of religious liberty on the part of the contestants, for they simply used their freedom to declare and assert their own beliefs and convictions. On some points the divisions were so abstruse that the remark of Lord Eldon, in giving judgment on a case involving the destination of church property, might be applied to many other cases of the same kind: "I have tried, I do not know how many times over, to understand what the principles in dispute were, and whether the parties have or have not deviated from them; and I find that, in my case at least, the attempt is hopeless."

There were two instances, however, the difference of opinion in connection with which was of such a nature as to be intelligible enough even in our own time, and was of importance as involving the separation from the Presbyterian churches of two denominations that still exist and maintain their original testimony. The one separation took place by the assertion of liberty to teach and preach on the part of "laymen," the denial of which by the church-courts of the Established Church, and also of several dissenting churches, led to the formation of the body of Scottish Congregationalists. Involved in this controversy was also the claim of Congregationalists to manage their own affairs as churches without external interference of church-courts, and denial of the right of any one to call in question their liberty in so doing. The other instance of separation of former members of non-established churches from each other was that of the body later known as the Evangelical Union, which originated by the assertion of freedom from the restrictions of the Westminster Confession of Faith in regard to the doctrine of the atonement of Christ. From what was called the Moderate Calvinism of the time, Dr. James Morison, along with other ministers, had advanced to the doctrine of a universal atonement—universal and resistible grace of the Holy Spirit, conditional election, and limited foreordination. For holding these views, Dr. Morison and several fellow ministers were suspended from the ministry of the United Secession Church. In 1896 the two bodies of Independent churches entered into union with each other, and the united denomination of these churches may be said to represent the claim of Christian men to preach the Gospel, free from the restrictions imposed by Presbyterian church-courts, and also their liberty to preach a free Gospel in spite of the limitations of the Westminster Confession of Faith.

The nineteenth century has been signalised by many unions of formerly separated denominations. In 1820, the two bodies of the Secession party (Burghers and Anti-Burghers) united under the designation of the United Secession Church; in 1847 the Relief Church and United Secession Church joined together as the United Presbyterian Church; and in 1900 the Free Church and United Presbyterian Church became one—as the United Free Church. In most of these cases the union has been followed by the refusal of a minority to follow the majority, and in the case of the union of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches it had consequences of the most serious kind to the Free Church, a decision of the House of Lords having been

given to the effect that the minority of that body, consisting of only a small number of churches, was the original Free Church, and as such entitled to all the funds and other property belonging to that body. Although this has been so far rectified by the passing of a special Act of Parliament, with the view of making some approach to an equitable division of property, the loss to the former Free Church body has been enormous.

This decision is interesting and important to all free churches, inasmuch as it declares the principle that the property of any religious body belongs legally to the parties adhering to its original principles, and not to any mere majority of its members for the time being. This principle was first clearly announced and acted on in connection with the litigation between two sections of the Secession body in 1800, and has formed the basis of every legal decision ever since. It is important, inasmuch as it shows the power of the "dead hand" in connection with church life, and how the liberty of an active Christian church may be restricted or destroyed by the action of those who have passed from this world, and who have ceased to have any share in the work and responsibilities of the churches to which they formerly belonged.

With this exception, there are very few hindrances now existing in Scotland to the full exercise of religious freedom. Some "pin-pricks" do remain, in the form of legal assessments for manses and such like; and, of course, there is the grievance of a state-church being endowed by national property which belongs to the whole of the people; but redress of any injustice of this kind is sure to follow the growing sense of righteousness in every department of public life.

The Rev. C. Silvester Horne, M.A., Superintendent of the Whitefields Central Mission, London, was the last speaker. His subject was "The Struggle for Religious Liberty during the Last Century in England."

ADDRESS BY REV. C. SILVESTER HORNE, M.A.

THE STRUGGLE FOR RELIGIOUS LIBERTY DURING THE LAST CENTURY IN ENGLAND

My dear Dr. Massie and my dear friends,—For what sins of yours or mine I do not know, I am commanded to lead you out along an exceedingly well-beaten and macadamized road, and try to interest you in a landscape, every detail of which is at least as familiar to you as to myself. Indeed, if I could suppose that you did not know the facts about which I am to speak, my task would be lightened in proportion as my respect for you would be diminished.

I represent here, to-night, the latest grievance of the Congregational churches against the state, for this very afternoon a minister of the crown actually devoted an exceedingly brilliant paper to an elaborate sketch of the very subject which the committee, in its wisdom, had entrusted to me. I need hardly say to those who were present that Mr. McKinnon Wood has reduced my paper to a superfluity, not to say an impertinence. All that remains to me to do is to sound the praises of the heroes of olden times in the hope that some of us, at least, may hear an imperative call to execute their last will and



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testament in more fortunate days of English life. To some of us, absorbed as we are to-day in our own immediate campaign, it is an amazing thing how remote the nineteenth century already begins to appear. Public affairs in our country are very largely to-day in the hands of statesmen who, but for the abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts, would have been excluded from any parliamentary participation in the work of national legislation. The Nonconformists of the nineteenth century spent weary years agitating for liberty to serve the commonwealth. At a great price they obtained that freedom, and their sons to-day are engaged in proving their title to the freedom by their wise and courageous services to their nation. What they are able to do irresistibly reminds us that they are building on a foundation of apostles and prophets who were stoned, and imprisoned, and exiled for the faith they preached. It was in the year 1793 that Thomas Fyshe Palmer, a Unitarian minister, of Dundee, was sent as a convict to Botany Bay, for having dared to sign a manifesto in favour of political reform. But for his and similar martyrdoms in the cause of civil and religious liberty, Mr. Lloyd-George would not hold the seals of the Exchequer to-night, nor Mr. Runciman and Mr. McKinnon Wood preside over our national education. How remote the nineteenth century appears I may suggest to you if I remind you that on January 26th, 1800, a Baptist minister of a little Suffolk village was taken into custody by a neighbouring clergyman "under the provisions of the Conventicle Act," for preaching in a cottage. The clergyman then proceeded to sit on the bench as a magistrate, and in that Christian capacity fined the minister £20, the poor man at whose cottage the service was held £20, and 5s. for eight poor hearers, or forty guineas altogether. The Conventicle Act and the Test and Corporation Acts still troubled the peace of England, and occasionally troubled the conscience of the English people. Those were the days when Parliament, the Judicature, the Magistracy, the Universities, the schools of England, were all protected by tests against the intrusion of the conscientious Nonconformist. Against the unconscientious all tests are vain. The unscrupulous and cynical, who would perjure themselves for place and power, were able to make and administer laws, enjoy the advantages of the seats of learning, or impart religious education in a public school. It is strikingly evident now, that in penalizing and impoverishing Nonconformity, the state succeeded more than she intended in penalizing and impoverishing herself. Mr. Gladstone used to contend that every blow aimed by the corn laws at the foreigner struck home at the very life and happiness of our own people. And it was even more true that whenever the state tried to rob her own subjects of their rightful liberties she robbed herself of their loyalty and of their devotion. Just as in our own times—as I need not suggest to my English friends—whenever she excludes from the head teachership of the public school the best qualified teacher because he or she is a Nonconformist, the state inflicts cruel wrong upon the applicant, but she strikes an even more cruel and deadly blow upon herself. In England we have still some way to travel before we shall get back to the Cromwellian principle, "The state, in asking a man to serve it, takes no account of his opinions." That, substantially, is the goal we have been seeking for three hundred years. It is the goal expressed in the fateful document drawn up and signed in the cabin of the *Mayflower*, the first instrument, as Bancroft says, conferring equal civil and religious rights on every member of the commonwealth.

I need not remind you of the injuries done to the good cause of freedom of speech and fair play in the unspeakable days of the Restoration. For days of public licence are dark days for public liberty; for they who are least respectful of national morals are most indifferent to national rights. With the Revolution, under the chill and condescending provisions of the Toleration Act, there was secured to the Nonconformist the bare right to exist. He might, under certain strict limits and due state inspection and supervision—much as if he was responsible for a dairy for the dispensing of pure milk of the word—to indulge what the state regarded as his peculiar humour for worshipping God in his own meeting-house and after his own fashion. This was the meagre grace vouchsafed to those who, many of them, had sacrificed all things for conscience' sake in the great Disruption of 1662, and who had made the world their debtors by their immortal contributions to our sacred literature. For one hundred years, and more, the descendants of Milton and Bunyan, Owen and Goodwin, Howe and Baxter, Matthew Henry and Daniel Defoe, were tolerated as Nonconformists, but unrecognized as citizens. They had won an imperishable place in the kingdom of letters; the whole Catholic Church, to-day, with one consent, confesses itself their debtor; but the very witness that had earned them immortality, earned for them proscription at the hands of the English state. Against them, as against a form of moral leprosy, she closed the gates of her seats of learning, and, in a modern phrase, banged and barred and bolted the doors that shut them out from every position to which state dignity and privilege and emolument attached. I sometimes think we owe them more than we know, if only because they have given us a true illustration of the way men and women with the true Christian spirit can bear themselves in the hours of struggle and difficulty. The history of the nineteenth century, therefore, is, in the main, the history of the fight for the removal of the disabilities and indignities inflicted on those whose sole offence it was that they were independent religious thinkers, who claimed and practised the right to organize themselves for worship and service on what they regarded as primitive scriptural lines. We sometimes wonder that their fight for elementary liberties was so hard and so long. But one thing has to be remembered. There were liberties at stake in those days that were dearer to our fathers than their own. At the worst they and their children were ill-educated, excluded from positions of public responsibility, governed by men who represented rotten boroughs, as the accommodating nominees of territorial magnates, and perhaps imprisoned for conscientious refusal to pay rates to support churches in which they did not believe. But what were these inconveniences in comparison with the lot of the slave population? It was a great thing that England should learn to act justly toward her own children, but they held it an even greater thing that the state should wash her hands for ever of the bloody traffic in human flesh. The Nonconformists might not have many votes, or voices to speak in Parliament, but they had moral influence, and they always knew how to give to every Christian cause. As Sir George Trevelyan says: "Without the aid of Nonconformist sympathy, Nonconformist money, Nonconformist oratory, and Nonconformist organization, the operations of the Anti-Slavery Committee would undoubtedly have been doomed to certain failure. In the end the great franchises came together. In 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts were abolished; in 1832 the great Reform Bill admitted thousands of Nonconformists to

citizen rights, and as a consequence, with the advent of the democracy to power, in 1833, slavery was abolished beneath the British flag.

Needless to say, these victories were only regarded as a platform for further advance. The problems that now lay before the friends of religious freedom in England were divisible into four great groups. The most important group was connected with education. Only second, however, in importance was the question of the administration of justice, and the authority of the ecclesiastical courts. Then there was the group of problems arising out of the church-rate agitation. And, finally, there was another group of problems concerning the extension of our church liberties, *e.g.* right to marry in our own churches, the right of burial in the parish churchyard, the right to obtain suitable building sites for the erection of new churches. I cannot hope to say more than a very few words about these campaigns, which were fought out with conspicuous ability by men like Robert Hall, John Bright, R. W. Dale, Edward Miall, Edward Baines, Henry Richard, and scores of others of equal or lesser repute. Let me say a word on the subject of education, and how the principle of religious liberty was at stake here. Whatever the nineteenth century did for us in the matter of education, it effectually shattered the old arrogant, Church of England claim that she was "the sole instructress of the people." That claim stood expressed in the legal enactment that no school could be opened "except under the licence of the bishop." Nonconformists were in those days wholly dependent on episcopal good nature for any educational advantages of which their children could conscientiously avail themselves. At the other end of the educational ladder, the universities, humorously called national, remained obstinately closed to all except the children of one form of faith until the year 1871 ; and it was eleven years later before the headships of colleges in Oxford and Cambridge were thrown open to all scholars without reference to ecclesiastical opinion. It would, indeed, be a long though delightful task to chronicle the successes of young Nonconformists in the great universities. They have added to the renown of our national seats of learning in every year since 1871, and I like to remember that, in consequence of the struggles of our fathers to open the universities, in this year of grace, 1908, it was possible for a Russian Jew, from the East End of London, to become Senior Wrangler at Cambridge. I am only here concerned with the education question where it trenches on the question of religious equality. Others will speak on those colossal mistakes and betrayals which have produced the present educational situation, unsatisfactory to the educationist, the taxpayer, and most of all to the Nonconformists, in the rural districts. Perhaps the most galling factor in the situation is the exclusion of the most promising young Nonconformists from at least 13,000 head teacherships in our publicly supported schools. It may seem incredible to our American and Colonial visitors that in the twentieth century we should still have to fight, in the very home and birthplace of freedom, for such an elementary right as this ; but so it is ; and with the supreme power in this democratic country remaining in the hands of the Upper House, which is no more than an aristocratic and clerical oligarchy, and where Nonconformists are so few, and their nonconformity so faint that they are scarcely to be distinguished with the naked eye, there is little hope of redress. We can only say that we are as confident of the justice and eventual triumph of our cause as were those who in the nineteenth century

claimed their right to serve the commonwealth on equal terms with all other citizens in the work of legislation and administration.

Perhaps the most fruitful battle of the nineteenth century was after all the battle about which least was said—that against the ecclesiastical courts, which (to quote the words of the orthodox Blackstone) "were the offspring of papal tyranny, which the Reformation itself had failed to destroy." We are so proud to-day of our English judicature, that it is difficult to realise the state of things in England in the first half of the nineteenth century, when the ecclesiastical courts were the scenes of intolerable exactions and caricatures of justice. In Parliament debate followed debate on these serious and irritating miscarriages of justice. I do not know that I can do better than quote, by way of illustration, the excellent and witty description with which Mr. Harvey treated the House of Commons, amid approving cheers, of the ecclesiastical courts with which the country was plagued. "There were," he said, "no less than seven ecclesiastical courts, the remnants of papal power. Blackstone stated that these courts were the offspring of papal tyranny which the Reformation itself had failed to destroy. Into either or all of these seven courts the clergy, or the great conservatives of the national piety, could draw the subjects of the kingdom. First of all, there was the *Archdeacon's Court*, confined to the locality over which the authority of each respective archdeacon extended. From this individuals might be drawn into the *Consistory Court;* and although as a religious body they who presided over this court proceeded on the assumption that no man could tell a lie, they set out with a glaring falsehood by making the very writ of removal declare that of his own free will and desire he came before the court for the purpose of obtaining speedy justice with the aid of men learned in the law. Then he was told, 'True, there is a judgment against you in that court, but it is only a preliminary one. The ecclesiastics, in their tender solicitude for conscience, and from respect of your sense of right, have provided you with a refuge. Are you not aware that there is a *Court of Arches?* We will introduce you into it, and if you should fail there never despair. Only leave £50 on the threshold of the Court of Arches and we will introduce you to the *Court of Peculiars.* There you will have the advantage of an assembly of grave men, rendered singularly significant by wigs and other appendages of learning. If justice be not done you in the Court of Peculiars, you have nothing to do but pay for the advantage of getting into the *Prerogative Court*, which, if it should confirm the judgments of the inferior tribunals, still thank your God you are in the land of liberty and law, and the doors of justice are not closed against you, for you have still an opportunity of appearing before the *Court of Delegates*, and if you be defeated in all the courts, then the tender mercy of the law hands you over to a *Commission of Review.*'"

When we remember that in these courts (to take only one illustration) wills had to be proved, and that the finances of every citizen were passed in review therein, and when we remember the blinding effect of ecclesiastical prejudice anywhere and everywhere, we shall cease to wonder that the movement gathered force and power, which in more democratic days transferred the administration of justice in this country absolutely into secular and judicial hands.

The battle against church rates lasted roughly forty years in the nineteenth century, and has already lasted six years in the twentieth. The problem raised was as to the right, not so much of the state as of

a locality, to levy a rate explicitly for the support of a definitely ecclesiastical institution. Church rates, it was said, were levied for the repair of the fabric of the parish churches. The richest church in Christendom, whose ministers were paid out of tithes and ancient endowments, claimed the right also to tax the Nonconformists to mend its roofs, and provide its stones, and build walls round the very graveyards in which the people thus rated were not allowed to bury their dead. Justice has never been done to the church-rate agitation in England. It was not an organised agitation. In point of fact the conscience is a very difficult thing to organise. Obviously, too, the fight could only be waged where the local vestry decided to levy the rate; and that, as a rule, was where churchmen were either most intolerant or most stingy, or both. There are no available figures as to the numbers of Nonconformists who were imprisoned, but they must have amounted to hundreds. In many places distraint became a very formal affair—the complaisant surrender to the local bailiff of the serviceable tea-pot, and the subsequent settlement of accounts; but in scores of villages and small towns it meant the maximum of moral suffering to loyal and sensitive English men and women. The church rate was, to use a phrase of Lord Rosebery's, "a blister on every parish" where it was levied. One wishes that it were possible to prevail on some of our opponents of to-day to read in the pages of Hansard the final debate in the Commons in 1868, when two of the greatest churchmen of the nineteenth century, the late Mr. Gladstone and the late Lord Salisbury, entered into a public engagement that this obnoxious privilege of the Church of England to rate her Nonconformist brethren for the support of a church institution should be abolished. It was a handsome and edifying spectacle, and caused much ringing of bells and lighting of bonfires. Two years later, when the 1870 Education Act was passed, against the open protests of such leading Nonconformists as Dr. Dale, Dr. Rogers, John Bright and Mr. Chamberlain, Dr. Dale warned the Nonconformists of England that the object of the Church of England would be to get back, by means of the education rate, what she had surrendered in the form of the church rate. He was then, as often, a true prophet. In 1902 a rate was again devised, under which Nonconformists were compelled to contribute for the support of explicitly Church of England institutions, with schools organised, according to their trusts, for the teaching of the liturgy and catechism of the Church of England. This was, in the words Dr. Dale had used, "a proposition which, under cover of an educational measure, empowered one religious denomination to levy a rate for teaching its creed and maintaining its worship." The Act of 1902 was a flagrant contradiction of the promises made in the face of the nation in the year 1868, when church rates were formally abolished. The resurrection of the church rate necessarily involved a revival of the old method of fighting it; and fight it we shall, along our historical and traditional lines, until it disappears for ever from the public life of our nation.

Even had I time it would not be kind to weary you with the fight successfully waged for the concession of valuable church liberties. The modification of the exclusive burial laws was, as Mr. Birrell said, "in the eyes of many churchmen, an attempt to thrust somebody else's corpse into a churchyard which didn't belong to it." It was true; according to the theory of the Church and State, in those days nothing belonged to us. We had to be specially legislated for, as if we were a

peculiar people outside the constitution, and had not even a parishioner's right to a resting place in the parish churchyard. We do not want or seek special legislation; but that is because we claim the benefit of all citizen privileges, and simply claim to stand within the commonwealth, with no stigma or disability attaching to us because we think and teach and worship as we do.

Mr. President, I have not spoken of the honourable part played by our Congregational and Free Church fathers in the battle for Catholic emancipation, for removal of disabilities from Jews, for the right of the avowed secularist, in the person of Mr. Bradlaugh, to sit in the House of Commons without being forced to take an oath that was a lie upon his lips. These things are worth the telling; but are they not written in the book of the chronicles of the people of England, and we shall do what in us lies to see to it that the English people are not allowed to forget them.

But my last word is this. To-day this struggle for liberty is almost achieved. We are free to serve. And freedom to serve implies the obligation to serve freedom. We thank God for those who fought and won the battle, the result of which is that to-day by voice and vote we can help to free our country from the control of the great liquor interest, the most dangerous and humiliating yoke that has ever cursed the life of our people. We believe we can help to free the aged poor from the terror of the workhouse and the pauper's grave, which is the deepest shadow across the path of thousands. We are free to serve. We hope to share in the coming great campaign, which will free this mighty and puissant nation from the restraint upon her progress due to the survival of an unrepresentative and reactionary branch of the legislature, which is a coalition of the privileged creeds and classes against the great popular movements of our time. We are free to serve. We believe that we shall serve the Church and the State alike when we persuade both —as we shall—that in the interests of religion and social progress the Church of Christ should consent no longer to be subject to state control, and rely no longer on state patronage.

We have great problems to think out. We have to reconcile in the twentieth century individual liberty with social justice. The many voices that will be heard to-morrow from our side will be disinterested voices of churches that owe nothing to the state. The state could not crush us when she would; she could not reward us if she would. She has nothing to offer us as members of Christ's church. We ask nothing —nothing but freedom to serve. We can speak, therefore, with all the authority of those who have sought no prizes, and will accept none. We can confidently ask to be permitted to co-operate with the state in the working out of her social salvation, in harmony with those principles of freedom which have been so abundantly vindicated in the past history of our Congregational churches.

After the hymn "Lord, give me light to do Thy work" had been sung, the Chairman closed the meeting at 9.30 by pronouncing the Benediction.

Tuesday, July 7, 1908

MORNING SESSION

Mr. H. O'Hara, of Canada, took the chair at 9.30. After the singing of the hymn "Ye servants of the Lord," the Rev. A. R. Henderson, M.A., of Nottingham, read the scriptures and offered prayer.

The Chairman called on the Rev. W. H. Bennett, M.A., LITT.D., D.D., Professor of Old Testament Exegesis, at New Hackney College, London, to speak on "The Positive Value of Criticism to the Bible."

Address by Rev. Professor Bennett, D.D.

THE POSITIVE VALUE OF CRITICISM TO THE BIBLE

I am sure the Council will extend to me the indulgence which is usual and necessary, when large subjects are dealt with in a short time. If I seem dogmatic, they will understand that I am only anxious to be clear. If I do not refer to views other than those I represent, it is only to avoid confusion, not out of any want of respect for those who hold them. If I omit qualifications, I assume that such an audience as this will be able to supply them. Indeed, a measure of formal exaggeration is necessary in order to convey a true impression.

But I must say a word about two points.

On the one hand, there are matters such as date and authorship of books, and purely ancient history, where criticism is the dominant factor; and we speak of the results of criticism. I do not, however, forget that other factors also have contributed to these results. Science, archæology, Christian experience have co-operated with criticism.

On the other hand, in the realm of dogmatic theology, criticism supplies material which the theologian uses, applies, and interprets. There is even a debatable ground where it is possible that *a priori* considerations of metaphysics and theology may modify results of pure criticism.

Turning to our subject, we may ask, what are characteristics of modern criticism? How does it differ from ancient criticism, the criticism of the Rabbis, of the Fathers, of the Middle Ages, of the scholastic periods in the Roman and in the Protestant churches?

The modern view of the Bible is analogous to the Nicene doctrine of the person of Christ; it recognises that the Scriptures are both human and divine.

The older attitude towards the Bible, especially in popular theology, in sermons and devotional literature, emphasised the divine character of the book and ignored the human; it was, in a sense, either Sabellian or Docetic. By ignoring the human medium, it misunderstood the

Divine Revelation. As Dr. Sanday has said, it held "that a book, the origin of which was so divine, must be exempt from error, and from error of all kinds; that its statements were equally to be received whether they related to matters of religion, or of morals, or to the more neutral facts of history, or science, or common life."

But modern criticism recognises that the Bible is like Christ. In the Bible as in Christ God reveals himself under the limitations of human nature. Revelation comes to us as it was understood, partially understood, sometimes even misunderstood, by the men to whom it was communicated. The record has been transmitted under natural conditions; before it was stereotyped for nearly three centuries for English-speaking peoples in the Authorised Version, it had passed through the hands of editors, commentators and scribes. In their work the human element was very pronounced. Editors arranged their documents, and provided them with titles according to an honest but sometimes mistaken judgment. Commentators added notes which often expressed their own views, and did not give a correct explanation of the original sense. Scribes copied the sacred writings and often copied them wrong. Even English scholars have introduced headings and dates of their own into current editions of the Authorised Version; and there are misprints even in English Bibles.

Modern criticism, therefore, recognises these human agencies. It seeks to know the history of Revelation, by studying the human process. By the lower or textual criticism it seeks to discover the original form in which our books were written. By higher criticism, or the discussion of date and authorship, it seeks to know how and when, and if possible by whom, or at any rate by what kind of men the books were written. By historical criticism it seeks to reconstruct the history. Thus we try to find out what the inspired writers said, what they meant by it, what it meant to the people to whom they spoke, and how it was interpreted by editors or commentators whose work is also included in the Bible.

In pursuing these studies, modern criticism has recognised that in the Bible as in Christ, God has revealed himself in human life; that we must expect to find the working of the ordinary laws of human nature, leading at times to failure, limitation and error. Indeed, as the human nature of Christ was necessary for His work, so the human nature in the Bible was the indispensable condition of Revelation.

Therefore modern criticism has not considered itself bound by any tradition, or any popular sentiment as to the date or authorship of the sacred books, nor yet by the titles and notes which ancient writers introduced into them, nor even by the literal prosaic sense of every statement in the body of the books. To quote Sanday again, "The difference between the new view and the old is like the difference which St. Paul drew between law and faith, the difference between obedience to a rigid code and the vital apprehension of that which is itself alive."

The critic might describe his principles thus: "I want to know as far as I may the whole truth and the exact truth about the Bible. I must consider all the available evidence, literary, historical, linguistic, archæological, scientific. I would use all my faculties, mental, æsthetic, spiritual, in this great enterprise. I seek the guidance of the Divine Spirit, and I must be free to follow the light wherever it leads me. I cannot be bound by the opinions of former scholars, still less by the prejudices of popular sentiment. Christ is the Way, the

Truth, and the Life. I must not be hindered from following the living Christ in the way of truth.

Under the influence of this ideal a great army of Christian scholars have for more than a century devoted themselves to the enthusiastic study of the Bible, of every question and every detail in the book or suggested by it. The enthusiasm for art, science, literature and philosophy has been surpassed by their devotion to Biblical Scholarship. Such consecrated service of generation after generation of students of every church and people is a great act of homage to the Bible; a most emphatic testimony to its supreme value.

It may, perhaps, be objected that so far the popular mind, the mind of the man in the street, has not been much impressed with the positive results, the great constructive work of modern criticism. It must be remembered that the critics have laboured under many difficulties and constant opposition. They have been like the Jews under Nehemiah, who built the walls of Jerusalem, "every one with one of his hands wrought in the work, and with the other held his weapon." Ever and anon the trumpet has called them from their building to defend themselves and their work against hostile attacks. They have been frequently advised to quit their labours and take sanctuary in the temple and shut the doors; and they have been told any time the last fifty years that if a fox went up, he would break down their stone wall.

Nevertheless their work abides and its value is more and more recognised. In speaking of this value I trust I may be forgiven one or two homely illustrations. I only use them because they enable me to dispose of a whole branch of my subject in a very few words. Our subject is "the positive value of criticism to the Bible." This may be suggested partly by asking one or two strictly analogous questions. For instance, "What is the positive value of washing one's face?" or again, "What is the positive value of cleaning a bicycle?" Or let us take a more dignified parallel and spend a moment on it. Imagine some one in the time of Galileo asking "What is the positive value of modern astronomy?" People had lived quite happily and comfortably without these new notions, they had been able to predict eclipses, and tell the time, and do all that was practically necessary. It was very unsettling to be told that this "too, too solid earth" was always spinning like a humming-top, only much faster, and rushing through space in all sorts of complicated ways. It was much more restful to think of it as the fixed centre of the earth, and much more in accordance with scripture. And as for theology, who could tell what would be the effect on theology of these revolutionary ideas? For that matter, we can't tell yet. It was all very disturbing and distressing, and what was the positive value of it all?

Well, the answers to such questions are obvious, and they may suggest part of the answer to our question. As the followers of Christ we are bound to believe that in the long run it is right, necessary and helpful to know the truth, to put aside all that obscures it, and all that hinders its free action—even at the cost of some present distress and discomfort.

But lest you should say of me as the Jews said of Ezekiel, "Ah, Lord God, he is a speaker of parables," I will try and state this positive value in a more direct way.

You have heard of more than a century of enthusiastic study of the Bible. It is natural to ask, "How, then, do we stand as to the Sacred Scriptures?"

Perhaps the answer is best put thus, "We do not stand, we are moving on." That is one of the most striking results of criticism. We realise as the church never did before that we do not, cannot, and must not stand in such matters. There is always, as the old Puritan said, more light to break forth from the Bible, and that light illuminates the Bible itself, and gives a clearer interpretation of its meaning.

The carnal man wants everything definite, final, permanent, something like the multiplication table; and much is given once for all, or given always, the daily manna, the constant guidance, the assured end. The church has had helpful experiences, Goshen, Sinai and Elim; we cherish their memory and inherit their blessings. But we do not stand still; we have no continuing city; like Israel we pitch our camp, it may be in the wilderness, it may be in some oasis with palm trees and springs of water. But we are not allowed to stay always; the pillar of fire rises, and leads us onward. We cannot return either to Egypt, or Sinai, or the Plains of Moab, we must go forward.

Thus, too, amidst all controversy, the humble, devout, loving soul has always been fed from the Bible, and always will be. Our inheritance includes much from all periods of spiritual activity, Greek and Latin fathers, schoolmen, mystics, reformers, Puritans; but we cannot go back and stand even with Jerome or Erasmus, with Augustine, or Luther or Calvin. To our generation, too, a revelation of its own has been given, and we dare not be disobedient to the heavenly vision.

But if we may not go back, we are nevertheless travelling on the same journey as patriarchs, prophets, apostles, fathers and reformers. We must not press too far the antithesis between modern and ancient criticism. They have much in common; both, at their best, stand for courage, freedom and faith. There is an apostolic succession in Christian scholarship. There have always been those who have recognised the principle of a progressive revelation and a progressive interpretation thereof. Modern study has shown that the advance of faith has been on these lines, both within the Bible itself and in the Christian church.

The teaching of the Hebrew prophets was a criticism of the traditional religion of their times. The same is true of Christ himself. As Prof. George Adam Smith has said (*Modern Criticism, etc.*, pp. 11, 22), Christ was the first critic of the Old Testament, and St. Paul followed in his footsteps, so that "the New Testament treatment of the Old not only bequeaths to the church the liberty of criticism, but along many lines the need and obligation of criticism: not only delivers us once for all from bondage to the doctrine of the literal inspiration and equal divinity of all parts of the Old Testament, but prompts every line of research and discussion along which the modern criticism of the Old Testament has been conducted."

To this prompting the church has always more or less responded; certain branches have stagnated for a time under a dead tradition, but God has raised up scholars, Origen, Jerome, Luther, Calvin and Erasmus, who have criticised the tradition, and have bidden the Israel of God go forward.

Dr. Sanday writes that one of the gains of modern criticism is the idea of evolution as applied to Christianity. I am not sure that it is altogether helpful to apply the technical terms of physical science to religion; but Dr. Sanday states an important truth. We now regard

the universe as a true cosmos, an ordered whole, in which divine activities work by many gradual and related processes. Criticism has given Revelation its place in this cosmos.

From the beginning the Spirit of God moved on the face of the deep. We see God in nature and history, by Providence and by Revelation shaping the thoughts and lives of men. Πολυμέρως καὶ πολυτρόπως, by divers portions and in divers manners the vision of God grows clearer, fuller, and more definite. This divine unfolding is not apart from or contrasted to the rest of life; it is everywhere interwoven with the manifold interests and experiences of the race; it advances with their growth, and expresses itself in the life of the home, the farm, the workshop, the court, the camp, and the university, as well as in the Temple. The Bible, the record of this marvellous process, grows stage by stage with the revelation it perpetuates. We see it now, as never before, at every point and in every part as the product of human life sublimated by a divine inspiration, as the product of the divine life stooping to express itself through the stammering tongues and the limited, inaccurate, obscure language of men. We see a triumphal march in which God continually enlarges his conquests over the intellect and conscience of mankind. And as the Bible springs from the combined working of forces human and divine, we recognise also that the Bible is only a stage in this cosmic progress. The process went on without break or pause during the compilation of the New Testament and after it was completed, and it continues still. On the one hand the Bible is the product of the divine unfolding, the divine redemption; and on the other the Bible has been, and is, one of the great forces by which this great work of God is carried out.

It is not, perhaps, too violent a figure to say that the Bible is alive, is a living creature. Life has been defined as the faculty which a living thing has of adapting itself to its environment. The history of criticism shows that the Bible has had the power not merely of adapting itself to its environment but also of mastering its environment. Every epoch, since the coming of Christ, has had marked characteristics of its own, yet the Bible, being suitably applied by the criticism of each age, has exercised a powerful influence over each. However remarkable and unique our own age may seem to us, the Bible remains one of the great factors of the world's life. Criticism, the candid, devout, intelligent study of the sacred Scriptures, has directed attention to its special message for the times; and has emphasised and interpreted that message. Here, as in nature, God provides forces and leaves us to find the apparatus and methods by which to apply them. The Bible can no more do its work to-day with the critical apparatus and methods of the Middle Ages than electricity could work telegraphs and run trains by the electrical apparatus of a hundred years ago.

Turning for a moment to the more concrete and direct results of modern criticism. It is to the critics that we owe such knowledge as we have of the history of the books of the Bible, of Israel, of Christ and the Apostles. Apart from criticism, there might be an otiose assent to certain statements, but there was nothing to distinguish this from superstition. The history was in no way accredited to the world which had no theory of inspiration. Doubtless much is still uncertain, but the positive results are of enormous value; we know roughly speaking the mode and period of composition of the narrative books of the Bible and of the documents from which they have been compiled, and of the more important portions of the prophetical literature and the epistles of

the New Testament. We know the main lines of the history of Israel, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of the Apostolic Church.

Harnack, for instance, in his recent "Sayings of Jesus," endorses the view that the synoptic gospels rest on two main sources, the Gospel according to St. Mark and a collection of the sayings of Jesus which Matthew and Luke have used to supplement Mark. Harnack regards both St. Mark and the sayings as very early; and maintains that where they agree their authority cannot be set aside. "On the rock," he writes, "of their united testimony the assault of destructive critical views . . . will ever be shattered to pieces."

Then, too, modern criticism has produced an abundant harvest in literature and Christian service. I can only quote a few examples with which I am most familiar. In Biblical interpretation one might mention the *International Critical Commentary* and recall the work of Driver, Cheyne, Sanday, and others, there and elsewhere. In exposition we think especially of George Adam Smith's *Isaiah and Minor Prophets*. Then there are Robertson Smith's great works on the religion of Israel. There are the writings of A. B. Davidson and A. B. Bruce. There is a wealth of literature on the history of Jesus, *e.g.* Dr. Garvie's *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus*. There is a theology which bases itself on the results of modern criticism, *e.g.* Dr. Fairbairn's numerous and valuable contributions to religious thought, and Dr. Forsyth's *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind*. These, of course, are only a few outstanding examples of a great army of scholars and divines.

Modern criticism is also represented in our pulpits; I do not mean that men preach criticism, but that many of our great preachers assume the critical principles and results. Many of the scholars I have referred to are also distinguished preachers, and we have many others of the same school, like Dr. Horton and Dr. Clifford.

And as to the popular interest in the Bible, I know there is much to deplore, often where it is most to be deplored, even in the church and amongst Christian workers. But, on the whole, the Bible is read and studied and discussed as it never was before, especially where the influence of criticism is felt. When, for instance, were whole columns of the daily papers occupied with the Bible and its teaching as they have been in recent times? The influence of the Bible has increased and is increasing; it is wider in its range, more powerful, more intense than at any previous time, and if criticism has free course, an even greater future lies before the sacred book.

It follows from all this that the Bible, read in the light of recent study, has an added value for the inner spiritual life, and also that the Bible has become a more powerful instrument for the service of the Kingdom of God. It would be easy to multiply testimony, I can only call a few witnesses. I think, indeed, I could safely appeal to this assembly; I know that very different views on criticism are represented, but I have a strong impression that every one feels a certain relief. Some may not wish to repudiate any of the traditional views definitely and expressly, and yet they may be glad to feel that many things may be left open questions; that they need not, for instance, stake their own faith on the future of Christianity either on the exact relation between Jonah and the whale, or on the coin which Peter found in the fish's mouth.

Many of us are more largely and openly grateful. In a sense criticism is even now in its infancy, but it has already strangled

serpents. Our faith has been relieved of the odious burden of the principle that in the Bible white and black may be synonymous names for the same shade of gray, and that in the Bible two and two make three or five or seven, according to circumstances. We are no longer distressed, harassed and distracted by the claims of a mistaken apologetic; we are free to profit to the full by the infinite treasures of sacred scriptures. Recently I heard a distinguished theologian, a pillar of the Evangelical faith, say that our faith was almost broken up and destroyed by the theory of inspiration from which criticism has delivered us.

Our Christian liberty leads us to a more assured certainty of the spiritual value of the Bible. We may apply to the Bible, as a whole, what Prof. Geo. Adam Smith has said of the Old Testament: "The most advanced modern criticism provides ground for the proof of a divine revelation in the Old Testament at least more firm than those on which the older apologetic used to rely"; and again: "As preachers of the Gospel, we shall yet be sure of finding across that whole stretch of the Old Testament—the presence of divine grace, of the spirit of Christ, and of the virtues of forgiveness and self-sacrifice which these call forth in men."

Dr. Forsyth in several of his recent utterances has helped us to understand how modern criticism has prepared the way for that restatement of the Evangelical faith which our generation needs. For instance, he said in his address to the Congregational Union in October, 1905:—

"Something has come between us and our Gospel? In some quarters it is the Bible. There has been such a thing as Bibliolatry. There is such a thing as Biblicism at the cost of the spirit. Men become positive about Bible facts and views instead of about the Bible word of grace."

Criticism destroys Bibliolatry that the scriptures may not bar the sinner's access to the Cross, but may guide him thither. For as Dr. Garvie says of the criticism of the Gospel story: "The result of our criticism we may expect to be that we can know enough of the words and works of Jesus to warrant fully the faith we put in him as the Christ, the Son of God, and the Saviour of men."

This is true even of forms of criticism which would seem to most of us unduly extreme. A well-known minister said lately that even such critical versions of the Gospel story moved him to abase himself before Jesus.

Again, a minister who has spent his life in the spiritual service of the working-classes, said to me recently that he felt that modern criticism had rendered a great service to the working man who desired to defend and justify his Christian faith amongst his fellows. What Dr. Horton has called the cast-iron theory of inspiration delivered such a man, bound hand and foot, over to the mercy of the sceptic or the secularist. Criticism gives him a reasonable faith to defend.

We might also sum up the work of modern criticism by saying that it has enabled the Bible to speak for itself. In former times it too often happened that the Bible was put on an exegetical rack and tortured, until its expositors claimed that it had confessed that its sacred pages were exactly and taught exactly what certain dogmas said it should be and should teach.

Now we try to see what the Bible shows itself to be. In the same way modern science has enabled the physical world to tell its own story. The geologist discovers the meaning of strata, rocks and

fossils, and through him the world tells us how it grew and developed. Thus, too, the critic interprets the literary and historical characteristics of the Bible, and through him the sacred scriptures tell us how they grew up and, in a measure, how they were collected and canonised.

By the aid of modern criticism the church confronts the world with a more assured faith in the Bible and in God. We put no fence round our law, it can defend itself. We have our views on inspiration and revelation derived from the Bible. But we do not say that the authority of the Bible depends on any theory of inspiration, the Bible can justify its own claims.

As Calvin says [*Institutes*, Bk. I, chap. vii.] : "Scripture, carrying its own evidence along with it, deigns not to submit to proofs and arguments, but owes the full conviction with which we ought to receive it to the testimony of the Spirit. . . . We feel a divine energy living and breathing in it—an energy by which we are drawn and animated to obey it."

The Rev. Charles R. Brown, D.D., of Oakland, California, followed with an address on the same subject.

ADDRESS BY REV. C. R. BROWN, D.D.

THE POSITIVE VALUE OF CRITICISM TO THE BIBLE

In the vision of the seer, a mighty angel appeared. He was clothed with a cloud ; he wore a rainbow on his head ; his face shone like the sun. He stood ready for large usefulness, his right foot upon the land, his left foot upon the sea. And in his hand as the main instrument of his power he held, not a sword, nor a coin, not a swinging censer, nor a consecrated wafer, but a little book, open. The kingdom he proclaimed was to grow through the response men would make to the instruction, the persuasion, the moral appeal of the truth.

It was a little book, convenient, accessible, within the compass of an average mind. It was not nearly so large, I fancy, as that complete volume containing all the canonical scriptures of the Old and New Testaments. It held perhaps only the vital, the genuinely Christian element in the Bible, standing out clear and free from the non-Christian Jewish remainders, from the inevitable deposits left in it by the practices of antiquity, and from all those local, temporary elements which must recede through the cancellation wrought by development. This little book then, which the mighty angel offered, may represent to us that net result of wise, patient, discriminating scholarship, setting forth in briefer compass and clearer setting God's essential message to the race.

The little book was open, wide open! There was to be no peeping nor squinting in the use made of it, no hiding of the seat of intelligence in the sand, ostrich fashion, in vain pretence that no difficulties or inconsistencies might confront us, in bringing out the divine message from a literature composed by men widely removed in time, in temperament and in task. The defective moralities and the imperfect insights which belong in the raw period of any people's history, even though they were found prefaced here and there by a "thus saith the Lord,"

had been faced fearlessly. The drift toward form and legalism from which even that people chosen for their spiritual primacy among the nations of the earth had not been altogetner free, had been measured and accorded its rightful significance. The law of growth, according to which neither mountains nor valleys, rivers nor forests, peoples nor religions spring suddenly into being by any "Let there be and there was," had been fully recognized by the patient students of this age-long process. Now with the outcome of all this study at his command, the divine messenger in the vision of the seer stood equipped for service on sea and land with that vital Christian element of holy writ, held in his hand as a little book wide open.

I speak in parables, claiming that liberty which goes with this literary form. In more direct phrase we have in our Bible a heavenly treasure, shaped and restricted by the fact that it is here contained in an earthen vessel. We have a revelation from God, sufficient to make us wise unto salvation, and furnish us thoroughly for every good work, but it lies embedded in a real historical process. In that the process is historical, Lot and Samson, Jezebel and Judas, the Song of Deborah, and the cynical unbelief of Ecclesiastes inevitably appear. Those imperfect moralities and defective insights, for which an undeveloped people sometimes claimed divine sanction, belong here as naturally as the blade precedes the full corn in the ear. And it is the high office of criticism to discover and to disentangle what is merely local and passing, temperamental and incidental, from that which is universal, abiding, essential. It is in the interests of faith then, and of a larger usefulness for the real content of this sacred literature that reverent, thoughtful men are scrutinizing its every part, searching below the surface for the movements of thought and feeling which here find enduring expression, thus endeavouring to place our confidence in its permanent value upon foundations which stand sure.

The positive value, then, which criticism has for the Bible, will be found mainly in these considerations. First, modern criticism has closed the debate on certain questions which once troubled the heart of Israel, and now trouble it no more. The coarse attacks upon the authority of the Bible by such men as Thomas Paine, Robert G. Ingersoll and Charles Bradlaugh have become altogether impossible. If brought forward to-day they would be ruled out—even that ordinary measure of judicial acumen which never aspires to the wig or bench, would deem them incompetent, irrelevant and immaterial. Modern Biblical study has relieved those inadequate moralities of an earlier day, patriarchal polygamy, unrebuked slavery, eye-for-eye and tooth-for-tooth retaliation, from the hard task of doing duty as sanctions for the moral dulness of Christian centuries or as unmistakable expressions of the mind of the Lord. You would have to go some distance off the turnpike in these days to hear a sermon on the historicity of the Book of Jonah, or a sermon in justification of that law of retaliation or in defence of the moral quality of the imprecatory Psalms. It has been made clear that no further significance attaches to these than would attach to the preliminary stages of any process of development—the process must be judged by its outcome.

We have been relieved from the mental squint which ensued upon the painful effort to make it appear that the two varying narratives of the creation, of the deluge, of the basis for Sabbath observance and of other incidents, which belong in this literature, were in exact agreement. The unmistakable evidence for the existence of different documents, of

varying schools of opinion, of widely removed points of view, in attempting to account for great realities, has changed all that. We have escaped once for all from the intellectual shuffling consequent upon the attempt to show that the prophetic and the priestly books in the Old Testament tell the same story. We enjoy an immense advantage by reason of the work done by those scholars who have made clear the existence of a "Priest's Code" with the values and the limitations which belong to that phase of religious development, side by side with the utterances of men of prophetic insight, like Amos and Micah, Isaiah and Jeremiah, whose whole method of approach to spiritual reality seems to us to-day more fruitful.

The whole game of hide and seek played with proof texts as men have striven, and striven in vain to make this entire literature speak in unison, as they have endured an intellectual agony and bloody sweat in their effort to reconcile part with part in the interests of an impossible theory of verbal inspiration, is now practically abandoned. We are not in these days trying to play any sort of game with the Bible; we rejoice that scholarly men have aided in arranging these scriptures in layers which mark the stages of growth, and indicate successive attainments in moral insight and spiritual power. And this view of the Bible furnishes a defence against a former line of attack upon its inspiration and authority, which is in no danger of being destroyed.

In the second place the modern method by its frank acceptance of the principle of growth, correlates Bible study with all other study. The earth grew and the processes laid bare by modern geology offer to us a most fascinating field for study. Institutions grow, languages grow, literatures grow, each mighty tree with branches now innumerable was once like a grain of mustard seed. The Bible grew. "The impregnable Rock of holy scripture" is not a happy phrase, chosen though it was by the foremost Christian statesman of the last century. Its suggestions and associations are misleading. The Bible is not a rock; not a "heavenly meteorite" dropped down out of the sky with no earthly history, standing quite isolated from the gropings and yearnings of men. The Bible is a mighty tree declaring in its concentric rings the story of its slow advance, exhibiting in the shape and colour of its spreading branches, its twigs and its leaves the unmistakable influence of climatic conditions. The life of it is indeed the life of the living God, but the material utilized was taken from the common soil. It was formed from the dust of the ground, God breathing into it the breath of his own mighty life until it became possessed of a living soul.

It has been reserved for modern criticism to bring all this out more clearly than it has ever been brought out by other methods of interpretation. Israel's entire message to the world from the Song of Deborah and the Book of the Covenant on to the Sermon on the Mount, and the prayer of our Lord on the night that he was betrayed, has travelled the main road of historic development. The New Testament itself opens with a long line of human genealogy intended to throw some additional light upon the origin of the mighty power there brought to the attention of the world. It was the effort of a Hebrew, writing his gospel for the Hebrews, to indicate that some at least of the forces which brought the Messiah, lay securely entrenched within the history of his own race. The word of the Lord in its entirety has come to us in this organic way. It is no freak nor fault—it is not to be studied as standing apart in the region of magic. The investigation, the interpretation and the application of the truth contained in scripture is to

be closely correlated in method and purpose with all other forms of study which hold the attention of serious minded men.

You can see at once the gain in interest and in thoroughness which is thus secured for Bible study. Here also the scientific habit of mind and the essential principles of literary criticism are at home. Discriminating scholarship enables us to know when we are reading poetry and when we are reading prose—the difference is more radical than that indicated by printing one in stanzas and the other solid. It enables us to trace the principle of development in the content of words. When Deborah praised the cruel deed of Jael, when a body of priests in the book of Leviticus indicated what in their judgment was pleasing to the Almighty, when Isaiah arraigned a people stricken for their moral blindness, when Jesus uttered his matchless summons, each one used the word "God." In our King James' version that word is spelled throughout with the same three letters and pronounced in the same tone of voice, yet the distance traversed in the essential meaning of the word in the period indicated is almost immeasurable. Discriminating study brings all this out into plain view. Thus when open-minded young men once catch the spirit of modern Bible study they no longer think of it as a field apart—it joins hard upon all the other fields of serious inquiry in the great estate of human knowledge. The whole earth is equally the Lord's and the fulness thereof—the same rigour, the same thoroughness and frankness which belong to research in those further fields are welcome here where men are undertaking to know and to do the will of God as it lies revealed in holy scripture.

In the third place the modern method adds immeasurably to the human interest of the book. When we think of the Bible not as dropped down from the sky to become the priceless heritage of the race: not as dictated to chosen penmen who but dimly felt the significance of what they transmitted, but as slowly wrought into the conscious experience of gifted men as they faced duty, grappled with temptation, knew the guilt of wrong doing and reached out if haply they might find him who would bring deliverance—when once we think of the truths of the Bible as thus inwrought in the experience of many men varying in temperament, in moral insight and in spiritual development, we see how many more are the points of contact between this book and our own lives. It has a face like our own face, now clouded by defeat now shining with the sense of victory. It has a hand like our own hand, stretched out in an unmistakable offer of help from the vantage ground gained by moral struggles similar to our own. It has a voice like ours, now broken and deadened with passion, now ringing clear through the joy of spiritual advance, speaking to us in our own tongue the words of eternal life. The whole method of modern criticism has helped to bring the Bible down out of the clouds and to make it helpfully at home among these oft-recurring needs of men.

Take that narrative which describes the motives which led Israel to carry the Ark of Yahweh into the field of battle as they struggled with their foes, and the subsequent capture of the ark by the Philistines with the unhappy experiences which befell these foreigners while they retained the visible abode of the Hebrew deity away from his own people and jurisdiction—how human it all becomes as we read it in the light of modern criticism and how much more useful! Take the varying accounts written by the prophetic and the priestly party in recording the same events in the books of Samuel and in the books of the Chronicles and witness there the age-long struggle between the

moral and the ritual elements in religion, between the spiritual and the legalistic! Take the gradual development of the shrewd, worldly temper among the Hebrews as they parted company with their greatest prophets and became the followers of a material success, as it stands revealed in the lower morality of the Proverbs and in the cynical doubt of Ecclesiastes—how greatly it adds to the interest of our study in any one of these fields to have the whole passage set in place and its relations to a vast historical process thus made plain.

The book which the modern student goeth in to possess is not as the land of Egypt from whence we came out. It is not a flat surface of divine revelation across which the interpreter may walk with even tread gathering everywhere alike the veritable message of the Eternal. The book he goeth in to possess is a land of hills and of valleys; it is a country of moral undulation, of spiritual vantage grounds gained but not always held by succeeding generations in their onward march. It is a land that drinketh water of the rain of heaven, gaining periodical help from a source more abundant than the one opened by irrigation in the valley of the Nile, but sharing in the moral venture of those who undertake to live by supplies from above. And in its splendid outcome, in the genuine effectiveness with which it reaches the hearts and needs of plain people who have also their hills and their valleys to traverse, it shows that it is beyond all other books a land which the Lord our God careth for and the eyes of the Lord are always upon it with affectionate interest from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year.

Finally the modern method of studying the Bible gives us that sense of perspective which aids in placing its authority on surer foundations. When once we cast in our lot with this method we find historical reasons for laying aside certain theological views which have become more or less discredited on philosophical grounds. It is not too much to say that the whole doctrine of the atonement, as popularly understood for generations, was based more largely upon the Book of Leviticus than upon the spiritual insight of the second Isaiah or upon the teachings of our Lord himself. When scripture was scripture, wherever found, no serious objection was urged to this method. But now with the new sense of perspective, when we look upon Leviticus as being the output of a particular school of religious opinion, as the expression of the point of view of men of a peculiar temperament, its value for the old forensic theory of the atonement has in the estimation of careful scholars undergone a great change. The doctrine of sin for generations was affected more by the story of the fall of man in the third chapter of Genesis than by all the teachings of Jesus put together, yet our Lord delivered his entire message without ever referring once to that narrative of the Garden of Eden. When historical study has indicated the rightful place and has more accurately appraised the value of this ancient document it compels a revision of our view of human guilt. You may call the roll of all the doctrines of religion and you will find that better methods of Bible study are setting them in right perspective, putting certain claims in the background where they remain objects of a genuine historical interest, and bringing to the fore those weightier matters of the law, the great right things which are for ever vital.

This whole method of study thus leads to a more intelligent and verifiable appraisement of all these varied sources. Thoughtful men have become exceedingly impatient with the utterances of those

religious promoters who love to say loudly, "the Bible is the infallible word of God from lid to lid." The people feel that such representations are commonly made in the Spirit of the advertiser, conscious that he is claiming more for his wares than the facts warrant, but excusing himself on the ground that when the inevitable scaling down takes place the net result will be an approximation of the truth. It is an attitude that must of necessity be an offence to him who said, "I am the truth"; and "ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The faith which undertakes to find in the Bible nothing erroneous, nothing defective, nothing outgrown, is not the faith once delivered to the saints. It is a piece of unfounded arrogance which has caused more unbelief than it has ever cured. We shall best serve the cause of truth and the cause of righteousness in whose interests the Bible has been committed into our hands, by those methods of study which give this sense of perspective, returning to the history of theology those claims whose value belongs entirely to an earlier stage of development and bringing clearly to the front those sublime verities which actually constitute the word of God to the present life of the race.

We have made substantial progress along all these lines, but the end is not yet. We have not attained neither are we in any way become perfect either in theory or in practice—we are still pressing toward the mark. That genuinely Christian element in the Bible, freed from all remainders and accretions which might dim its beauty or hinder its power is yet to stand revealed in the temple where aspiring young men like the prophet of old are waiting for the vision. It will require whole generations of devout, learned and painstaking scholarship to finally accomplish the great result. But when that end shall be gained, that clearer vision of Christian truth will fill anew the whole place of aspiration and belief, with an unutterable, divine glory. The response of mind and heart will be indeed a mighty response—in the clear presence of the unveiled word of God men will cry again, "Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord of Hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory"! In the presence of the shining duties there outlined and the spiritual privileges there revealed, they will offer themselves anew in joyous consecration, that through their loyal service the whole earth may be filled with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea.

Hymn "O God, whose living Word."

The Invitation to Australia

The Rev. R. J. Wells made an announcement in reference to the invitation given to the Council to hold its next meeting, and another in regard to the Committee of the Council under the newly-adopted constitution. He said:

There are two items of business which I think we can carry through without any discussion whatever. The first is to present the report of the Business Committee in regard to the invitation which was laid before you from the Australasian Union as to the place of meeting of our next Council. The Business Committee very carefully considered

that invitation, and they passed the following resolution as a recommendation to this Council :—

> "That while gratefully appreciating the warm and generous invitation given by the Congregational Union of Australasia for the next meeting of the International Council, we feel that the impracticability of securing an adequate representation at so great a distance makes it inadvisable to accept the invitation."

I would move that that become the resolution of this Council, and that it be forwarded with our gracious thanks to the Australasian Union.

Mr. G. K. Smith, J.P., Dundee, seconded, and the resolution was adopted.

The Officers under the New Constitution

The Rev. R. J. Wells: In the Committee Dr. Hallock called attention to a point that perhaps it may be well to put into precise order. That was, having passed the new Constitution, more especially that section of it which makes the officers permanent until the next meeting of the Council, when their successors should be appointed, that it was not retrospective, and that it would be wise to pass the following resolution, and the Committee recommended the same :—

"That the officers of this Council, elected under the former constitution, be the officers under the new, and subject to its conditions."

I move that.

This was unanimously agreed to.

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. Danjo Ebina, of Tokyo, Japan, to address the assembly.

Address by Rev. D. Ebina

THE PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY IN JAPAN

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is a great honour and privilege for me to inform you with what obstacles we have been fighting, and how we have behaved in our calling. Ever since a Congregationalist had been in Japan, the hard experience of the great Apostle of the Gentiles, "without were fightings and within were fears," has been repeated over and ever again. Our fightings were not with mortally wounded Confucianism, Buddhism and Shintoism, but with the long-inherited prejudice which was created by the Roman Catholics, and with vigorous European infidelity which was already introduced into Japan. We fought with Darwins, Huxleys, Mills, Spencers, Häckels, Vitches, and Drapers. After the hard fightings we have found out many things valuable and true which were propagated in the name of infidelity. As the young Christians of scientific culture grew in their religious experiences and thoughts, they perceived more and more clearly that the irreconcilable contradiction is deeply seated

between modern culture and some of Christian doctrines. Their mental struggles and spiritual worries tormented them severely in their profound religious consciousness. They prayed earnestly and sometimes expostulated before God. Some concluded that man cannot serve God sincerely without sacrificing the desire for knowledge. It must be frankly stated that those whose intellect was acute and logical, but whose religious experience was not severely cut in their heart and profoundly impressed in their mind could not maintain their religious life when some of their beliefs were entirely contradicted and plainly demonstrated to be absurd. A still greater and harder trial was set before them to test their faith.

Intelligent Christians found out that there is also an inner contradiction in Christian experiences themselves. For instance, they were taught that God is supra mundane, dwelling in the highest heaven, far away from the habitation of man, and coming down sometimes to interfere with actions of men. They were taught also that he is the creator of heaven and earth, the first cause of all things, having appeared in sundry times to reveal his will to his chosen people. On the contrary, they experienced themselves the reality of the Holy Spirit, who is ever present in the Christian consciousness as the comforter and teacher of all truth. Being conscious of his presence in every moment of human life, is it necessary to return to the beginning of creation to find him as the first cause or go beyond the grave to meet him in the highest heaven? The idea of first cause might please their intellectual curiosity but could not satisfy the requirement of their religious consciousness that demands the immediate presence of God in and above them. Having God in us, should we go to the records of the ancients to know the truth, as it were, that the age of revelation was passed and the revealed truth being stereotyped in books was handed down to generations that have no God in themselves? Has he not been ever revealing his truth to his sons and daughters in a better way than before, as mankind has ever been advancing in its capacity of understanding? They were not only taught that God is their gracious Father who gives bountifully a spirit of sonship, but experienced themselves a throbbing heart after God that cries Abba, Father, and were convinced that God is really their father ever near them, forgiving their sins, receiving and caressing them in his loving arms. "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in Him shall not perish but have eternal life." Is it not the voice of the innermost genuine Christian consciousness? Is it not a contradiction to offer a human or divine sacrifice to propitiate such a loving Father? Is the central truth of Christianity the consciousness of sin, or that of incorruptible holiness in us? If we have the spirit of holiness in us are we not in essence one and identical with Christ? If God be the Father of mankind does he not make his sun of righteousness rise on Mohammedans and Jews, and sends his rain of grace on Christians and Buddhists? Are not all religions the revelations of one eternal omnipresent God who is over all, through all and in all? If patriarchs, prophets and saints of Israel should be in heaven why not sages, wise men, philosophers and saints of the world? Such thoughts, questions and doubts alternately or simultaneously upset the minds of young ministers and Christians. Thank God, the spirit of Christ which is in them and the truth manifested in his ethics, religious personality, have set them free from their fears and anxieties. They shall no more be entangled in the yoke of traditionalism.

One more important fact must be stated as the result of Congregationalism and nationalism. The American Board missionaries emphasized this self-supporting principle. It was welcomed by the Japanese. The poor and inexperienced young Christians endeavoured to organize self-supporting churches under the auspices of their American teachers. But when they were decided to follow their own ways and govern themselves they tried to be completely independent and have taken upon themselves the responsibility of entire management. They have succeeded. No mission has achieved so great a work as the American Board. We owe to the Congregationalists of America the principle of self-government, the spirit of independence and the absolute freedom of conscience. In all these things the Congregational missionaries, ministers by which we could overcome many obstacles, some of which were never preached in the name of the Gospel, and churches in Japan have been always ahead, leading other denominations and inspiring their ministers and missionaries. Now, we are no longer defensive and apologetic, but offensive, pulling down the strongholds of men, baptizing and sanctifying the virtue of Japan, Bushido, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ. A year before last we baptized 1,500 persons, last year over 2,300, and this year one thousand already. We are now increasing very rapidly.

Christianity has succeeded in many points. The people at large, no matter whether they be Buddhists or Confucianists or Shintoists have acknowledged the truth taught in the Sermon on the Mount, the Fatherhood of God, the inner righteousness of spiritual disposition, the worthiness of human soul, the Christian chastity and the brotherhood of mankind. The essence of Christianity recently expounded by eminent Christian scholars and confirmed by the profound and bold experience of genuine Christians is a thing to be appreciated and gladly received by many in Japan. Japan longs after the essence and kernel of Christianity and not its husks.

I rejoice to see in this great and honourable convention the mighty, triumphant procession of new vital truth of Christ, as it were gloriously risen from the dead, breaking down the walls and gates of Hades. I enjoy the fine scenery of Scotland and its historical monuments; especially I enjoy the bold, frank, straightforward spirit of Scotchmen, and their metallic intellect. I enjoy the beauty of Edinburgh. But if I could not see the mighty spirit of living Christ in us riding on a white horse, going forth conquering and to conquer, I would have been disappointed, discouraged, despondent and lonely. Thank God, I could see face to face the victory of new truth. What a joy, encouragement, and hope I may bring home to my fellow-countrymen; and with what a cheer and enthusiasm they will welcome me, it shall be, I assure you, more than your expectation. Thank you all.

"Sunday School Reform in Organization" was the next topic to be considered by the Council. It was introduced by Mr. F. F. Belsey, J.P., of London.

ADDRESS BY MR. F. F. BELSEY, J.P., LONDON

SUNDAY SCHOOL REFORM IN ORGANIZATION

Mr. President, my dear Friends,—May I take the earliest opportunity, as a humble representative of the Sunday-school workers of this country, to tender to the Congregational Union our very hearty thanks for the attention it is now giving, so generously and fully, to the claims of the work of the Sunday School teacher? And I think I can hardly do better than refer you to the very interesting report prepared under the direction of its committee by the Rev. W. Melville Harris, and ask you from that report more fully to acquaint yourselves with the details of a work which I humbly believe is of enormous importance, not only to our denomination, but to the Church of Christ. That book, containing particulars both of methods and results, I think clearly points out that there is very much room for reform in the work which we are attempting amongst the young. If you will for a moment consider a few simple facts in connection with that special work of our churches, you will see that this is by no means the least important matter to which attention could be given by this great assembly.

First of all, a study of your church records will show that the principal influx of members to our churches is from our Sunday-schools. Statistics have been collected and collated, and as the result of these investigations it has been shown that eighty per cent. on the average of our church members come up into our churches from the Sunday-school. Therefore I claim that young life is the richest acre the church has under cultivation, and if eighty per cent. of our harvest is gathered from that acre it certainly deserves far larger attention than it has hitherto received.

Then there are some other very startling facts that we ought not to forget. I think I may say fairly that in our Sunday Schools and our Ragged Schools nearly the whole of the young members of each succeeding generation, allowing for foreign immigrants, for children in our institutions, and for the children of the wealthier classes not attending Sunday-school, are gathered, and that every British boy and girl finds himself or herself, for a longer or a shorter time, under the care of a Christian teacher. Having the generation, do we keep it? Having this first look in at young life in each succeeding age, do we preserve our influence over it? Our records, unfortunately, show that when these young people reach the age of twelve or thirteen there is a loss of something like eighty per cent. of those under our care, although the loss is somewhat less in our own denomination, sixty-five per cent. only. And when do we lose them? At the most critical period of life, at a time when the church ought to plank down her last sovereign, and offer her most earnest prayers, and call out her heaviest reserves to try and hold them. Why? Because we lose them just at the very period of life when character is being formed and when decision is taken for God or the world. I think you will find that of every hundred Christian workers, on an average, eighty were led to decision for Christ between the ages of twelve and nineteen; at the very period when we are allowing these young people to escape.

Now, if the old adage be true, "Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," and you find

that three out of four of those you are training break away when they reach the most important years of life, there must either be a gross mis-statement in that passage of holy writ, or there must be a very great mistake in our methods of training. And I do not hesitate to say that we have made a very great mistake in our method of dealing with this most important class.

What was our Lord's order of sequence in the work he commissioned his church to carry out? When he gave Peter his threefold commission I think we may at least believe that he had in view the sequence we find there. He began with the command, "Feed my lambs." "Put the little child in the very forefront of all your Christian work and service. That little child is the protoplasm of my spiritual kingdom, and you must, if you would succeed, keep your eye first and foremost on that little child." Then in the second command notice the difference. Christ bids you "tend," "shepherd" his young sheep; and then thirdly, says, "Feed my sheep." Now have we not been making a sad mistake in reversing that order, and in putting first what Christ put last, in our church work and organization? Have we not looked upon the work amongst adults as the foremost and most important work the church has in hand? We have our colleges to train their teachers. Those who shepherd them have received the greatest possible care at the hands of the churches, and rightly so, so far as necessary work in that direction is concerned, but I want to ask whether, while we have been doing that, and putting that in the very forefront, we have not really been sacrificing results which would perhaps have astonished us by their abundance if we had only gone along Christ's road?

I am very thankful to believe that on this side of the Atlantic this great question of the importance of Christian work amongst the young is occupying the attention of some of our most earnest Christian people, and we have found that at all points of our Sunday-school organization there is the necessity for very much change and improvement. First of all, in what our American brethren call primary departments, or in what we call infant schools, we find that the work of the church has been of a most inferior kind. The buildings have been oftentimes most inconvenient, the very worst that the church has had at her command. The teachers are, unfortunately, in too many cases, unacquainted with those principles of psychology and pedagogy which are very necessary if you are really going to win the attention and interest of little children. And then we have been too much without any of those appliances which would have made their training effective. Now I am very thankful to believe that here, and more especially also on the American side, we have found that this has been, perhaps, the starting point in reform, and as a result of the efforts made under the direction of the Sunday School Union by Mr. Archibald, assisted as he has been by a number of earnest demonstrators, we have had a very great change effected in the character of many of our infant schools. Think of the importance of first impressions in life. What a desirable thing it is that a little child, looking back to the time of its first contact with the representative of Jesus Christ in the person of its Sunday-school teacher, should be able to call up memories fraught with delight and interest. How can we expect such memories to gather when the little child has been seated on hot summer afternoons in an ill-ventilated room on one of those wooden galleries we are banishing from our elementary schools? How can you imagine interest will be

excited when the child is without pictures or any other appliances, and taught without any of that arrangement and illustration of the lesson which would make Bible teaching interesting and effective? In this new crusade, earnestly undertaken, these little minds will be provided with a proper environment, that will help them to feel that of all beautiful hours in childhood no hour was so bright and so pleasant as that spent in the Sunday-school, no face so attractive as that of the teacher who knew just how to touch its little heart. Well, we have just been trying to do something to improve what we feel to be this important end of the religious instruction of the young, and make the infant thoroughly appreciate the blessedness of the training it is entering upon, and enjoy the Bible lessons taught by a skilled and efficient teacher.

Then I may point out that at the other end of the school we have a more important task still. We spoke about eighty per cent. disappearing from our schools and turning their backs upon the house of God. Now why are they going? Why is it that for the last 130 years, ever since the establishment of Sunday-schools, people have been asking, How can we retain our elder scholars? It appears to me, sir, that a very sufficient answer is given in the reply, "Because you have not known how wisely to treat those elder scholars." If there is one thing that the elder scholar has a particular aversion to, it is, so far as I notice, association with what he calls "kids." The difficulty of holding them among their little brothers and sisters in the Sunday-school, where children's hymns are sung and children's lessons are taught, where the whole atmosphere is the atmosphere of childhood has been demonstrated during these 130 years. What is the remedy? Keep your elder scholars in a Sunday institute. Transfer these young people, conscious of advancing manhood and womanhood, to an atmosphere suited to their altered condition. Put them together under the training of the best and most expert teachers the church can provide. And in their cases the classes may be much larger than in your intermediate school. The senior teacher can instruct his or her thirty or forty young men and women, with as much effect and with as much success as in the ordinary Sunday-school class, the junior teacher can deal with eight or ten. Therefore I plead very earnestly with our churches to undertake the great task of capturing these retreating thousands of young people. Seek to hold them under these new conditions, and experience is showing us that you will succeed. Wherever this attempt has been made, the best results are found to follow. Therefore I would most earnestly urge this changed method of dealing with your senior scholars.

And remember this, that in this character-forming period of life it is not enough just to meet these young people for an hour on the Lord's day. There must be a shepherding of them right through the week. It is not much use just bringing them together for an hour on Sunday when if you follow them into their week-day pursuits you find them crowding music halls, filling theatres, and frequenting public-houses. If we are true workers for Jesus Christ we must shepherd these growing sheep, we must make the house of God a little more like the theatre by illuminating its now dark windows during the week, by filling it with interest; and attracting to it as a centre the young minds that we want to win for Christ. We must follow the work of that institute on the Lord's day by opening it on the week-night. Let us start upon a religious basis. Do not open it for young

people from the street, open it for the young fellow and the young girl from the Sunday meeting. Keep the religious basis at the bottom of it and make membership of the one contingent upon membership of the other. There you will have opportunities not only for deepening religious impressions, but for training them in that best citizenship our country needs. You may work in connection with the Science and Art Department at Kensington, and receive grants for educational work done. You may train the young girls in the knowledge of hygiene and domestic economy and sick nursing, and so make them invaluable by and by in their capacity as mothers. You may train your young men, not only in gymnastics, but in many useful science subjects and in the various duties of St. John's Ambulance work. You may thus make them valuable citizens in after life, and you will make the institute a centre of social enjoyment and movement in your church.

Then may I also point out how necessary it will be with this new arrangement to avail yourself of those new graded lessons promised by our International Committee. Our lessons instead of being the same for all the school, will shortly be graded, simple biographical stories for the infants, historical accounts of our Lord and of Israel for the intermediates, and then the epistles and the prophets for the seniors. Along with this I earnestly plead for higher training amongst our teachers. We want the minister to be not only a preacher but a leader of teachers. If I may say so, we want him to be a D.D., not merely Doctor Divinitatis, but Doctor Doctorum, a teacher of teachers, that so we may have provided in every church under the guidance of the minister the very best instruction for the young people. We believe our appeal to the college committees will be no longer neglected. While these college committees are seeking to train future pastors for their work, there must be more attention given to the duty of securing the proper training of the young. Why not have in connection with pastoral theology some careful instruction in Sunday-school organisation, and in the best and most approved methods of instruction? I plead most earnestly that these matters may receive, as I am glad to believe they are receiving, more attention from our denominational authorities.

And then may I suggest that there should be in connection with every Sunday-school organisation a transfer department. Many thousands of young people are lost every year from the church of Christ simply because such an organisation does not exist. A young fellow goes from one of our provincial towns to London, and then comes a time when the bonds of Christian association are loosened, he forsakes the Sunday-school, and is seen in the house of God no more. When such a lad is leaving his name should be sent to the nearest school of the same denomination, that he may be welcomed and taken to another school of the same order. Our Sunday-schools should have a special department for this work and keep it in vigorous action. Then we ought to instruct our brightest boys and girls to watch the furniture vans, and wherever there are children among the newcomers, let them make their acquaintance and bring them down to the Sunday-school the next Sunday. If we have in connection with our Sunday-school work some such simple expedients which will retain the grasp of the church upon childhood and youth I venture to think that the conversion of England to the Lord Jesus Christ will be hastened. Let us hold them rather than lose them, let us keep the grasp of the

church upon these young lives and then I think we shall soon have a flock of sheep that it will be the joy of our pastors to instruct trained within the walls of the sanctuary. Held for Christ, these young people will not only become the flower of His church, but also the hope of the nation.

"Sunday School Reform in the use of the Bible" was dealt with by the Rev. W. F. Adeney, M.A., D.D., Principal of Lancashire Independent College, Manchester.

ADDRESS BY REV. PRINCIPAL ADENEY, M.A., D.D.

SUNDAY SCHOOL REFORM IN THE USE OF THE BIBLE

Some of us have long felt that the way in which the Bible is commonly handled in the Sunday-school is as unfortunate in regard to the scholars as it is unscientific in its treatment of the book itself. Even for a simple understanding of the Scriptures as they stand the method of cutting it up into detached sections and setting these before young people in isolation is unreasonable. We treat no other literature in that way. But a further injustice is done, both to the lessons and to the learners, in the neglect of the results of historical and literary research, which is too common in Sunday-school teaching. That neglect is partly due to ignorance on the part of the teacher—an ignorance for which the minister is mainly responsible if he has not done his best to dispel it, and it is also due in part to a timidity that fears to cause unsettlement of mind. It would be possible to argue that this timidity is an evidence of lack of faith. If we were sure of our ground ourselves, we should not dread the effects of leading others to it. But, indeed, the day has passed when it would be possible to keep young people in ignorance of questions that are ringing in the air. Biblical criticism has slipped out of the lecture room, and caught hold even of the man in the street. Usually his conception of it is grotesquely perverted. But whose fault is that? What have we been doing to prepare him for the crude questions suddenly sprung upon him by his half-penny newspaper? When the *Daily Mail* undertakes to discuss theological problems, it is absurd for the religious teacher to fight shy of them for fear of upsetting simple minds. In England we have the *Clarion* making use of pre-scientific methods of Bible reading in order to throw ridicule on Christianity, and the *Clarion* is read by some of our elder Sunday-school lads. To ignore these facts is like hiding one's head under the bedclothes at sight of a burglar in the room. I do not hesitate to say that foolish, antiquated methods of Bible teaching provide the very soil in which the sceptical writer sows his seed. Most of the anti-christian arguments of the secularist would miss their points if they could not rely on crude conceptions of the Bible in their dupes and victims.

But I am by no means inclined to confine this question to the apologetic debate. It comes into the region of positive constructive teaching. To many of us the Bible is now a new book. It lives with a freshness that is perfectly exhilarating. The historical method of study has lit it up with novel splendour. It means more, it speaks

more clearly, it is more luminous and illuminating than ever it was. But as yet most of this new light has been carefully curtained off from the Sunday-school, as dangerous, if not fatal, to piety. The idea of some seems to be that, even if there is truth in the newer way of regarding the Bible, that truth must be reserved for those who are well prepared to estimate it at its right value. Meanwhile, children are to be brought up in the old-fashioned way of reading the Bible. The consequence is that, when they approach the newer methods, it is with a feeling of treading on thin ice, and if they accept them this is with the conceit of daring heretics. Or, perhaps, they will think they have been hoodwinked and bamboozled hitherto, and so turn with disgust from the training of their childhood; or, again, they may put that down to sheer ignorance, lose all gratitude for it, and toss it on one side as so much useless lumber. Have we a right to put our young people through this vexatious and not very wholesome process? Some of us have had to fight our way out of a mass of delusions to what we now hold to be the clearer perception of truth. Perhaps that is inevitable. But is it kind, or just, or reasonable to require the next generation to go back to our starting-place, and wearily labour over the same ground? Why should not the new generation start at the point to which the earlier generation has attained? We do not require students of astronomy to begin with the Ptolemaic system, closely guarded from all knowledge of later ideas, and then lead them to unlearn what they have acquired, and finally set them to study the Copernican system. I cannot see any reason why the young person should be expected first to accept a sort of Ptolemaic Bible, and in later years, with a shock of surprise, come to discard it, and advance to his Copernican Bible. Why should he not begin with the ascertained results of the most thorough, competent, up-to-date Biblical scholarship? I say the results. I am not suggesting that young children should be set to work out problems of Higher Criticism. That would be as absurd as to expect them to work out abstruse astronomical problems. But the inability of the child to calculate the motions of the heavenly body is no reason why he should be told that the sun goes round the earth, and left to find out later as best he may that the earth revolves on its own axis.

I proceed to explain this contention a little more in detail. The first point to which I would call attention is well on the way to a settlement. Two years ago Professor Peake brought out a book entitled "Reform in Sunday-school Teaching," in which he analysed the subjects of the "International Lessons" for a number of years, with the result that the method on which they were constructed was demonstrated to be palpably absurd by the mere process of exposure. The scrappy, inconsecutive selection gave no idea of the sweep of revelation, the meaning and purpose of any of the books of the Bible, or the course of their narratives. Last year an epoch-making conference of representatives of the American and English "International Lessons" Committees met in London, and drew up a series of resolutions for improvements, one of which was a recommendation of graded lessons. This idea has been accepted, and arrangements are already on foot for carrying it into effect. Here we adopt Mr. Archbell's reiterated principle that we should begin with the child, not with the Bible. Then the question is not, how shall we divide the book up into so many sections? but, how shall we train the child by the use of the book? The English Committee has added four college professors to its

membership, and a new series of lessons is being drawn up under the advice of these experts. I cannot speak too warmly in appreciation of the practical good sense and large-hearted sympathy that the older members of the committee have shown, first in inviting these additions to their number, and then in falling in with the novel suggestions that have been the result. It is evident that the responsible Sunday-school leaders are themselves anxious for reform in this matter. That fact is a good augury for the future.

The new arrangement of the lessons will do more than follow the principle of grades. It will endeavour to realise some continuity in the treatment of the history and of the books in the lessons for the Intermediate Department, which at first is the only department that is being arranged for by the International Committees.

But now I proceed further, to more debateable ground. Here I must express my own views quite distinctly and emphatically, whether you agree with them or not. I believe that the Bible is needed more than ever, to-day, as the basis and guide of Christian teaching. I am strongly opposed to the removal of Bible teaching from the public elementary schools, which I should regard as a national disaster that the mass of the people would gravely resent. In the Sunday-school the Bible is the essential text-book. I hear, with an approach to dismay, that there are senior Sunday-school classes that consider themselves too advanced to make use of it, shaping their lessons apparently on vague socialistic theses. But I do not fling all the blame at them. This is the nemesis of timid conservatism. Antiquated methods of teaching the Bible have led to the inference that the Bible is an antiquated book.

What, then, are the methods of Biblical study to be advised in the present day? Before answering this question we have first to settle a matter of principle. I hold, as a fundamental principle of the ethics of teaching, that we should never expect, or require, or encourage the young to believe what in the depth of our secret consciousness we do not believe ourselves. To do so is to be disloyal to the truth, cruel to the scholars, and therefore unfaithful to the double trust that is laid upon the teacher—the trust of the message and the trust of souls. It is the sin of the scribes who bind on the simple heavy burdens that they will not so much as touch with their little finger.

On the other hand, I do not suggest that critical questions should be brought before uncritical minds, or that the critical faculty which is the latest to ripen should be developed precociously, as by appeals to a judgment which is not yet formed; though I will admit that even this mistake may perhaps not do more harm than the dogmatic crushing of all spontaneous thinking beneath a dull weight of authority. Different processes will be natural and reasonable and right for different ages. The results of fairly ascertained and settled historical criticism may be given before the processes by which they have been arrived at can be expounded. Then I would develop the teaching somewhat as followed in three principal stages.

In the Junior Stage children should have simple Bible stories. There is no need to make them consecutive, no occasion to say anything about their place in—or out of—history. The selection should rather turn on the character of the stories and the lessons they obviously teach. Great prominence should be given to stories from the life of Christ. These should be made perfectly familiar to the children, so that they get a portrait of their Lord on their minds and

hearts, imprinted by what they learn of his words and deeds. Other Bible stories should be carefully selected, in view of this central teaching. As yet nothing should be taught that appears to be in conflict with it. Young children are quite unable to understand the idea of the development of revelation that is so great a help to our consideration of those Biblical narratives the ethics of which are manifestly not Christian. It is better, therefore, that young children should not have these stories at all, than that their ideas should be perverted by a misconception of them.

At this early stage no discussion of the actuality of the occurrences should be put forward. It is enough that the stories are told for their own sake. Tell them, and leave them to work out their own influences. Still, children will sometimes ask, Is it true? In such cases, to be honest, we must discriminate. Any hesitation or hushing up of enquiry is hurtful to a child's simple faith. In some cases we shall reply by saying that we don't know. Children get accustomed in course of time to the difference between folk-lore and history. As soon as they discriminate in their questions, we must discriminate in our answers. The mistake is to begin with the discrimination on our side. I repeat, the natural and reasonable process seems to be to simply tell the stories in the first instance without a word about the question as to whether they are true or not. When the question is raised by the children, we definitely affirm the reality of Jesus and the main truth of the New Testament story. If the enquiry is pressed in more doubtful regions it deserves to be met quite frankly. The children should then be told that the earlier stories are legends handed down by tradition for many generations before they were written, and that nothing else is known about them. In the first part of "The Bible Re-told for the Young," Professor Bennett begins with the history of Israel. After the account of Israel in the Wilderness he says, "So, long after, in the time of the kings of Israel and Judah, men still loved to tell the ancient stories of the patriarchs, as the Israelite herdsmen round the camp fire, and the maidens at the well told them in days of old. Some of these stories are written for you here." Then follow the stories of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Pentateuch accounts of the creation and the flood are not introduced yet. They come later—at the time when they were introduced to Israel in their present form. Dr. Bennett begins them by saying, "It was natural that the Jews should tell the old stories in a new way, to teach the old lessons more clearly and forcibly, and to teach new lessons as well. I will tell you two of these new editions of the old stories; first, the story of the creation." This is not meant for very young children. The book from which I have quoted is designed for boys and girls of about the age of twelve years. Children of that age ask serious questions, and deserve serious answers to them.

The objection that such teaching will upset the children's belief in the Bible is founded on a misapprehension. If they are first impregnated with a dogmatic notion of the verbal inerrancy of the written word, of course this will upset it. But to start with such a process is foolish, unkind, immoral. If, however, the children have never had the false and mischievous notion implanted in their minds, there will be nothing to upset in teaching the truth that contradicts it. I would bring them up with the idea that the Bible is inspired, that its writers were moved by the Spirit of God, that God himself speaks to us through them, that it contains the one supreme revelation of God's



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truth, that in these respects it is apart from all other books, "A precious treasure, book divine," and therefore to be loved and prized, and studied reverently, but not that it is verbally infallible. I would never discuss the question of verbal infallibility with children, never put the notion into their heads. The mischief has been that inspiration was assumed to imply infallibility. The result is that the disproof of infallibility has thrown doubt on inspiration. If we keep the two notions apart, we can still display the glories of inspiration, while fearlessly admitting the results of criticism.

But in much of what I have here said I have been anticipating the second period of Bible study in the Sunday-school. Passing from the mere story-telling which is natural to children, we now come on to the teaching of Bible History. Now it is much for people to know their Bibles as they exist to-day. The consecutive reading that lies behind such knowledge, and is its essential condition, comes naturally in the first place. But when we are explaining the narrative to intelligent boys and girls, there is no reason why we should not state the ascertained results of criticism as to the order of the events. This is not to be done controversially. If the scholars have not been previously perverted by false notions, there is nothing in them to controvert. Besides, the controversial temper is most unwholesome for childhood. I doubt if it is much more healthy for any of us. One of our greatest misfortunes is that we are sometimes forced into controversy on the public platform or in the columns of the newspaper. It is bad for the brain, bad for the heart, bad for the digestion. It narrows and hardens and embitters us. It turns the milk of human kindness into bile. Many children are quite sufficiently precocious already—even in Great Britain—without our manufacturing a generation of little critical prigs. But then, as I have said, if we have not started them on the wrong lines, there will be no occasion for controversy. What we shall have to do will be simply to inculcate the plain facts of the case. For this purpose some study of critical processes and results on the part of the teacher is most desirable. A good modern commentary will give him the material he wants; or he may use Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*. I could scarcely recommend the *Encyclopedia Biblica* to the untrained and indiscriminating, although it contains many articles of great value for the discerning student. Then a teacher may still use Robertson Smith's works, or, as more modern guides, the writings of Professor George Adam Smith, or again a History of Israel such as that of Dr. P. Smith in the "International Library." With such materials in hand it is possible for the teacher to gain a fair idea of the main course of Israelite History. Then he will be prepared to teach the Bible in the light of that knowledge. There is no reason why young people should not know that the law in its present form is later than Ezekiel, or that the legislation of Deuteronomy is earlier than that of Leviticus. The stories of Genesis and Exodus may be taken for their moral and religious teaching. But the history of Israel will be chiefly studied later in connection with the prophets. It is to be hoped, however, that the major part of the Bible teaching will be concerned with the New Testament, our especially Christian Scripture, and here pre-eminently with the gospels. As every child should know the stories of Jesus and should have a vivid portrait of Jesus in his mind, so all boys and girls ought to be made acquainted with the gospel narratives —especially those of the synoptic gospels, and also the teaching of

Jesus. Whatever else they may be ignorant of when they leave the Sunday-school, surely ministers and teachers should see that they are not ignorant of these matters. The later history will best be studied side by side with the epistles. It is not easy to make detached chapters from the epistles interesting to young people. The epistles should be treated as actual letters, not as collections of texts for proving theological dogmas. In order that this may be done effectively, these epistles require to be put in their historical setting, with the circumstances under which they were written explained, the situation of the writers, the condition of affairs that prompted the writing, the questions to be answered, and the errors to be corrected. Then each epistle should be taken by itself, and the main course of its argument made clear. There is no one method of dividing up the Bible for study to be recommended for all portions and at all times. Sometimes a single sentence or phrase, may be well worth study as a seed thought. At another time we may take a whole book, for the comprehension of its aim and purpose and teaching.

With these methods of study two important results follow. First, the Bible truth is seen to live in its original natural habitat, the Bible history. This will give it remarkable freshness. To some people it will make the Bible quite a new book. At the same time, many difficulties will vanish. The secularist park orator's vulgar jokes about Solomon's harem, the more serious questions of the extermination of the Canaanites, Jephthah's vow, David's dying curse, the imprecatory psalms, are all seen in an entirely different light that renders them quite harmless to faith. There is no need to defend any questionable action just because it appears to be narrated in the Bible without disapproval or even with apparent commendation.

The second result is the correlative of this on the positive side. One great consequence of critical Bible study is to bring out the truth of the gradual development of revelation. This is a help to apologetic. It cuts away half—more than half—the old Bible difficulties. It saves the apologist from what his opponents regard as shifty processes. He can be perfectly frank in his moral judgments and still save his case. It is ruinous to the conscience that young people should be encouraged to think that sophistical methods that they would scout in the secular sphere are to be commended in the sacred. We shall damage their spiritual life if we persuade them that questionable casuistry is defensible in support of the Bible. The methods of the old literalist when driven into a corner have been suspiciously like Jesuistry. It is a great relief to be liberated from this tortuous policy and to be able to discuss the narratives and ideas of Scripture without resorting to pious reserve, clerical caution, or any zigzag movement to avoid the obviously straightforward argument.

But that is not all; as I have said, there is a positive side to this historical treatment of the Bible, and that in itself is of very great value. The science of embryology is a valuable branch of biology. We understand the fully developed organism all the better when we have traced up its growth from the seed or the egg. Present-day politics and its problems can only be fairly appreciated by the student of past movements in history out of which they spring. We all recognise this principle when applied to religion in its most obvious and significant relationship—the relationship of the Old Testament to the New. Under the guidance of St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, we distinguish between the Old Testament and the New,

and we see the value of the earlier revelation as preparatory to the later. Now the newer method of Biblical study carries the same process further. It distinguishes between the primitive Israelite faith and that of the great eighth-century prophets, and it goes on to observe the new phase that the ancient religion of the Jews assumed after the Captivity. Further, it discriminated between the priestly and ceremonial type represented by Leviticus, and the spiritual and ethical represented by the greater prophets. The same process is helpful in the New Testament, though to a lesser extent, and with this important proviso, that the permanent and eternal norm for Christian truth is the earliest teaching—the teaching of Jesus Christ—if we include the significance of his life, death, and resurrection, and do not confine our attention to the purely verbal teaching of the prophetic period of his ministry. Similarly, in discriminating between the several types of teaching in the New Testament, the old Apostolic, the Pauline, the Hebrews, the Johannine, we not only save the reader from the perplexity of seeing inconsistencies and contradictions; we considerably enrich his perception of the whole body of New Testament teaching. He discovers that there are several facets to the diamond, and he sees how each reflects some different ray of the light of revelation. In this way the Bible becomes at once a new book, a richly variegated many-sided book, and a living book.

So far, I have been dealing with the results of historical criticism. But now the question comes, are there any cases in which the critical process itself should be introduced into the Sunday-school? I think there are. This is only desirable and likely to be useful quite exceptionally, and then under three conditions—competent knowledge and intelligence on the part of the teacher, adequate intelligence on the part of the class, and comparative simplicity in the problem attached. For here we are in the region of the experts, and the tyro may well be modest. Still, after all, there are certain plain issues. It is not wholesome to look upon the final questions about the Bible as beyond the reach of ordinary intelligence and spiritual discernment. The consequence of such an attitude towards it will be to land us in the Roman Catholic position—that the Bible apart from the specialist interpreter is a sealed book, perhaps even a dangerous book.

Now take a simple case that the present series of International Lessons offers us. These lessons are now engaged with the story of the books of Samuel. It is quite simple, under the guidance of such a book as Professor Kennedy's short commentary in the *Century Bible*, for an intelligent teacher to introduce an intelligent class to one most helpful result of literary criticism. It is seen that there are duplicate narratives of the appointment of Saul and the call of David. Now it can be pointed out very simply that these are based on two separate documents which the author of the books of Samuel used as his authorities. One of these has been called monarchial, as being sympathetic with the kingship, and the other Deuteronomic, as being written much later in the spirit of Deuteronomy and the prophets, when the shameful behaviour of many of the kings and their failure to serve the nation aright had led the inspired teachers of Israel to regard the institution of the throne itself as a result of apostasy from God, the true King of Israel. Now when this fact is borne in mind and explained to an intelligent class of young men or women, the position is much clearer. In the first place the existence of the duplicates in the narrative is explained. Then their different characters are also

appreciated. The class can understand how in one case a king is chosen and anointed in the name of God, and how in another his position is only grudgingly conceded and with warnings of evil consequences. But more than that, when a lesson bears obviously the character of one or other document—when it is favourable to the kingship or the reverse, the Bible class can be asked to consider on which document it is founded. The distinguishing features are often so simple and so broad that anybody of ordinary intelligence once set on the right lines can decide this matter for himself. At all events, the attempt will serve two purposes; it will add zest to Bible study, and it will remove the difficulties of puzzled Bible readers. I only make these suggestions for a senior class of fairly intelligent young men and women, under the leadership of a well-educated and duly prepared teacher; and I only suggest it as an occasional process when the subject seems to demand it.

The main course of Bible study does not lie in this direction. Our business is, as St. Paul says, to be "rightly dividing the word of truth," that is to say, to crack the nut so as to reach the kernel. There is too much toying with the uncracked nut, measuring it, weighing it, noting its shape, its colour, its smoothness or roughness. Bible study is not the study of the geography of Palestine, the structure of the Tabernacle, the lists of the kings, the manners and customs of the East. All these matters may come to be handled in their way. But they only make up the shell. We want to get nearer to the heart of revelation—to put first things first, to reach the spiritual essence. Then we want to come back to the outer world, not in Palestine, but in England, Scotland, America—the modern world, not in the first century, but in the twentieth, not seeing how this truth suits Pharisees or publicans, Samaritans or Greeks, but how it suits manufacturers and workpeople, lawyers, farmers, sailors, miners in the world of to-day, with the problems of to-day, in order to fight to-day's sins and in order to accomplish to-day's tasks.

Discussion

The Chairman: We have had these excellent papers read to us. No doubt there is diversity of view on the part of some of the members of the Council, and we would like to hear members speak, for not more than five minutes, on any point in the papers. Now, who will commence?

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Hallock, Minneapolis

I rise to give utterance to the great satisfaction which I have had in both these papers, and specially in the latter paper which so adequately discussed our serious wrong to the child when we teach him something which he has to unlearn when he comes to years of maturity. If we have achieved anything by our modern scholarship of the Bible, and if anything has been crystallized as the result of that study in our modern thought, on what principle can it possibly be right or just to the child to allow him to learn something which will cause him inexpressive spiritual agony to get rid of later, when he shall come to years capable of understanding our processes? Now, sir, as it has been intimated, it is not necessary that the child

should be made acquainted with processes, but just as the child may be brought up on the Revised Version and know no other, so he may be brought up on revised thought and know no other, and the Bible to him is as sacred and intelligible, and he is able to hold it as firmly as he does any truth in science. Now, sir, our young people are learning the inductive method. They are learning facts in science—facts which will stand the closest investigation, and why should they not be taught concerning the great fundamental truths of our religion, the things which will hold water and stand investigation? I claim, sir, that we wrong the child when for any reason whatever we hold from him that which in the depths of our souls we believe to be true concerning God. Now I must leave that subject, for enough has been said, or will be said, to make the emphasis on it clear, because I would impress in these moments a few things touching the matter of the former paper concerning the grading of our schools. That is closely involved in with the latter discussion, for if these processes of Bible study are to come before the young, they must come before those who are matured wholly, and at a stage at which they are qualified to take hold of them. Now the grading of our schools closely follows upon the grading of the teachers. Our International Committee has been very slow. We have been patient for thirty years with this fragmentary method of study, but I hail the day which is coming when they will meet the felt want of the communities and give us graded lessons. In the United States already 25% of our Sunday Schools are using graded lessons. If the International Committee did not furnish them we would get them elsewhere or make them. Some of us have made them ourselves, for we believe it is one of the fundamental principles of wise education to have these things graded just as in the public schools. Now, there should be the primacy, and the intermediate, and the high school grade, and the adult class, as a little lower down there should be the cradle roll and the kindergarten. But how are we going to meet this great question? how are we going to have men and women qualified, thoroughly qualified, to teach the modern views of Scripture? and not only that, but to teach the fundamental principles of character as well as literature, and to bring the spiritual truths to bear upon them? The only way, of course, is to have Christian men and women who are themselves students. Dr. Leonard Bacon said at one of our national gatherings, "give me the teacher for seven years of child life and you may use any text-book you please." So nothing can exceed the emphasis which ought to be placed on careful training of men and women in the literature, in the history, above all in the spiritual significance of character. And our institutions of theological learning ought to have chairs of pedagogy that will teach these people to go forth from them with a knowledge of the great fundamental science of intellectual and spiritual being.

Remarks by Rev. A. Rowland, B.A., LL.B., D.D., London

I returned only yesterday from the great International Convention at Louisville, Kentucky. Therefore it may be well for me to say a few words in regard to the International Lessons. As most of you know, these have been in use for the last thirty-seven or thirty-eight years on both sides of the Atlantic, and indeed throughout the world. The Committee consists of a certain number of gentlemen on the American side, and a certain number of gentlemen on this side.

Dr. Adeney has already pointed out that we have recently strengthened our British committee very much by the addition of four of the most distinguished professors we have in this country. And I venture to say that whilst they have done a great deal of good to us who were already on that committee, our meetings are likely to be a means of grace to every one of those professors also. Because, as a matter of fact, a professor looks on these subjects very often from a somewhat different standpoint from that of the practical teacher, and we are gradually coming to understand one another's attitude. I am sure that we greatly appreciate the work that has already been done by the friends who have recently joined us.

We have agreed in committee with our American brethren at Louisville upon certain principles which will be very helpful in future work. We certainly have agreed unanimously to have graded lessons in connection with the international system throughout the world. I do not think that we on the British side will be able to undertake such very detailed divisions as seem to be characteristic of the primary teachers in America, where a scheme has been proposed for lessons at six years, seven years, eight years, nine years, and so forth, because in England children are not divided so definitely. But I am sure that we shall see two or three divisions at least among the infants in our Sunday Schools. We shall have the International Lesson generally for the intermediate school. And we shall have graded lessons for the senior classes in the future. Our friend who has just sat down will remember that it is the American section of the committee which has always drafted the lessons first, and they are, therefore, chiefly responsible for anything antiquated in the scheme. But I am glad to say, for the sake of the Americans, as well as for our own sakes, that the English people are now going to take the lead. We have already drafted a scheme of lessons for 1912-1917, which is cordially accepted by our brethren on the other side, and I wish to take this opportunity of saying that, although we were only four in number out of the nineteen who met, their courtesy and generosity were such that almost every suggestion we made has been most kindly accepted.

Remarks by Rev. Thomas Lloyd, Colwyn Bay

I am not going to criticise the papers that have been read, but if the ordinary Christian man were here it seems to me that he would be utterly bewildered as to what to make of his Bible. Of course we here, and I, personally, feel very thankful as ministers for much that we have listened to, but this idea of the Bible being within the Bible, and so much being said about the need of scholarship to explain it, is an argument in favour of the Roman Catholic position—really, I have never heard an argument as forcible as that which I have heard here this morning, that the Bible ought to be shut up to a class of specialists and kept to them, and that they should dole it out to the common people. It is almost implied that not only is the Bible useless, but certain tracks of it are actually dangerous unless you hedge them in and explain them away by historical knowledge and modern scholarship. How is it the church has managed to live so far upon the Bible without all this modern scholarship? The Bible has been greatly belittled. It is implied that there are two ways to understand it. One is by the Spirit and the other is by scholarship. Both,

I understand, are needed, but I do think that we ought to trust a little more to the Spirit of God. Even in countries where they have the least scholarship the Bible is very often of the greatest power. Our difficulty is not with the men who read the Bible, and misread it, but with the people who do not read it. If we can get the people to read it even without the help of scholarship, there is sufficient in it to transform their lives, so that we ought to speak a little more highly of the Bible than has been done. Then, again, the Sunday School teachers of past years and those of the present day: you are not going to get only highly-taught teachers in the Sunday School. What we want more than anything are men and women who know the Lord and love him, and they will get the children to understand the spirit of the book.

Remarks by Rev. Principal Ritchie, Nottingham

Those of us who are interested in the practical problems of the church know that in this matter we have come to the very centre of our difficulty. It is perfectly true that the social problem, which we discussed yesterday, is very important. But for the church the most important problem is that of its young. What are we to do with our Sunday Schools? Now I am not the man to throw back any shadow upon the Sunday School teacher of yesterday, because we are very deeply indebted for the splendid services he has rendered to the church of God. But the Sunday School teacher of to-morrow must be efficient for his work if the Sunday School is to continue its part in the intellectual development and moral and religious training of our young people. It seems to me that we have here two questions. The one is the question of the teacher, and the other is the question of the text-book. In the teaching of religion you have always got the two factors the personality of the teacher and the teaching of the truth. We quite agree with our friend who has just spoken in regard to the fact that only earnest Christian men can teach religion. But in addition he must put himself to the trouble to equip himself to be able to teach efficiently and effectively. I wonder when the time is coming when the church will take her courage in her hand and bring Dr. Bennett and Dr. Adeney together, and give us text-books so that our teachers will be able to set the new positions before the scholars. Why not? Hugo divided the Bible into chapters, and Stephens divided it into verses. Our fathers set contents at the top of the chapters, and through the contents oftentimes interpretations. They did it earnestly and reverently. Why should not we, with the light that we have, as earnestly and as reverently prepare text-books for our young people, so that they may be delivered from some of the terrible difficulties of unlearning and forsaking cherished ideas through which some of us have had to go. Moreover, I am confident that the minister will never be able to do his best work, that we shall never make preaching what it ought to be, until we begin again thoroughly to train our young people in the Bible, and in a right grasp of it, from the modern standpoint. I have one last word. It is a very great difficulty to get the teachers to come to receive this training. I am one of those who put myself to some trouble during the past three years in this matter. In the Midlands we prepared a three years' course for teachers, in which we offered them Child Psychology, Morals for Children, Doctrine for Children, Old Testament Studies, New Testament Studies, the Principles and Art of

Teaching. We got some of the head-masters of public schools to come in to give model lessons, so that we had a college equipped with five professors for the purposes of the Sunday School teachers and their work. The difficulty was that we could not get many of the ministers to take a deep interest in it, and although in some cases six intimations were sent to ministers that these classes were being conducted, no intimation has yet been made in some churches. ("Shame.") It is a shame, but when are the ministers to awake to an understanding of their own business, and to put their backs into it? This is a great deal more their business than many of the things to which they are giving their strength. I am confident that, as soon as we make up our minds that here we have got our problem, here we have got our business, we shall be able to begin that conquest of the world for which we all so earnestly long and yearn. I hope that the time is coming when, if we cannot have central classes, every pastor will put himself to the trouble, first, to have his own class for children, and let no outside engagement keep him from it; and second, when the pastor will put himself to the trouble to train himself for the work of training his own teachers and organising and guiding his own Sunday-schools, in a thoroughly efficient manner.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Forsyth, London

I should like to associate myself in the closest way with what has fallen from Mr. Ritchie on this head, and particularly to what has fallen from him in respect to the duty of ministers in the matter which has occupied so much of our attention this morning. I should like for one thing to see the restoration of the old catechetical system. I shall not carry everybody with me in saying so, but the more I consider the matter, the more it is borne home upon me that whatever catechism might be chosen—and the question of what catechism is an entirely different matter—we ought to have a great deal more than we now have of definite catechetical teaching, as well as Bible teaching, in order to fortify the young against the temptations and speculations to which they will be exposed in the matter of loose and vagrant belief. I am one of those who think slipshod belief more dangerous than erroneous belief, and if we can definitely fix certain views either old or new—I do not raise that question now—in good time in the minds of the children and do it in a way adapted to a child's knowledge, we shall do a very great deal to recover the young of our churches for Christianity. In many of our churches the intelligence is rapidly being de-Christianized, while what is vaguely called the Spirit of Christ is—let us be thankful in one way that it is so—coming more and more to be urged. There is growing up a serious divergence between the intelligence of the age on the one hand and the Christianty of the age on the other hand, and we should do a good deal to discount that in advance if we resumed the old custom of the catechism. I would also urge, as Principal Ritchie has done, that the minister ought to have under his instruction the young people of his congregation. He ought not to do it, necessarily, through the Sunday School, though he should collaborate in every possible way with the Sunday School. It would be of more value than many children's sermons for the pastor to resume his old and proper duty of being in direct and immediate personal contact with the religious instruction of the children of his charge. One reason why our ministers are not adequate to the tasks put upon

them to-day is this that the demands of society and of their congregations upon them are so exorbitant, and so extravagant, and so unreasonable that their time is torn in pieces, and they are not able to concentrate as they ought on the tremendous work given them to do. I am very glad to recognise from what has been said this morning that on the whole our Congregational Churches have placed themselves in line with the principles of modern criticism. That battle has been won in Congregationalism as to the Old Testament. Now we must get ready for the application of those principles of criticism to the New Testament. The problem is not the same as that of the Old Testament, for we have in the New one grand central Figure whom we can touch and verify for ourselves. This is not so in respect to any historic figure in the Old Testament. Certainly we have to revise our doctrines, and to revise them in the light of modern criticism. Whether we are to get rid of Jewish accretion or not depends very much what is meant by accretion and on what is meant by Jewish. No doubt also we have to divest the popular mind of many erroneous associations drawn rather from the Book of Leviticus than from the Gospel or experience. But I will close what I have to say by stating this that if criticism had done no more for us it would have done us a very good service in making us realise what I venture to call the perspective of grace in the treatment of the Bible ; that several portions of the Bible, which are of varying value, must be treated according to their value for the gospel of grace. For our grand business, after all, as ministers, as a church, and as teachers, is not to convey the Bible, but it is to convey that for the sake of which the Bible exists, to convey the Gospel, and to read the Bible in the perspective and evolution of that grace wherein we stand. And the very last word shall be this—we cannot but feel a great deal of sympathy with those who are exercised as our friend Mr. Lloyd is. It is a very serious problem that is upon us, and it ought to be treated sympathetically. I would remind Mr. Lloyd and those who think like him that it is not a case of setting the spirit over against the scholars, for if the scholars of the Bible are not made critics by the Spirit of God they have no business to be critics at all. It is the Spirit, it is the ministration of the Spirit, and one of the most valuable in our time, which is working its way through these critics and compelling us to revive the old, obsolete fashion of consulting the Bible again.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Goodrich, Manchester

I rise as a Sunday School teacher though a minister—for I have been a Sunday School teacher this last eighteen years—to state just one fact in connection with that teaching in my Sunday School which may be of use to my brethren. I believe we got it from America. My predecessor started it. For at least two months in the year I always take a Sunday School class. That class is composed of scholars who during the year have reached or will reach the age of 15, also of young people in the congregation of the same age who may not be in the school. I take them through a course partly doctrinal, partly on the history of our denomination, and chiefly on practical religion, giving them as far as I can very positive teaching on the sacraments. We conclude on the first Sunday of the year by those young people—there may be one or two exceptions—forty to seventy of them partaking of the Lord's Supper. I give them a special address and present them in the name

of the Church with a Bible, with the earnest prayer on the part of the church, and an inscription in the Bible that now they have reached years of discretion they will take up for themselves the baptismal vow and consecrate themselves unto God. I am sorry to say that I have not been able to follow as I should like those young people afterwards. They go away from Manchester and one loses sight of them. We have made that attempt with more or less of success. We have found it a very valuable part of our Sunday School work. It has done not a little to retain our senior scholars and to help many who at this present time are occupying some position in various churches throughout the country.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Charles S. Mills, St. Louis

I rise to express on my own behalf and that of many others our great gratitude to those who have spoken this morning and particularly to the address of Dr. Brown. They have given us the thoroughly constructive spirit. I believe that I only echo what is in the heart of many others when I say that the mistake which may be laid at the door of modern Biblical scholarship is that, to a considerable extent at least, it has left the impression that it is destructive rather than constructive. These papers this morning have been quite in the other direction. Often when we who do not pretend to be expert Biblical scholars have attempted to get at the results of modern scholarship we have found ourselves lost in a mass of technical detail. And I am most glad for my own part to express my thanks to those who have spoken this morning that they have made it clear to us that the Bible is more than ever the book of the common people, more than ever that which shall rule in the hearts of men. Also I desire to respond to what these brethren from their chairs of teaching have expressed in regard to the teaching of the child. I believe there is a great revival in America today in the comparative emphasis that is put upon the instruction and care of the child in our churches. In a meeting of a body called the Society for the Aggregation of Charities, held just as the century was opening, a committee on the work among needy children brought up a report in which they said that while the last century had been given largely to a struggle for freedom and defining the relation between man and man the new century was to have as one supreme end the redemption of the child, I believe many of us in America are coming to see—Dr. Forsyth has expressed it from the Professor's chair and from the standpoint of the pulpit—that there is no work which the clergyman does which bears such fruit in proportion to the time that he puts upon it as the work that he does among the children. A few weeks ago I listened to an address by a speaker who said that some of our larger churches spent very much more on quartette choirs than they do on the Sunday School, and expressed the hope that the time would come when as much would be spent on the Sunday School as on the quartette choirs. I am glad to say that our American churches are now moving directly upon the right line in the direction of the work of the Sunday School.

Remarks by Sir Joseph Compton-Rickett, M.P., London

I am in heart and feeling in concurrence with the views that have been expressed, but I do trust that polemics will not be introduced too

far down in the Sunday School. My grandchildren if they read the story of Cinderella are not told by me nor their parents that she never existed, or that there never were any glass shoes. Nor do we endeavour to induce them to understand that it was a parable of the survival of the fittest. In the same way, perhaps, it would be well to let the Bible stories and more especially the Gospel stories, speak for themselves. And some of us, even the oldest and most learned, leave the possibility open of those stories, and even some from the Old Testament, being closer to the fact than some of us are able either to prove or to disprove. Then, as a speaker has said, Puritan theology is passing and must pass. Whilst that Agag is trembling, waiting to be hewed in pieces before the Lord by the critic, I would like to be allowed just to say a word for him as his dying speech and confession, because I am haunted with the idea that some of the older doctrines which our theology has shared with some of the Pagan faiths, such as a deep sense of sin, and vicarious atonement, must have their root in something, and our philosophers want to trace the present manifestations of them to their original sources lest in passing them by we may have lost something that we ought to have carried with us in another form into the newer theology. Somebody had to account for the Nile, and there was a tradition two or three thousand years ago that it took its rise in the great lakes in the centre of Africa; and that has ultimately proved to be correct. So tradition is not always wrong. Though I entirely believe in the necessity for equipping young people for the conflict with the world, in the workshop and in the street, yet in view of the changes that we have had to make in our own creed I would be careful not to express in too dogmatic terms the newer theology of the day. There is always a danger that we may have to revise something of our own in the course of the next twelve months. It will be surely best for us, therefore, to give instructions in liberal views, carefully expressed, leaving time for the last words of the Cheyne school to establish themselves, or not, as the case may be. Very heartily I thank the speakers and those who have contributed the papers. With the trend of their conclusions I am quite in sympathy.

Remarks by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, Rochdale

I was very much struck by Dr. Brown's phrase of "the little book." Often in trying to administer the English Education Act, we had to draw up a syllabus of Bible lessons, we were confronted with such passages as have been mentioned this morning, the obviously objectionable stories like that of the murder of Sisera by Jael, and the treachery, the deliberate treachery, which was part of the old story. And I have often wondered whether, both in the field of day school education and Sunday School education, whether we were not trying to teach too large a book. Let the Bible, which is a perfect library and not one book,—let the Bible remain in its totality for scholars for purposes of investigation, for the use of adults and churches, but why should we put the whole of that volume before a little child? Do we treat children in that way with any other book? We try to give children something that is adapted to them. Dr. Forsyth has mentioned the Catechism. I am an advocate of a well-written Catechism in our Sunday Schools, and in the Catechism you would not embarrass your teaching with all the disputable matter which requires the

scholarship of the nineteenth or twentieth century to commend it to the intelligence of the children. In the Catechism you put before the children exactly the essential, unquestionable, beautiful things which are adapted to childhood. My friend Mr. Lloyd feels some trembling at heart at the suggestion of bringing into the Sunday School so much criticism, telling the children, of course in gentle words, that there are large portions of the Bible which they need not believe. I would rather have the little book in the angel's hand. I would rather give in the Sunday School so much of the Bible as would not have to be apologised for, and which would go straight to the intellect and heart of the children. I do not suggest that the Bible, as a whole, should be abolished or abandoned, but I say that for the teaching of children, you are trying to teach too much, you are making yourself responsible for a vast library of different ages, different authors, different doctrines, and that the Bible is not suited as a whole for definite Sunday School or day school instruction. Teach the Christ of the Bible, the morality of the Bible, and parts of the history of the Bible, but I feel our difficulty will be great in the future if we attempt to make ourselves theologically responsible for the whole history of the Bible.

The Rev. Asher Anderson, D.D., New York, pronounced the Benediction, closing the session at 12.37.

In the afternoon the delegates visited Linlithgow, Dalmeny, and the Forth Bridge, travelling by special train from the Waverley Station.

EVENING SESSION

Sir Joseph C. Compton-Rickett, D.L., M.P., of London, took the chair at 7.30. After the hymn "Come, dearest Lord, descend and dwell" had been sung, the Rev. Alexander Grieve, M.A., of Romsey, offered prayer.

Address by Sir Joseph C. Compton-Rickett, M.P.

Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have to-night to listen to three papers given to us by three speakers of varying types of mind, who will approach the successive subjects of Sunday and the Bible, and the Historical treatment of the Bible. And yet if we look at these subjects they are not so disconnected as they may appear, because the study of the Bible depends very largely upon the retention of one day a week in which that study may be pursued. I cannot forecast the character of the address to which we shall listen on the "Paramount Necessity of the Christian Sunday." I may be sure of one thing that it will not be necessary for any speaker in this country—I cannot speak for the other continent, or even for the Continent of Europe—to prove the necessity for a day of rest. The value of one day in seven has been established in the depth of human nature. We are told by those who have traced our beginnings from afar that the nervous system of our human frame owes some of its peculiar fluctuations, particularly those that attach to multiples of seven, and of four weeks, to changes which occurred when the sea-creatures from which we are descended, attached to the sea-shore, were alternately covered and then left dry by spring and neap tides. That amusing as it may appear, going on for myriads of ages, laid the foundations of certain functional changes in our nervous system. Perhaps this established that flash of rest that human nature demands, and which we find in every department of life. There is a value in the rest in music, in the pause of the orator. St. Paul bade women keep silence in the churches; and there is even silence in heaven, though they cease not day or night. All of us know that our worship would be the better for that interval of silent prayer which is a marked characteristic of the worship of the Society of Friends.

There is, therefore, a foundation for the rest of Sunday. I do not know that there is any foundation more than Christian expediency for the devotion of that day, specifically to worship. The only guidance beyond the traditional observance of the Christian Church and the very great convenience of that observance, the only actual guidance we have apparently is the old tradition that God walked with man in the cool of the day, and that of every day. That indicated if anything the need of the quiet of the soul at the close of each day. But if we are to have a Christian Sunday, a Christian Sunday which shall not rest upon any enactment, we have to re-awaken the interest in the

Bible; because the Bible fills up those interstices of leisure on Sunday that otherwise might run to pleasure in some directions, and we will say to golf in others. Thank God that the interest in the Book is unabated. Like the Jew, from whom so much of the Book has come, you cannot by criticism or by persecution drive it out of human existence. We turn aside to see this great sight, the Book burning with the fire of criticism and not consumed, yet a Bible to be reconstituted as we shall doubtless be told in the schools. You might say, some of you from America who are more orthodox perhaps than we are in these islands, that that is a truism. Unfortunately it is not a truism for some Sunday schools in this country. I was bound over not to locate the school or the place, but I had this from a minister—a Congregationalist—who knew the facts. He told me that he took a great deal of trouble in re-organizing the school, and then within twelve months one of his teachers, a lady, came to him and said, "It is no good, Mr. So-and-So, to go on with the young fellows I am teaching; really it will not pay for the time and attention. Why, there is only one of them out of the whole lot who believes in a personal God." I was thanked at a conference on Sunday School work for referring to the study of the Bible, and I was told that in this important city in England, no mean city, the stories of Greek heroes bulked much more largely in the afternoon lesson than did the heroes of Hebrew history. And there was one good lady whose name was mentioned to me, well-known and associated with educational work in her city, who had a class of girls about eleven or twelve years of age. These girls said to her, "Oh, Mrs.——we are so tired of these stories. Can you not tell us something from the Bible?" "I don't appove of every thing in the Bible. I will think it over and let you know next Sunday." When the next Sunday came she said she had decided to give them "A Tale of Two Cities," by Charles Dickens. So that there is considerable room for re-awakening an interest in the Book in the Churches and in the schools of our country.

Now, a yet more interesting subject, not of greater importance but of greater interest, is the one Dr. Horton has taken charge of, "The Devotional Value of the Historic Treatment of the Bible." My friend, Dr. Horton, when he takes a subject in hand, reminds me of that text in Genesis which says that "a mist went up and watered the garden of the Lord." But the mist is luminous. It adds romance and piquancy of the subject and gives it perspective. There are opal lights about it that challenge interest and curiosity, and when he has invested his subject in his own inimitable way with romance, then he clears a little circle of the heavens and throws down a shining light, focuses it upon one particular part of his subject, and the emerald grass shines out, and the trees and the flowers are accurately seen. He will invest with romance the question as a whole, and then limit us to the definite personal part that he desires to bring to our attention. It is a bold method. There was one great Teacher, the greatest of all, Who did not depend on the history of the Bible for his teaching, Who taught in parabolic form, and "without a parable spake He not unto them." And even if the history of the Bible were to recede into the nebulæ, and to be very seldom discussed, there would still be the experiences of the human heart, heights to which Christian experience can climb, things that we discover for ourselves, voices that ring over the void of centuries, and come to us from a thousand years behind. Men who have

fought out for themselves the conclusion which was sufficient for them may help us considerably. There is a value in historicity. Some of you have had some experience, I believe, to-day, to Scotch scenery, that you can attach a value; to hill and to dale, to fell and loch, to mountain and river, quite independent of association. Their beauties speak for themselves. And yet the deeds of daring, the history of Scotland that is interwoven with the beauties of Scotland have a zest, bring a meaning, have a message, quite distinct from her natural beauty. We need not only the spiritual and moral teaching of the Bible directly communicated to our hearts and consciences, but we want it translated into the common life. Personality counts as well as principle, and though it was expedient that many a teacher and preacher should go away like the Highest and Best, we feel that when we are resting upon historic fact and incident, we can realise their return to our hearts to work out the old road with us, to share with us their own former experience, to be more to us to-day than even they were to the people of their own time. I have now the pleasure to call on the Rev. H. M. Scott, of Chicago, to give us the first paper.

ADDRESS BY REV. PROFESSOR H. M. SCOTT, D.D.

THE PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE OF THE CHRISTIAN SABBATH

I

A practical American judge recently offered himself as a candidate for the office of Governor of the State of Missouri. He presented but two planks for the platform of special policy on which he proposed to rule the Commonwealth. One was that of temperance, the other was that of Sunday observance. He believed that intemperance was the chief evil of modern society, and that a well-kept Sunday was the greatest antidote to this vice and all its kindred wickedness. He spoke especially of the Lord's Day as the great remedial agency in social and civic reforms. Of it he says: "Upon the two doctrines that the constitution of man requires and the Word of God commands one day in seven as a day of rest are grounded the Sunday Statutes of the several States of the Union." Upon these two principles of divine revelation and human experience he insists all good and wise men can find ample support for the observance of Sunday. The common man also instinctively moves in the same direction. Judge Wallace says that the enforcement of the Sunday law in Kansas City gave nearly 30,000 men a day of rest hitherto unknown, and adds that every working man in that city was ready to shake hands with him on Sunday observance. The Labour Unions of America, from the point of view of social economics, and the churches from the point of view of the Word of God, are in growing agreement respecting the permanent necessity of the Christian Sabbath. Revealed theology and natural theology, Christian ethics and secular ethics, unite in declaring that

> A Sabbath well spent,
> Brings a week of content.

The great principle underlying the Bible doctrine of one holy day in seven, the Sabbath of the Old Testament and the Lord's Day of the

New, is that man, in order to lead a normal life and fulfil his high calling, must be a partaker of the divine nature, must become a sharer of the spiritual activity of God. All religion consists in communion between man and God, a communion in which God speaks to man by some form of revelation, and man speaks to God in prayer and other acts of worship. The unique temporal expression of this communion, the necessary occasion for such fellowship with God and our fellow men, is one holy day in seven. In the Old Testament the Sabbath called Israel into covenant relations with Jehovah; in the New Testament the Lord's Day brought Christians into joyful fellowship with their Father in heaven. Six days for the things of man, one day for the things of God; six days for material concerns, one day for the concerns of the soul; six days to think of family, social, civic and other duties towards our fellows, one day to consider the kingdom of God and His righteousness, from which all other blessings flow; that is the nexus of idea and life in the Sabbath principle. This special honour given to the Sabbath does not, of course, detract from the obligation to serve God and man to the extent of our powers on every day in the week. The Old Testament command and the New Testament observance are not so much to celebrate the seventh day or the first day of the week as to devote one-seventh of man's time to the special service and worship of God.

The first reference to the Sabbath in the Old Testament relates it to the creative activity and example of God; and the observance of a Sabbath by man is based upon his imitating the work of the Creator. After six days of material creation, it is said God rested, rested from the first form of his activity; it is then added that he entered upon the occupation of contemplating his works, came into providential relations with them, became immanent in them, and continued his spiritual work for man, who was made in his image, and for all the creation which he had called into being. Hence it is also said that "on the seventh day God ended his work which he had made." There was work on the seventh day as well as on the preceding six days, but it was a work of blessing and sanctification. Here is the fundamental place of Sabbath and Lord's Day; it is the place of religious activity in imitation of God, the blessing of men by men after the example of the Creator.

It is perfectly natural to find that Old Testament teachings concerning the Sabbath set it forth in the national, local limits of the Jewish people, as the day in which man by rest and good works was to share the life of God. Still the Jewish covenant, with its solemn "Remember," goes back finally to God's rest at creation as the reason why man should rest on the Sabbath, just as Jesus when he came to reteach the Old Testament doctrine of the Sabbath, declared that that day was made by the Creator for the good of man. God ever worked by his priests in the temple, as he does by all men who understand that the Sabbath was set apart for rest from secular toil that it might be devoted to religious activity. The Sabbath command to share the life of God at once goes on to forbid idleness on the six days—no vagrant can be a saint—it included son, daughter, male slave, female slave and the stranger in its holy service; all were to be free on that seventh day to share the fellowship of God and his people.

When the Jews returned from the Babylonian captivity after seventy years' contact with the Gentiles, they brought back four important factors for their future religious development. These were, supreme faith in one God, and the rejection of idolatry; a new conception of

the canon of Scripture; the synagogue as the seat of a universal type of worship; and a clearer conception of the Sabbath as an especial mark of the covenant with Jehovah. God, the Bible, the Church, and the Sabbath, with Ezra the priest, turned preacher, his altar a pulpit of wood, his sacrifice a sermon, and the Levites, helpers in an inquiry meeting—that was the atmosphere and outlook through which Mosaism passed into that Judaism out of which Christianity arose. A seventh day was observed among the Babylonians who took the Jews captive, but it had no such exalted place as the Sabbath of Isaiah, Ezekiel and Nehemiah, who proclaim it to be a "delight, the holy of the Lord, and honourable." From this elevation the Prophets of the Exile foretold a Sabbath such as Jesus restored, on which all the needs of mankind, physical and spiritual, should be supplied, and all human powers set free for the most blessed activity.

In the denationalizing process through which the Jews passed under the great world powers, Babylon, Persia, Macedonia, Rome, their attachment to local sanctuaries and their devotion to national limits was weakened, and the thoughts of personal rather than national relation to God, personal immortality as well as a Messianic kingdom, became prominent. One great result of this acute sense of separation from the Gentile world as a religious rather than an ethnic community, was a growing appreciation and better observance of the Sabbath. Judaism centering in the synagogue church, surrounded by heathenism, appreciated its Sabbath much in the same way as the Christians learned to love the Lord's Day amid the temptations and opposition of Greek and Roman paganism. It was a supreme festal expression of that theocratic spirit which in the time of Christ developed national Judaism into a church with a world-consciousness equal to that of Rome, and a spiritual unity not inferior to that of the Greek. This Sabbath of world-wide Judaism was no unworthy forerunner of the Lord's Day of the holy Catholic Church; and, in full harmony both with the Old Testament teachings concerning it and with a true historic development of its purpose, Jesus taught that it was a supreme gift of God for the highest good of man.

With Jesus, the transition from the narrow, the local, the national conception of religion took place once for all. He was born under the first Emperor *Cæsar*; the King and the Emperor appear together, and the kingdom of God was proclaimed first in reality when Rome proclaimed her Emperor the divine *Cæsar*, and "Saviour of the World." With Christianity, therefore, all truth in Judaism took on its final form and assumed a truly human aspect. The son of David appeared as the son of man; proselyte baptism into the synagogue became Christian baptism into the church; the Passover Supper for Jews became the Lord's Supper for all men; the festival of Pentecost, celebrating harvest and the giving of the law, became Whitsuntide, which proclaims the gift of the Holy Spirit and the opening of the kingdom of heaven to all believers. In like manner the Jewish Sabbath, kept perfectly, it was supposed, only by some 7,000 Pharisees, was succeeded by the Lord's Day, which became a means of grace to every nation under heaven.

Jesus and the Apostolic Church made a threefold departure from the Jewish Sabbath, and each element of this change brought its paramount value into greater relief. They first of all changed its *character*, which forbade "any work" on it, and declared it a day for deeds of necessity and mercy. Second, the *time* of its observance was changed from the

seventh day to the first day of the week, or as the Evangelists and Paul all call it, "the first day after the Sabbath." And third, this change was made at the very birth of the New Testament Church. (König). This newday which celebrated the resurrection of Christ was called for by the peculiar facts of New Testament religious life and worship, and stood in contrast with the "days and months and years," the "new moons and Sabbaths" of the Jews, which were outgrown by the new religion for all men. Still we must not forget that the Lord's day naturally included and observed all that Jesus taught about the proper observance of the Sabbath. It was a time for worship and deeds of kindness, for lifting animals and men out of pits, for healing the sick, feeding the hungry, walking about to visit one's fellow men, casting out demons, serving God in his temple, preaching the Gospel in the synagogues, resting with the godly family in Bethany, in a word, for worshipping God and helping men.

The New Testament contains no direct command to observe Sunday; but it has more to say about it, and inferentially makes it more prominent than either baptism, about which Christians are so often divided, or the Lord's Supper, which is still a barrier to Christian communion, or the other sacred seasons of Christmas, Good Friday and Easter. It rests upon the same authority of the Holy Spirit in the Apostolic Church as did the organization of the church, the ordination of clergy, and the formation of the New Testament Canon. It had from the beginning the support of the Apostles, of Church Councils, of Christian experience, and of right reason. Upon this day the risen Christ left the peculiar stamp of his appearances. Five times on that first Lord's Day did he show himself to his followers. Of thirteen meetings spoken of between the risen Lord and his disciples, seven, or all when the time is given, were on the Lord's Day. From one Lord's Day to another, he does not seem to have shown himself to them. (*Cf.* Jo. 20-26). On the Lord's Day, week after week after his resurrection, Jesus revealed most important truths for the guidance of the church. Barnabas speaks, too, as if the Ascension took place on the Lord's Day, and the day of Pentecost following Christ's resurrection fell on that same wonderful first day of the week. Peter, Paul and John unite to honour it. On that day public worship was to be held, this was the day on which Christians should not "forsake the assembling of themselves together"; on this day the Lord's Supper was to be observed, the offerings to be taken for the work of the church, and the resurrection of Christ celebrated by preaching, prayer and other acts of worship. So much did this day embody all Christianity that John tells us it was when in the Spirit on the Lord's Day that he saw heaven opened, and the church triumphant sharing all fulness of joy about the throne of God and of the Lamb.

II

The very fact that without any direct command such as that found in the Old Testament, the observance of the Lord's Day appeared at once in the Apostolic Church, and spread with Christianity everywhere, shows that it was part of the Gospel and Christian worship and life from the very first. The references to it in the post-Apostolic churches are like the strains of a Te Deum.

Three things especially were taught concerning it. First, it commemorated the creation of man, and all that duty which man finds his

nature and reason commanding him to perform toward God. Second, it was the festival of the resurrection of Christ for the redemption of men. And third, it should be observed in harmony with what Jesus taught concerning the Sabbath. For these Christians, the church had taken the place of the synagogue, the Old Testament had become a Christian book, and the fulfilment of all its teachings, including the Sabbath, became part of the life and work of the gospel. On this broad basis the delight and obligation of the Lord's Day were gladly proclaimed. Barnabas called it a day of joy and "a beginning of another world." Pliny says the Christians at the dawn of the second century observed it as a day for worship and solemn vows to lead a holy life. Justin describes it as a season for prayer, the sacraments, and almsgiving. Dionysius of Corinth speaks of it as a day for religious reading, Irenæus as a resurrection day on which man should "attend to the exercise of the soul." Tertullian as a time for "meditating on the law and rejoicing in the works of God." Clement of Alexandria as a day of Gospel commandment to be observed by "casting away evil thoughts and thinking the reasonable thoughts of God." Theophilus of Antioch as a day "supported by both custom and reason," and Origen as a synonym for doing one's duty.

The practical blessings of such a day soon formed a strong argument in favour of its observance. It was a day of liberty and brotherhood in the midst of a hostile empire, half of whose population were slaves. It put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted the brother of low degree. It made every church a fountain of love and philanthropy for the poor, the widow, the orphan, the slave, the stranger, the sick, and those in prison. The three barriers to human progress in the ancient world, viz. the hatred of races, Jew and Gentile, Greek and barbarian; the division of men into slaves and free; and the wide chasm set between the honour paid man and woman, were broken down on this Day of the Lord, on which all classes could hear read the words of Paul that in Christ Jesus there was neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, and on which every follower of Jesus could feel that he was a man, free, redeemed, and risen with Christ. When Christianity became so powerful as to attract the respect of Rome, its Lord's Day was seen to be one of its most striking features. Constantine recognised it at once, and among the first laws passed in favour of Christians were those in behalf of Sunday observance.

The great Fathers of the fourth century drew a sharp contrast between the observance of the Lord's Day and the way the Jews spent their Sabbaths. Augustine says the Jews gave up the Sabbath to idleness, drunkenness, gluttony and immodest dancing, or they spent it "at the theatre in a seditious manner"; but the Christians, he tells us, should keep the Sabbath spiritually. Other Latin Fathers insist that to keep the Sabbath as did the Jews was worse than to plough and reap on that day; for to create a day of leisure only to fill it with low and useless pastimes, instead of with the activities of religion and charity, was to provide men with an occasion and opportunity for wrong-doing.

In the darkness of the Middle Ages many saints' days and other festivals obscured the unique value of the Christian Sabbath; but as soon as the Reformation returned to New Testament life, Sunday was restored to its place of peculiar honour as indispensable to an Apostolic Church, and in the more consistent Churches of the English-speaking world it became such a source of blessing in all human relations that

its benefits are now questioned by no man of intelligence, patriotism and piety. The only question now heard is how best to use it for the good of all men.

Even an imperfect observance of the Lord's Day has kept it alive, loved and cherished by all sorts of men through all the changing scenes of nineteen centuries. It covered the ancient Græco-Roman world with its blessings, and was a potent factor in leading the Germanic races into their modern culture and power. When best observed, as in English-speaking lands, it is most loved: when Continental lands that have a laxer observance of it, see the better observance, they admire it, and take steps to imitate it; foreign immigrants to America and Britain soon approve of the better Anglo-American Sabbath. The Catholics in the United States esteem the Sunday there higher than those of Spain, or Italy, or South America; while Catholic lands, both Greek and Roman, are moving toward a better observance of the Sacred Day. Finally, even pagan countries, such as India and Japan, when Sunday appears with Christian visitors and missionaries, and is distinguished by law, recognize in it a great source of blessing and benefit which they do not themselves possess.

Already about one-half of the human race are observing, as Jews, Moslems, or Christians, one day in seven for purposes of religion; the 300,000,000 people in India would gladly receive the blessings of such a day; its great benefit is being recognized in Japan, in parts of China, Africa, and Central Asia, so that two-thirds of mankind more or less respect a holy day in seven; all who know of it recognise its value, and are moving steadily towards an appreciation of the paramount necessity of it for the highest welfare of man. This widening recognition of the Lord's Day, showing its necessity in a religion of intelligence, of instruction, of liberty, and self-government of its followers, now appears in the light of the modern science of Comparative Religion as a restoration to man of a long lost and largely forgotten Sabbath. Recent studies of Babylonian, Hindu, American and other early races show that from the earliest ages of which we have records, evidence can be found on every continent of the world that tribes there honoured a seventh day as holy. The fact that this festival of rest and worship sprang from a study of the moon and fixed a Sabbath at the beginning of each quarter in honour of the moon god or goddess makes it none the less important. The uplifted eyes of mortals saw in the hosts of heaven a calendar of God, dividing their time into weeks, and giving six days for man's business and one for the things of God and the soul. Men may have begun to keep a Sabbath to commemorate a seventh day, marking the quarters of the moon; but they soon learned that the rest and worship of such a day made it, as the Ancient Assyrians said, "A day of recreation for the heart." It was not kept, then, because it was the seventh day, but because it blessed man; just as man did not sleep in the night because the sun had disappeared, but because sleep was needed for the health and the saving health of both body and soul.

III

Added to the weight of conviction in favour of Sabbath observance gathered from the teachings of the Bible and the history of the church and of mankind, is the further consideration that such a day is felt by modern men of all classes and callings to be essential to the well-being

of a people. Students of our church life feel this so strongly that they often put it in the form of a syllogism as follows: 1 "What the Christian society has accepted everywhere and in all ages (obviously eccentric departures from the rule excepted) may legitimately be regarded as essential to Christian life." 2 "The religious observance of the Lord's Day has been so recognised." 3 "Therefore," the conclusion is that "the religious observance of the Lord's Day may legitimately be regarded as essential to the Christian life." (Plumptre, in Sabbath Essays, p. 2).

Because of this fact John Angell James, in his essay on the Christian Sabbath, appealed to the Queen, rulers, senators, editors, ministers, Sunday-school teachers, merchants, professing Christians and Englishmen everywhere to support this indispensable part of religious observance.

Quinton, a journeyman printer, in a prize essay on the subject, showed its necessity on the ground of the physical, mercantile, intellectual, domestic, moral, and religious advantages which depend upon it and grow out of it.

The greatest names in science and literature can be quoted in its support. William von Humboldt tells us that the attempt of men in the French revolution to have a Sunday every ten days was of necessity a failure. Blackstone says, "The Lord's Day is of admirable service to the State considered merely as a civil institution." Emerson observes that it "everywhere suggests, even to the vile, the dignity of spiritual being." De Tocqueville said to an American early in the nineteenth century, "France must have your Sabbath, or she is ruined." Macaulay declared, "For my part I have not the smallest doubt that if we and our ancestors had during the last three centuries worked just as hard on Sundays as on the week-days, we should have been at this moment a poorer people and a less civilised people than we are." John Foster observed, "The Sabbath is a remarkable appointment for raising the general tenor of moral existence." Dr. Willard Parker, an eminent physician, taught that the Sabbath "has its foundation upon a law in man's nature as fixed as that he must take food or die." In like manner Michael Chevalier wrote: "Let us observe Sunday in the name of hygiene, if not in the name of religion." And Dr. Stanley Hall, the well-known psychologist, declares that man's nature demands this day of rest and worship. He writes, "Sunday is a psychological institution which modern hygiene of the soul and body would have to invent if religion had not already provided it." The only question, he continues, for educationists and teachers of religion, is "to so define it and so regulate its observation that it shall be made ever more and more tributary to the development of the very highest things of the soul."*

The monotony of existence must be broken, and it must be broken regularly, if life, liberty, intelligence, and the just pursuit of happiness are to be given proper attention. Neither church nor state is safe without such a break. The diffusion of moral teachings and consciousness necessary to keep society safe under universal suffrage and free institutions cannot be secured "unless a day is set apart for the periodical instruction of the masses. The population which habitually neglects the pulpit or its equivalent one day in seven, can ultimately be led by charlatans, and will be." (Jos. Cook, in Sabbath Essays, p. 43.)

* Floody, "Scientific basis of Sabbath and Sunday," Boston, 1906, Intr.

National liberty as well as physical welfare are inseparable from it. The holiday Sunday or the irreligious Sunday is found for the most part in lands of autocracy where the people hear of the divine right of rulers and the Government provides amusement to cover the absence of liberty. For such reasons in free nations laws are enacted to protect Sunday, as laws are passed against child labour, sweat shops, too long working days, insanitary conditions, impure food, and contagious diseases; and in favour of public education, public morals, the family, chaplains in army and navy, and all the recognized ordinances of Christian civilization.

While the fruits of true religion and charity appear every day in the week, it is estimated that nine-tenths of all the Christian work of America, in churches, hospitals, missions, prisons, friendly visiting and other forms of beneficence, is done on the Sabbath. Hence there is much truth in the remark that "The Christian religion and the Christian Sabbath stand or fall together." To strike it down is to paralyse the religious and moral forces of the nation, and leave it a prey to materialism, selfishness and every form of evil. The enemies of Sunday are the enemies of religion, temperance, purity, and that social system that exalts humanity. It is because this vital relation is coming more and more to public recognition that a moral wave in behalf of Sabbath reform and temperance is sweeping over Great Britain and America. The righteousness and temperance preached on the Lord's Day form the way to escape the judgment to come. It is true that at many points Christianity and the culture that sprang from it have drifted apart, and not a few men of learning recognize little obligation to the teachings of the church. But there are still few among these men who are not touched by Burns' "Cotter's Saturday Night," and who are not willing to admit that in such an observance of the Sabbath there is a religious and social usage which is as unquestionably Christian in its origin as it is beneficent in its operation. Not only the churches, but Social Democrats in Germany, artisan associations in France and labour unions in English-speaking lands unite in defence of the Lord's Day. When politicians or rulers or employers infringe on Sunday observance they do so for practical reasons, they offer no criticism of the principle upon which this sacred day rests. Proposals to relax Sabbath laws have met opposition from almost every class in Christian lands. The more stress and strain are felt in modern life, the more the relief of Sunday is needed, and the more closely it is identified with human rights and duties.

The obligation to keep Sunday is universal and perpetual because it rests upon conditions that are as perpetual and universal as human nature. (Krafts, p. 353.) Its principle of diligent work and religious rest, imbedded in the decalogue along with precepts about worshipping God, and honouring father and mother, about honesty, chastity, truthfulness and brotherly kindness, seems as eternal and permanent as the everlasting foundations of religion and morals. Hence very few changes have been made in Sunday laws. They are growing stricter, rather than more lax, as if a larger outgrowth of the religious instincts of the most enlightened nations.

"It is lawful to do good on the Sabbath day." Against such teaching and living there can be no law of man's conscience or of expediency or of legislatures. The changing circumstances of the past half century have led to a serious decline of former Sabbath observance in America. The influences at work here have been the increase in American travel

abroad, influx of foreign races, commercialism, luxury of our people, Sunday newspapers and sports, railway transportation at home, decline of religious zeal, and other causes. The evils which flow from this decline are becoming very apparent and have roused the attention of religious leaders and philanthropists. All recognize the wrong of this decline, but in many cases the patriot or philanthropist urges reform on the ground of physical health, family rest, and social improvement, without making sufficiently prominent the religious basis of this blessed day. All this, however, is insufficient. So long as Sunday is regarded as resting upon positive enactments as distinguished from moral principles, so long will men not hesitate to disregard its claims. But when we are assured that it involves a necessary element in man's spiritual well-being, we cannot wilfully depart from it or ignore its observation, for to do so would be to enter upon a recognized path of human decay, and to allow suicidal indulgence to poison the springs of life and action. To do so in the twentieth century would be, in the midst of the light of the gospel, to fall below the level of the ancient Pharisees, who held that to save life was in full harmony with the Sabbath, "because the commandments were given Israel only in order to promote life, which if a man do, he shall live in them, and not die because of them." (Herzog, R. E. II. 164.) We must, therefore, in our day of disputes about Sabbath observance return to the position of Jesus and regard it as a day on which "to do good." This is the law of the Sabbath. To imitate Jesus, to hea l the sick, feed the hungry, attend church, seek those in prison, visit the widow and fatherless in their affliction and keep oneself unspotted from the world is to so identify it with a life of love as to make it irresistible. It is because so many Christians keep the Lord's Day as Augustus says the Jews kept their Sabbath, in eating and drinking, in idle indulgence, in attending secular concerts and debasing theatricals, in formal worship and neglect of deeds of righteousness, that we hear of "blue laws" and Puritan Sabbaths and obsolete legislation. Here as elsewhere it is true that if any man will do the will of God he shall know whether the doctrine of Jesus is from God or not. If all churches and Christians kept the Lord's Day as Jesus taught by word and deed, there would be no Sunday question; the paramount necessity of the Christian Sabbath would be abundantly evident to all sorts and conditions of men.

Hymn : "Come, Holy Ghost, in us arise."

Remarks by the Chairman

It is always a difficult thing to introduce a true Scot to a Scotch audience. If you will send from Scotland your best men to England, and particularly to London, you cannot expect us to return them. We do not intend to return the next speaker, the Rev. F. A. Russell.

Address by Rev. F. A. Russell

THE REVIVAL OF BIBLE STUDY AMONG CHRISTIAN PEOPLE

My dear Sir Joseph and Brethren,—I feel myself singularly happy in discussing the subject of the Revival of Bible Study among Christian People in this distinguished audience and in this historic city. The associations of the audience and of the city move me very deeply, for they remind me that everything most precious and most prized in my own experience I owe to Christian people, whose central aim in life was the study of the Bible, who took me into God's light and left me there. I do not intend to trench on the sphere in a discussion in which Dr. Horton will sound the depths in his speech and strike deep chords in your souls; but I must, in sincerity to myself and to you, acknowledge that my first and greatest debt, so far as the Bible is concerned, I owe to the people who illustrated the devout use of the Bible in their lives.

One of my ancestors, an Edinburgh man, was early in life converted under the Haldane movement, and enlisted in the ranks of Scottish Calvinistic Independency, a development of which no Christian man need be ashamed. The Bible was the meat and drink of every leisure hour he possessed. He harvested upon its pages. I remember that the books he loved, which I had the privilege of looking at as a boy, were a well-thumbed Bible, some good Puritan commentaries, two or three good classics, Augustine's Confessions, John Bunyan, and Milton's works. He lived in the region of things unseen and eternal. But, better, he taught his wife, an imaginative Highland woman, to do the same thing, to read in the book of the living God. She was a woman who carried, from the morning to the end of her life, courageous and uncomplaining, a cup full of sorrow. When she stood in the meridian of her days her dear husband was struck from her side by accident. Before she was seventy her frailty was battling hard with life. I never knew anyone who had a better right to call this the worst possible of all worlds, to think of it as a kind of awful hell in which we work out the demerits of a previous birth. But she did not. She read the Bible, and showed, until the peace of the great release came, how "sublime a thing it is to suffer and be strong." I can recall evenings when she read in the firelight the Revelation of St. John, speaking of him who walks among the seven candlesticks, of the innumerable host who have come through tribulation to inner splendour and abiding peace. She used to read of the city of God which descended out of heaven as a bride adorned for her husband, and I remember that as she read the glow upon her face outrivalled the glow of the peat fire, and that after such reading her spirit had the temper of a Toledo blade. Nothing could break it. That peasant woman, representative of thousands touched by the spirit of the Disruption, was my first instructor in the claims of the Bible, and although it has been my privilege since to sit at the feet of masters who have made the Old Testament and the New live for me as I could have never dreamed, I hark back upon that experience as the supreme thing. It made the other possible, for it made the Bible a book of life, of the life of the invading and sufficient grace of God.

This audience and Edinburgh appeals to me in other ways. I cannot forget here, nor can anyone who was trained in Airedale College forget, how the secret of the Old Testament was revealed by Dr. Archibald Duff, a distinguished alumnus of Andover, happily still creating passionate Hebraists among us and vindicating the higher criticism as an unveiling of the purposes of the redeeming God ; or how the New Testament was made irresistible to the mind, to the conscience, and to the heart by the great Master of Mansfield, Dr. Fairbairn, and the quiet, provocative scholar, the late Professor Shearer. Both were alumni of Edinburgh University. As I stand here thinking of these three men, the scholars they taught us to love and seek, the interest they gave us in criticism, the faith they implanted in progress, through a reverent but fearless investigation of Scripture, and a deep and undisturbed trust in theological progress, I realise in a way I can never express how much reason there is for a revival of Bible study among Christian people.

But does it exist ? Is it a fact accomplished, or a consummation devoutly to be wished ? That question ought to search our souls this night and for many nights to come. I confess I am not optimistic. I feel that the use of the Bible in the homes of Scotland and England and America and the Colonies is not what it was twenty-five years ago. The transition which criticism has brought about is causing our people to walk through a cloud. And I believe that in spite of better education in our Sunday schools, in spite of the great value of the work done by critics in making the Bible manifest to the people, the habit of reading the Bible is past. Who now spiritualises the vindictive Psalms, bearing the sigh behind the curse ? Who now finds a sermon in a dry catalogue ? Do they not rather laugh at these things, and really laugh at the decay of their own souls ? I am willing to back that question against all conceivable groundlings, whether of gallery or box, whether ignorantly insolent or foolishly clever, and they are both alike—the Ephemera of Liliput. If the Bible is not used experimentally among us as a literature of grace, as it was used among the Reformers, things are going ill in our midst. We may have illumination. But that is nothing. It is a glaring light divorced from God. We may have conceit and itself vaunting. But that is tragedy. It is only the consumptive inferring his health from the flush on his cheek.

The Bible is being revived among us (*a*) if we search it from end to end as the book of life for the Christian soul, as wholly the manifestation of Christ ; (*b*) if we recognise in it a means of enlightenment and art, opportunity at the gates of wisdom, and the sense of beauty as the gift of God ; (*c*) if we acknowledge it as the inspiration of all our best freedom ; and (*d*) if we still use it to hallow birth, to make life stronger than the thousand ills which ring it, to conquer death. That is the way our fathers used it. That is the way we must use it still.

(*A*) The Bible is the Book of Life for the Christian soul. It is, as my friend Principal Forsyth says, with his unique insight, " the greatest sermon in the world . . . the preaching book . . . not the history of an idea, but of a long divine act." It is, therefore, the incarnation of a stream of grace in literature, and Christ may be found everywhere in its pages. Indeed, in the great prophets the hunger for him illuminates genius to an insight and a grandeur of expression which we find nowhere—except now and then in St. Paul's writings. When our people learn to read the Bible in that way they will have returned

to the position of the best Reformers. They will have recaptured their attitude and their spirit. They will get away from the mechanical methods of our fathers, but not from their inspiration and ecstasy, not from their consecration and power. This is the enlightenment of criticism, which at its best is a treatment of the experiences of Israel that amounts to an unveiling of Christ. We must not forget that the great Old Testament criticism of Scotland and England was born in passionate evangelical love. I cannot speak about Continental critics, about Kuenen or Duhm or Wellhausen; I know their works, but I do not know their personal experience. But the criticism of Dr. A. B. Davidson and Dr. Robertson Smith, of the distinguished Hebraists living among us in Scotland and in England, was the outcome of the adoration of the Redeemer, of the experience of the new life in Christian souls.

This is true of the whole Bible. It applies to the reminiscences of more ancient civilisations, that run like a warp of gold through the literature of the Old Testament; it is true of the awful sense of God's holiness and man's necessary sinfulness, which announces and vindicates the Prophets who created the hunger out of which Christ was born; it is true of Judaism, with its beautiful aspirations and its searching Psalms, in some of which we are made to feel that the Incarnation is at the door. We must teach our people that. The Old Testament literature (I advisedly say literature, and not history) is the story of the travail that produced Christ. Therefore its study ought to lead to an intensified evangelical experience and trust, to a deeper fellowship with God through Christ. We must mind this fact, and keep out the mere illuminationist with his cleverness, the school-masterish person with his conceit. The success of that kind of person in our churches can only spell disaster. He will only breed his kind and establish a downward drift, illustrating the force of one of Burns's epitaphs:—

> Here lie Willie Michie's banes;
> O Satan, when ye tak' him,
> Gie him the schoolin' o' your weans,
> For clever deils he'll mak' 'em!

We must again make the Bible the book of the dreaming morning full of hope, the book of the hard day full of trial, the book that soothes the miserere into peace with a benediction, the book by which death is conquered. It was all that to our Fathers, it must not be less to us.

(*B*) The Bible is a means of enlightenment and art, opportunity at the gates of wisdom, and the sense of beauty as the gift of God. I once heard the question asked, Can a man be cultured who knows his Bible thoroughly. It was put by a person who was eager to reform the Reformation in order to get at the simplicity of Christ and to establish a progressive Christianity. The question impressed two facts upon me (1) that the person who voiced it had never studied the Bible as literature, and (2) that it might be necessary to reform the Renaissance. The assumption that the literatures of Greece and Rome, great though they are, transcend in their own plane the literature of the Bible is Philistine so far as the Bible is concerned. It is an inference from the outside born of ignorance. Happily there are authorities for this which no man can question. Dr. Moulton in his vindication of the literary charm of the Bible is one, Sir William Ramsay, of Aberdeen, in his Education of

Christ is the other. As an artist or as an intellectual the Hebrew stands beneath no people. Where is friendship better vindicated than in the story of Jonathan and David or tragedy or a father's broken heart more powerfully exhibited than in the lament of David over the death of Absalom? Is not the story of Samson's love for a Philistine maid a masterpiece in literature? Are not Ruth and Jonah theological novels in the interest of worthier thoughts of God and man which will survive and be read when our theological novels are forgotten? And if you want to sound the mystery of things and feel its terror can you do better than read Job? Or if you wish daylight in the understanding does any book bring you further than Proverbs? I remember studying Proverbs when I was reading a dry discussion as to who really had discovered first the quantified syllogism, and I turned from the vituperation of English philosophers to the Hebrew sages, as one fleeing out of the worldly strife of a Babu in India to a harvesting session under a Shastri rubbed with ashes, liberating Indian wisdom in words gleaming with light and musical with excellence of choice, falling into poems. And the Bible is full of the carved ivories of thought. We should not ignore the classics to study it. But it deserves to be studied along with them. It is the masterpiece of the classics.

(*C*) The Bible has been the inspiration of all our best freedom, whether literary or political. In one of his fine sonnets Wordsworth reviews the influence of English literature upon our common English life in the United States, and in the Empire in words full of deep significance to thinking men and women. He says—

> We must be free or die, who speak the tongue
> That Shakespeare spake; the faith and morals hold
> Which Milton held—in everything we are sprung
> Of Earth's first blood.

What does he mean? He evidently feels that wherever the sovereign literature of England is read wide horizons open out before thinking men and women, and high ideals claim their allegiance. But why? Simply because the glorious deathless literature of England may be regarded as a palimpsest upon the English Bible. Before England became a nest of singing birds the Bible had become not only a scripture of salvation, but romance, poetry, philosophy and politics to the English people. That produced Shakespeare fancy's sweetest child, and Milton whose voice had a sound as of the sea and all associated with them. The Bible gave us the freedom of imagining, dreaming, daring men and women. It directly and indirectly made our irresistible life. It lifted us from the plane of the commonplace. But it did more. If you ennoble the soul of a people you glorify its deeds. But for the influence of the Bible England would never have overthrown the tyranny of an unworthy rule at the expense of blood, but for the inspiration of the Bible the *May Flower* would never have been launched. If the spirit of the Bible had not been paramount in the States the embattled farmers would not have fired the shot heard round the world and flung a sovereign across the Atlantic to vindicate their own freedom and gain ours.

The Bible made the founders of your mighty Republic; it made our Covenanters and Disruptionists who are our true heroes, our best aristocrats; it freed slavery under the Stars and Stripes and under the

Union Jack at great costs ; and in all freedom gained since, and eagerly ; and jealously professed and protected the influence of its Spirit is our hope. The Democracy does not read at home. It is too clever, it thinks. We say it is too silly, and we prophesy that if our Christless, churchless, selfish mobs pursue their Sabbathless quest of gain and pleasure they will shoot Niagara as certainly as night closes day. A democracy that has ceased to be theocratic is only a self-cancelling thing, a dirty futile tumult. The Bible is the only safeguard of our freedom.

(*D*) But the highest use of the Bible should be individual and domestic. It hallows birth, claiming every child as God's, it consecrates love, making its bonds stronger than disappointment or death, it shows us how much of romance there is upon the dusty path of common life, it enrols us under misfortune into the secret and blessed fellowship of the cross and takes us out of the ranks of the futile elegists who are slaves to Giant Despair, it makes us mightier than death. How it behoves us to love it. I have spoken most of the Old Testament. But I do not forget the New. Yet the Old Testament is greater than the New. It is full of the travail that produced Christ. It has the agony and the cry of genius in it. The New Testament is a simple book. God condescended in Christ to the estate of the peasants, and except for Paul peasants fill the story. It is a story of sweet simplicity, of satisfying grace—the only story that fulfils us. But if ever you have battled out of the waves of the sea into a quiet haven bathed in sunlight and full of rest, you will appreciate the achievement all the more that you have shared the strife ending therein. So it is good to share the travail and struggle of the prophets ending in the light and peace of the Lamb. When we do that we not only learn that the Lamb is all the glory of Emmanuel's land but that Emmanuel's land is here and now. May we all do that! Amen.

The next speaker was Dr. R. F. Horton, of London, who spoke on "The Devotional Value of the Historic Treatment of the Bible."

ADDRESS BY DR. R. F. HORTON

THE DEVOTIONAL VALUE OF THE HISTORIC TREATMENT OF THE BIBLE

My dear Sir Joseph,—Before I read to you my very brief paper I cannot help recalling that two-and-thirty years ago I spoke one Sunday evening in this very hall. The hall was crowded from floor to ceiling. It was just about the time of Moody's first visit to this country, and these meetings were held in this hall Sunday by Sunday. Every Sunday, I believe, whoever was the speaker, there were enquirers asking the way to God, and there were conversions distinct and unmistakeable. At that time Robertson Smith had hardly been heard of outside Scotland. Driver was my college teacher, and had only published his book on Hebrew Tenses. Cheyne was the subject of the ribald jests of the undergraduates, because it was supposed he had discovered that there were two Isaiahs, if not more. But how far and how fast we have travelled since then. And oh! that we might have a view of the certainties admitted by all who made the work of a Moody

or of a Spurgeon possible in these islands. Oh, what would we give to-day for the genuine passionate outcry, "Lord, have mercy on me!" What would we give for the jubilant cry of souls born again and a populace seeking to be born!

But we cannot put back the clock, and what has been we cannot restore. And we in this Council, I can see, are determined to play our part like men, not to manufacture religious emotion or revival, but to wait till it falls on us from heaven, or perhaps till it springs up out of the depths of our God-touched souls.

Now the subject which was committed to me, I understand, was this—Is the new way of treating the Scriptures loss or gain from the devotional point of view? Suppose a man or a teacher is compelled by intellectual honesty to accept in the main the conclusions of critical scholarship, as I myself was bound to do twenty-one years ago, and to publish my convictions because I felt I must not hide them from my people, does he lose the Bible as a devotional book, or is its value in that respect impaired? or is it enhanced Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy—though I should like to call it the New Orthodoxy—here confront each other? Presumably Orthodoxy says to Heterodoxy, "by your method of handling Scripture you forfeit one of the greatest uses of the book, that use which marks Protestantism off from Catholicism, for Protestantism has not needed books of devotion, because the Bible has been its supreme and sufficient devotional book." Can Heterodoxy answer its enemy in the gate? Can it reply: "Not only is the Bible retained for devotional purposes, but it gains in purity and power, is the more consolatory as the companion of the closet, and the more effectual as the armoury for the Christian warfare?"

The answer will not be convincing in the mere region of speculation. The question will only be satisfactorily solved when Heterodoxy—or, if you may so call it, the New Orthodoxy—displays the same deep, and rich, and ripe devotion as did the old orthodoxy, using the Bible as the infallible word of God, browsing in it, meditating on it, assimilating it, making the faith and prayers of the book its own, and breathing that atmosphere of vivid communion with God which is the Bible's property and prerogative. My friend, Professor Cheyne, once wrote a book on "The Hallowing of Criticism," and followed it with "Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism." The intention was good. In that second book the David-narratives and some of the Psalms are handled in an instructive way; ethical difficulties are removed; new lights are seen; there is real edification drawn from the old literature. Since Professor Cheyne discovered Jerahmeel I am puzzled by him, and I like to recall what he used to be until that unhappy name came to his eye and took possession of his mind. Let me quote you, therefore, one or two passages from these "Aids to the Devout Study of Criticism." He is speaking of the David and Goliath narrative: "Do you ask what the sling of the Christian is? It is the mind renewed in the image of Christ, which, like the sunflower, turns constantly to the sun. And his stones from the brook are partly those short, strong, dart-like prayers, fitly called *ejaculations*, partly those passages of Scripture which in time of need the Spirit of God blesses to his edification. As one of our latest religious poets sings:—

> So with one promise from the sacred pages,
> The streams whereof make glad the church below;
> Our text worn smooth by use of rolling ages,
> Our soul's strong enemy we overthrow.

Or, again, here is his comment on "Wash me, I shall be whiter than snow": "To estimate the latter figure as it deserves, you should go on pilgrimage to that sacred land, where the sunlit snows of Hermon continually offer you a speaking symbol of heavenly purity. Unexpectedness gives a fresh charm to those bright glimpses, and one may well be reminded of a still more unexpected phenomenon—the transformation of our dark and selfish nature by the rays of the Sun of Righteousness." Just one more. In justifying the use of Psalm lxviii. in Christian worship: "Inwardly, as well as outwardly, the power of heathenism has been broken. 'The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our God'—it remains for the Christian to add—'and of his Christ.' Can we not, then, without the least unfaithfulness to historical truth and to sound Biblical interpretation, continue to read and to repeat the sixty-eighth Psalm in the services of the Christian Church?"

I may say the intention was good. But all the same, I do not find these books of Professor Cheyne very stimulating to devotion. Not to mention that the discovery of Jerahmeel set the critic off on another tack, one must admit that the mind is kept on such tenter hooks in arranging the dates, in showing that David did not write the Psalms—and a good thing too, for the David of history was cruel, shifty and narrow—and in the many other moot questions of critical enquiry, that one cannot surrender the soul to that purely religious influence, which other writers, our own Goodwin or Howe, or Professor Cheyne's fellow-churchmen, Pusey and Keble, found in the Bible. Your learning, like lunar blue, affords light but not heat; it leaves you undevout, frozen at heart.

Perhaps, however, it may be said that criticism and devotion cannot well be carried on at the same time—

Haud bene convenient, neque in una sede morantur.

The critical work must be done first. The end of the critical work is the beginning of the devotional enterprise, as Livingstone might say. That is the view to which I incline. When the critical work is done, or, as the critical work gets done, when scholars are agreed, or so far as they are already agreed, when other literature is arranged satisfactorily in its chronological order, when the character of each passage is marked, and we see at a glance whether it is myth or legend or history, poetry or allegory, didactic or fiction, philosophy, prophecy or Apocalypse, the Bible once settled by general consent in a definite way, a way as definite, though not the same, as it was for Calvin, our happier successors will be able to use the rearranged and elucidated Bible with the old devotional abandon.

This view may be confirmed by examining results which are already reached. In our discussion this morning we heard a good deal about these results. I think I may take them up from the lips of such authorities as Professor Bennett, Dr. Brown, and Principal Adeney. It is now almost universally recognized that the Pentateuch is of composite origin, and that it owes its present form to the editorial hand after the return from the Captivity. The several strata of legislation are distinguished. The ideal character of the Tabernacle in the Wilderness is allowed for. We are prepared to recognize that the narratives are of more value as allegory than as history. But the Pentateuch has certainly not lost in devotional value because we regard

it, not as the work of Moses, but as the final religious book of Judaism. After all, its devotional value for Christians has always lain in the spiritualizing and typical application of it. It was always, if I may use the brilliant remark of William Peyton, in his "Memorabilia of Jesus," compressed into a single New Testament phrase: "Behold the Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world." The historical treatment of the Pentateuch may reduce its historical value, but does not affect its spiritual and Christian uses. Professor Vernon, of Dartmouth College, in his book, "The Religious Value of the Old Testament," points to some such result for the whole as is already reached for the Books of Moses. The Old Testament presents to our souls characters that are supremely worthy of our reverence, because consciously centred in God and full of his power. It permits us to share the enthusiasm of the men who discovered the fundamentals of our religion and the character of our God. It is indispensable to complete discipleship of Christ, because it is the creator of the mould which his soul expanded. Higher values than these, religiously, there are not."

As the Old Testament is recast by the hand of criticism and read in the light which criticism offers, it certainly retains enough aids to the devout life to re-establish it ultimately in the private devotions of the Christian. As the New Testament passes under the same critical methods, we may well tremble for the result. The first effects, from which we are suffering to-day, are desolating in the extreme. The Gospels and Acts are, as historical sources, torn to shreds. First, criticism denies the Pauline authorship of nine Epistles because they are not like the four acknowledged ones; then it proceeds to show that the four acknowledged ones are not by St. Paul either. The Apocalypse is fair game: it is a work of Jewish origin, worked over by an ingenious Christian. Nothing seems to stand; all is shrouded in dust of ruin. But as the dust subsides, perhaps it will be found that the harm done is not very serious. The Gospels, after all analysis, reveal a bedrock of early historical documents. Even the fourth Gospel, in spite of its admitted apologetic tendency, is not shown to be unhistorical. The Book of Acts is vindicated by archæological research. The Epistles and Apocalypse have a remarkable power of self-vindication. Frightened souls that were scared from the New Testament by the critical vultures begin shyly to return, and find that things are very much as they were. In any case, the devotional element of the New Testament is the same. Those nutritive words; those insights into spiritual things; that contact with Jesus, the man; that more vital fellowship with the living Christ; that breath and power of the Spirit, convincing of sin, and righteousness, and judgment, are *there*, they are intrinsic. Historical and critical judgments are one thing, soul judgments are another. I read the story of Jesus. It matters very little what critical view I take; it is all fire and dew in my mind. It melts me, it heals me. It brings me to God; it imparts pardon and peace and power. Whether miracles happened, whether this word was said on this or that occasion, how it is all to be regarded in the cool and analytic mood of the historian or the critic, is secondary. The miracle wrought is the soul's contact with Christ and its transformation; the historic fact is the influence exerted. The Gospel is to be regarded as the power of God unto salvation, working in them that believe.

I have spoken of the day, perhaps a distant day, when criticism has rearranged the Bible, and the historical treatment will have done its

work. But meanwhile what are we to do? Are we to suspend the devotional use until these questions are settled? This many have done, to their own manifest loss. . .

I venture to say to the younger brethren what has been my own experience. When twenty-one years ago I accepted the critical position and ventured to write about it and put it before my church that they might not for a moment misunderstand my teaching and my attitude upon the subject, immediately I began, and have continued ever since a more strenuous devotional use of the Book than I had ever attempted before. I think we may with a mind open to all critical discoveries, candid and ready to accept all established conclusions, use the Bible, use it, not the Bible in the Bible as was suggested this morning, but use the Bible from beginning to end, with references, concordance, and subject index, extracting from it light and power and inspiration, and using it as the supreme devotional book. For my own part the critical work in which I have been engaged, and the critical results which I have been bound to accept, have not hindered that devotional use, and I could, if there were time, show many ways in which it has actually helped.

The Bible is there, as it is, the Book of Man, and the Book of God; human and divine. No search into its texture and composition alters its effect as a Book. Be it what it may, it has hands and feet. It moves, it grips us. And so let us be willing to admit that it has God in it, curiously and inexplicably God is in it. Criticism leaves that as the miracle, just as the examination of the brain's gray matter leaves thought and genius unexplained. I find, repeatedly, when I have done all I can to examine a book critically, when I have given up every cherished position, in deference to the truth, I find repeatedly the old miraculous glamour returning "the light that never was on sea or land," a voice like the sound of many waters speaking to the soul as never man spake.

I rejoice in the work of criticism, because in my judgment critics can no more injure the Bible than they can pluck the stars out of heaven.

The other day in a Fraternal, where I was once considered heterodox but am now considered only too orthodox, we were studying Zechariah. It was my turn to open with ch. x., xi. I found that all the brethren pitied me, as you will if you read them through. I examined carefully what our historic criticism had to offer on the subject of those chapters. Wellhausen and George Adam Smith will do for such a subject all that can be done. They showed the chapters were not from Zechariah, and set them loose drifting over a period of 600 years. That was not very much. They could find no probable historical situations or elucidations. Frustrated and disappointed I turned to the old Patristic interpreters, and read the chapters in the light of their dogmatic and uncritical suppositions. I pulled out a dusty volume of Pusey's Minor Prophets and ploughed conscientiously through all the notes on these two chapters. To my utter astonishment I found those six chapters began to present a view of Christ, His coming to His own, and His own receiving him not, which might have been a clairvoyant vision of the future, mingling with scenes and experiences of the prophet's own time. He was then entering Jerusalem on an ass, just and having salvation. He issued out of Israel, the corner stone, the nail, the battle-bow, the ruler at once. Then Israel rejects him. The false shepherds esteem him at the price of a slave, thirty pieces of silver. The bands of



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Israel are broken. The shepherd "the man which is my fellow," saith the lord, "is smitten." Yet of the rejected people of Israel, a third is gathered, and purified. The Christian church emerges. Following swiftly on Christ is antichrist, the worthless shepherd that leaveth the flock. Presently there is Pentecost, the Spirit of Grace and of supplication. They are looking to him whom they have pierced. There is the cross, and in consequence the fountain opened for sin and uncleanness. There is the church washed and sanctified, until you hear the bells of the horses ringing out HOLY UNTO THE LORD.

Now I tell you simply one experience. I turn to the historical method of interpretation and these chapters are literally inexplicable. I do not say they are unworthy to be printed in a book, but they are not worth printing in the Bible; they are practically useless for ethical and spiritual needs. I turn to this antiquated way of regarding the Bible, and the chapters read like a miraculous revelation. I say here is a singular fact which is not explained. It should lead us as critics to modesty. It should lead us as Christian men to question whether the ways of God are ever brought within the terms and formulas of literary science or even of historical investigation. It should make us regard the Book with reverence as if we were touching the Ark of the Covenant. And because in the Book there is this element which we never can explain, I am certain we never explain away, because the Lord was in the Book, though we know it not. And herein lies its lasting and indefeasible devotional value.

The Spirit breathes upon the word
  And brings the truth to sight
Precepts and promises afford
  A sanctifying light.
A glory gilds the sacred page
  Majestic like the sun;
It gives a light to every age;
  It gives but borrows none.

Last Sunday there was put into my hands an old Bible that had been used by a Christian woman, not a Congregationalist, not even an Englishwoman, for more than fifty years. The date in it at the beginning was 1852. I opened the book. Many of its pages were worn thin. Many of them, especially in Hebrews and in the Psalms, were browned and thumbed, and almost in tatters. There was hardly a page but what was scored and underscored. I looked at it and asked what it meant. The daughter told me it was her mother's, who had recently died, and they had it put into an exquisite velvet casket, and they were sending it round to the grown-up sons and daughters in succession, each of them being allowed to retain it for a month and then to pass it on that the grandchildren might see it and study it, and might learn what had been the life of the woman whom they loved with passionate and pathetic devotion and whom they mourned with what seems to be an inconsolable grief. The dear woman who had used that Book had known nothing, perhaps did not care to know anything of the critical studies which have occupied some of you for many years. But what that Book had been to her I wanted it to be to me, and I wished to see it passed from her, the saint I knew, to these little children, that they might be the saints of to-morrow. I saw the sacred record of a life, humble, devout, consecrated, lived with God,

through these pages, and I could not touch the Book without feeling that tears were springing to my eyes. I cannot remember it to-night without a fountain of emotion rising within, and I cannot help pleading with men that they, too, should leave a Bible when they die which their children will pass from home to home once a month and commend to their children for reverent study and observation, as the most precious heirloom that can be given by a human soul to those who come after as the most perfect presentation of a Christian life that is lived on earth and will pass into the heavens.

We may see the day—we who are younger—when our Bible will be revised, re-edited, re-arranged. I long to see the day when the chronological order is correct, when the notes show the nature of the literature from paragraph to paragraph, when the distinct historical atmosphere is given. We may live to see the work of criticism reaching at any rate a temporary resting-place and a finality which will give a Bible to the coming generations, richer and better, because purer and clearer. Yes, we may live to see that reconstructed Bible, and then our happier descendants will treat it as this saint of God treated it. They will mark it with reverent study, and thumb it until it falls to pieces in their hands, weep over it, smile over it, live in it and love it, and pass it on to their descendants for them to love and study too. Let it be so if you will, but for my part if I do not live to see a reconstructed Bible, and if all my critical labours are undone when my life is over, and if that must be left for a distant future, for my part I want to take down to my grave a Bible that is marked with my tears, and my love and my prayers, a book which I have cherished in my heart, by which I have guided my conduct through the slippery ways of men and up the arduous heights of heaven, the Book of man, that is also the Book of God, the Book that we learned to love as little children, the book we learned to reverence in old age.

Dr. Horton closed the meeting with the Benediction.

Wednesday, July 8, 1908

MORNING SESSION

The Council assembled on Wednesday morning at nine o'clock. Mr. Charles A. Hull, of New York, in the chair.

After the hymn "Forward be our watchword" had been sung, the Rev. Morton D. Dunning, Kyoto, Japan, led the devotions of the assembly.

Votes of Thanks

The Chairman: The first item on the programme is the vote of thanks. This will be proposed by the Rev. J. C. Meserve, D.D., California, seconded by the Rev. W. H. Gulick, of Madrid, and responded to by the Rev. Dr. Hodgson, chairman of the Edinburgh District Committee, and the Rev. Henry Parnaby, Secretary of the Entertainment Committee.

Address by Dr. Meserve, California

The delegates and members of the third International Congregational Council assembled in Edinburgh, Scotland, this year of grace 1908, desire to express in suitable form their warmth of grateful feeling for the favours given them and the kindness shown them during the many days of their meetings here.

1. Our gratitude is due to the Congregational Union of Scotland for their cordial invitation to hold the third meeting of the International Congregational Council in their royal city of Edinburgh. It has been a pleasure without alloy to accept this invitation and pursue our deliberations in their company and fellowship. We pay our debt of gratitude with much joy, returning our thanks with all our hearts.

To the Congregational Union of England and Wales we are under obligation for so seconding and assisting in this invitation, and in the many labours it has necessitated, that we can no more distinguish between these two Unions than between Scotland and England since the act of Union. Hereafter our interest and sympathy will be keener than ever with these united parts of this great little island, and our prayers the warmer, for their prosperity. From our hearts we say God bless our churches in the Motherland.

2. We wish to acknowledge the gracious reception accorded us by the Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and his associates in office, and we return our thanks to him and to them, with an earnest prayer for the blessing of God upon them, and upon their beautiful and goodly city.

3. We are grateful for the use of this noble hall wherein we have heard the echoes—and more than echoes—of the eloquence and piety of the leaders and sons of the United Free Church of Scotland. We extend to them, on our part, our fraternal well-wishing, praying that the divine blessing may rest upon them while they confer together here concerning the matters of the kingdom of God in Scotland and the world, looking for the coming day of free and living fellowship among all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity.

We give our hearty thanks to the various committees, of the local churches, and of the Council, who have served together with such success for our profit, comfort, and pleasure. The programme, the excursions, the entertainment, the many and complete provisions for our wants, are very gratefully acknowledged.

Beyond the committees have been the kind-hearted people who have received us to their hearts, their pulpits, and their homes. It is not possible for us to say how grateful we are. The homes and the families we have seen are far and away better and more precious than the noble city, the wonderful weather, or the midnight glow. The courtesies extended us, so graciously and so freely, in the name of the Family of God, we will never forget and will always remember with sincere gratitude.

The Council at large has enjoyed the privilege of listening to the richest thoughts of the princes of our Israel, brought to us from great knowledge and deep experience, and opening to our eyes their visions of eternal things. At this moment no adequate expression of our thankfulness is possible, we can only promise to carry these precious things away with us and bring them to mind again in the times when inspiration, or illumination, or consolation shall be the supreme need of our souls.

We add our appreciation of the kind and efficient leadership of our Moderator, Sir Albert Spicer, Baronet, M.P. His is a name, familiar and praised, among our churches in every part of the world. We thank him for taking time from parliamentary duties to preside over our gatherings, for giving us, from his place among the best of our laymen, both advice and cheer, and for evidencing in our presence the simple faith and noble integrity of a wise and devoted Christian man.

We heartily thank the gentlemen who have served us in the chair and in the secretarial office. We have learned again that in the new days, as in the old, there are men among us who are equal to any responsibilities that may come to them, their ability and their courtesy alike command our gratitude.

We are grateful to the Press, of this city and elsewhere, for reminding the world, as it needs to be reminded, that the affairs of God's church are news of importance not second to those of politics and of commerce. For every ray of light permitted to shine we are thankful, for we love the light and have no fear of the consequences that must follow its shining. We only hope that there will be more of it permitted to shine in the Press of this and other lands.

Most of all we express most sincere gratitude to our Heavenly Father for having brought us safely here, for keeping us day by day, in bodily health and mental serenity, for giving us renewed experience of his presence, for having quickened our regard for the truth of his gospel, and deepened our love for it, for having permitted us to enjoy the Christian fellowship of these many happy days, for strengthening

our loyalty to Jesus Christ, for giving us upon this Mount of Vision to see the sure gathering of those spiritual forces which, working through living men, will surely overrun the world and bring it into subjection to him.

ADDRESS BY REV. W. H. GULICK, MADRID

Mr. Chairman and Brethren,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I rise to second this vote. Such an event as is transpiring day by day in this hall and on this community does not come by chance, and yet as the course of these days continues its steady flow day by day through one week and into another week, are we not sometimes almost easily inclined to think that they come as a matter of course. No, Mr. Chairman and brethren. We know that such privileges as this do not come by chance, nor as a matter of course. They come as the result of the hardest sort of labour on the part of the administration of these affairs. Preparations anticipated months gone by, days and weeks and months of continuous fatiguing labour have produced this feast of fat things for us. Some of us who have organised in our little Christian Endeavour Conventions have learned that even that is a fatiguing and sometimes an almost unbearable burden. How much greater must be the responsibility of preparing and carrying through so splendidly a convention of this kind, so large, so deep, so high as this one. We thank you all who have been interested in the organisation, in the preparation, and in the fulfilment of this event for what you have done for us.

Will you allow me to mention some of the many experiences and sensations relating to this grand convention. In the first place I might say—if you will pardon me for the personal note—for thirty-seven years I have been a missionary in Spain. For seventeen years not more than two or three times, perhaps, have I been in English-speaking communities a day or two, hardly long enough to familiarise myself a little with my own speech, my own language. In the first place you have lifted me out of the routine of that long-continued work in that isolated field of labour, and have invited me to travel through, in the first place, those beautiful but rather mournful plains of Old Castile which have a fascination of their own, it's true; into charming France, on the way northward, the beauties of which country I enjoyed from the railway as I passed through beautiful France as compared with the sterile plains of Castile; from France into England—Merrie England—covered with green grass, and full of trees; and into Scotland, more trees, more streams, cultivated gardens, beautiful fields unknown to us in that old and sterile land of Castile. It is a great pleasure, a physical pleasure. I thank you for it. Then, again, here once in Scotland, the bonnie brier bush—oh, the bonnie brier bush and the Scotch lasses! I must thank you for the immense pleasure which I have enjoyed on the domestic and social side of life, the guest of a family whose praises I cannot sing too warmly, the cordiality, the familiarity, the intimacy, the generosity, which they have shown me. I only wish their duties had permitted them to enjoy more the fruit of their own labours in preparing for these meetings, but they are busy people, and they have not been able to come frequently.

Then, again, to use the English language. For thirty-seven years I have been talking—talking—talking Spanish, Spanish in our public work, Spanish—very largely, almost entirely—in our social work. Our

Spanish mission is a small one, so small that we have not in our Protestant, our missionary community, an English-speaking community. At last I am for ten days talking English. I thank you for the opportunity you have given me to revive my knowledge and use of my own mother tongue. It is true I have the privilege of living and working among a people endowed with a wonderful gift of eloquence. Señor Moret—his speech is like listening to the limpid flow of the sparkling stream, placid at times, and leaping in the air, and bursting in a bubble, radiating with the light of the sun; Señor Canalejas, that spirited orator whose internal flames flash through every paragraph of his extraordinary oration; and there is that solid Republican, Señor Sol y Ortega, whose sledge-hammer blows seem to be moved by the philanthropic fires of his patriotic soul. But for all that it is a foreign tongue; and though I would rather be speaking to you to-day in that tongue, it is not equal to the English tongue, either for argument, for pleading, imagination, logic or sympathy. And for a school of oratory I could not have wished a better treat than I have enjoyed during the past week in listening to the essays and discussions, the arguments, the polemics of these gatherings. It has been to me a precious privilege. Let me thank you, Mr. Chairman and brethren of this Union, for the privilege which you have given me to come in contact with my mother tongue.

But over and above and beyond and under all is the spiritual uplift. Oh, Great Britain, God-favoured island, if you would appreciate your privileges I think it might have been necessary for you to have been separated from them for a number of years. Some of us, from week to week, month to month, year to year, hear no refreshing gospel only from our own lips; and for the uplifting, the consoling, the instructing, the saving, the confirming words I have heard, from the lips of companions in birth and language, I thank you. I can never tell you how much I have enjoyed it, and what a debt I owe to you, for what I have drawn from you.

Now, may I close by one word, I was born in the Savage Islands some seventy years ago, of missionary parents, and was there during my early years. Hawaiian was my native tongue. But with the introduction of Spanish, it has passed from my memory, although it was constantly on my lips during childhood and up to sixteen or eighteen years of age. Yet in these late years, I have fallen into the singular habit, in the midnight hours, when I am asleep, of talking in Hawaiian, and I am sure I know it perfectly; but when I wake I cannot speak it. If an Hawaiian brother met me here, I should have to speak to him in English or in Spanish. But I retain one or two words which I have never forgotten, and one of these words is *Aloha*. It has been incorporated in Webster's Dictionary as part of the English language, *Aloha*—that means "good morning," "good day," "how do you do," "very glad to see you," "I hope you are well," "thank you," and all other words of compliment, of greeting, of affection, that you choose to pile upon it. And when you wish to make it very strong you make it *aloha nui*, "very great *aloha*." Now that is the phrase which I would leave with you, *aloha nui*—the profoundest, deepest, sincerest thanks of my heart for the privilege of having been with you for these days in this great assembly.

The Chairman put the resolution to the meeting, and it was very heartily carried.

RESPONSE BY REV. PRINCIPAL J. M. HODGSON, D.D., EDINBURGH

Mr. Chairman and Brethren—The privilege falls to me, as Chairman of the Local Arrangements Committee, and of the Hospitality Committee, to acknowledge with cordial gratitude the vote of thanks you have just passed, so far as it relates to those committees and the work they have tried to do in preparing for your coming to Edinburgh. As you will all, I am sure, readily understand, it was rather a big task when in Edinburgh we undertook, with only about a dozen churches, some of them not very large or influential, the responsibility of preparing for your reception. And then we were a little bit handicapped—quite seriously handicapped—by one or two happenings. The secretary of the Local Arrangements Committee, Mr. Jenkins, was some months ago drawn away to the other side of the border. My friend, Mr. Parnaby, who was secretary of the Hospitality Committee, with that voracity for work which we in Edinburgh know is so characteristic of him, undertook to discharge the duties of the double function; and then in the course of a little time, very awkwardly and unfortunately both for him and for us all, Mr. Parnaby's health broke down, partly at any rate under the strain of the work which was laid upon him in this way, in addition to his own work as the minister of Augustine Church; so that I may ask that, if there have been any mistakes, any blunders committed, anything that you are not wholly satisfied with, you will kindly overlook such mistakes. Wefelt it was a very big undertaking for our Congregational churches in Edinburgh, but we were encouraged to make the attempt by knowing that we could rely in very large measure upon the sympathy and the help of our friends in other churches; and we have not been disappointed. From the Presbyterian churches and others, we have had very generous hospitality accorded to the delegates. We regretted very much that, owing probably to the time of the year when many families are moving out of town, and to the presence of an exhibition in Edinburgh, which brought a good many friends as guests to the various homes in the city, we were not able to secure accommodation for all the delegates in private houses. We were therefore compelled to look out for hired rooms for some of them, especially for our English brethren, and if there is anything that is not entirely satisfactory, I hope you will receive the assurance I venture to give that we belonging to the committee did our level best to make things satisfactory. In one or two cases of which I have heard, in which there have been something like complaints, I think it is really the faithlessness to promises of the landladies concerned rather than the fault of the committee who made enquiries and arrangements for you. We have also been helped by the members of the several committees in the city and district, who have most willingly aided us in every way possible. We have also had very valuable help from a number of our theological students, who not only have been helping us to make initial arrangements, but have acted as stewards and door-keepers during the assembly. This public acknowledgment of their help is deserved.

Well, I am quite sure of this, that everyone who has had anything to do locally with the preparations for these gatherings has been amply rewarded; and I believe also that we shall be increasingly compensated for any effort we have made by the results, and influences which will follow this gathering in Edinburgh and in Scotland. We have been delighted and proud to be able to show to our Presbyterian neighbours

in particular, that we, who in Scotland are only one of the smallest of the tribes of Israel, yet are associated with so large and influential a body of Christian churches and Christian workers in various parts of the world. We have been proud to let our Edinburgh friends see that we belong to a very numerous and a very respectable company. Then we have all been gratified to listen to the witness which has been borne to the principles for which as Congregationalists we stand—freedom of thought and opinion in matters of religion and freedom from excessive organisation. Here in Scotland we Congregationalists are sometimes almost swept off our standing as Independents by the overwhelming trend of feeling and thought in the direction of Presbyterianism. So we are very thankful to you for the utterances which have been made in regard to these things; and I think, if I may say so, we are all deeply grateful to this Council for the inspiration and the stimulus to fidelity and to more earnest work which your presence and the addresses which we have heard have given to us, and will continue to give through many a day and year, I believe, to our ministers and our churches in Scotland. I have to thank you, Mr. Chairman and brethren, for the resolution, in so far as it bears upon the committees here, and the gentlemen who have spoken to that resolution for their very generous and gracious words.

Response by Rev. Henry Parnaby, M.A., Edinburgh

Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I would have been reconciled to a little longer illness if it could have excused me the task of replying to your vote of thanks this morning. I can only say that when it was suggested that the International Council should meet in Edinburgh, we were all very much surprised indeed, for we have not a very large number of men on whom we can rely for carrying out the arrangements for a great Council like this, and it was inevitable that the burden should fall upon a few shoulders. But we were so full of pride that the suggestion should have been made that the Council should meet here, that we felt we would strain every nerve to justify the selection of Edinburgh as a meeting place. We have strained every nerve, over-strained some of them, we trust not in vain. Dr. Hodgson has left me nothing to say, but one thing I could have wished, that some representative of the city, not a Congregationalist, might have been here to respond in some measure to this vote of thanks, for no one knows better than myself how deep an interest has been taken in this Council by the Presbyterians of the city, especially by the Presbyterians in whose hall we meet to day. Dr. Alexander Whyte and all the ministers of the church assured us of their deepest sympathy, have given us all the help in their power, and have shown their interest by attending, many of them very often, the meetings of the Council, we trust with profit and instruction to themselves. And if we go outside the borders of our own denomination and look down the lists of those who have opened their homes to the delegates from afar, I think you will find one-third, nearly one-half of them, Ministers of the United Free Church of Scotland, and that within a few weeks of the time when their houses were filled with their brethren gathered here for the assembly of the United Free Church, not, I think that that ought to be stated publicly, how much we are indebted to the United Free Church, and indeed to other churches too. I can but say for myself that for the last three or four months the work has been sometimes very hard indeed, but it has

been a great pleasure to me personally, and a source of very great joy and pride that I could be in any way associated with the labour of preparing for this great Council, and as a member of a Congregational Church in this city and as an adopted citizen of the city of Edinburgh, I say I thank you very much for the cordiality of the vote of thanks proposed and seconded and responded to. We shall look back always with pleasure upon the meetings of the Council in this great city of ours.

The Chairman then called on the Rev. Will Reason, M.A., of New Southgate, London, to speak on "The Bearing of New Testament Ethics on Family and Economic Relations."

ADDRESS BY REV. W. REASON, M.A.

THE BEARING OF NEW TESTAMENT ETHICS ON FAMILY AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Before proceeding to discuss the main problems of our subject, there is one question that calls for consideration. What effect has the phrase "New Testament" on the meaning of Ethics, when placed so significantly before this word? Surely we are not to understand that there are several different kinds of Ethics, each with its own valid authority, so that a man may choose by which he will be governed, so long as, having made his choice, he keeps to the code of his selection, very much as, let us say, a football player may join in a game under Rugby rules, or in one under the rules of the Football Association.

In the real world, as distinguished from the varying views which men hold concerning that world, there is only one Ethic. When we speak of Confucian or Buddhist or Aristotelian Ethics we are referring to the different approximations made by these sages to this one norm or standard by which all are judged. Whatever we find to admire in their systems we admire not because it is Confucius or Buddha or Aristotle who expounded it, but, because in our judgment, it really is Ethics. Further, if there are modifications or peculiarities which seem to be necessary or at least tolerable under special conditions of society or race, these aberrations are only tolerable even for a season on the ground that they serve to bring men out of the wilder chaos into an order that is more in accordance with this one eternal norm. The Lex Talionis which prescribed an eye for an eye was divine in contrast with the practice of unmeasured revenge and unlimited blood-feud, but it was savage in contrast with the golden rule. The same rung of the ladder has a different value for climbing up than for slipping down.

If New Testament Ethics then claims our allegiance, it does so because it is the presentation of the one and eternal which our faith accepts as the clearest and the truest. It is the reality of the Ethics which gives authority to the New Testament, rather than the New Testament as such which creates the Ethics. This is a very practical point in all the problems with which we are faced. We need to hold it clearly *ourselves*, that we may welcome the aid of all who are simply striving to make our human relations ethical, under whatever name they may be doing so. He that is on the side of the right is our ally; he, too, is working for the Kingdom of God, even though he may not know it. We need to make it clear to *others* also, lest they waste strength and time in quarrelling with us under the suspicion that we are baiting

hooks with what is of known value for the purpose of catching them for a peculiar use of our own. It is a melancholy thing that we Christians are in so many quarters suspected of advocating the just thing not so much because it it is just as because it will appeal to the masses and fill our churches. The reputation which the church ought to have is that of making for the right no matter who will gainsay.

But while New Testament Ethics cannot be severed in thought from Ethics pure and simple, it is actually very distinct from other systems, not so much perhaps in telling us what we ought to do as in the reason it gives for our doing it, or, to use the language of the schools, in the sanction which governs conduct. Other codes have merely crystallized custom, or alleged authority, with its threatened punishments or proffered rewards, or reasoned out utilities or the reverse. These have all no doubt had a relative value, and in the New Testament itself some of them find place in the working out of the teaching and exhortation; but the great and fundamental sanction given by our Lord is quite different. It is nothing less than the character of God himself. Man was made in the likeness of God, and in that likeness is not only the eternal blessedness but the eternal ought. The restoration of that likeness, so marred and broken by the alienation of man's will and desire and practice from God's, is what gives meaning to the Christian doctrine of Salvation and to the Christian Ethics alike. It is with the latter we are now concerned, but if the connection is forgotten on either side the result is bound to be disastrous.

This, then, is the basis of New Testament as of all true Ethics. The character of God determines what ought to be the character of man. It is because that character is real, and not the abstract creature of human fancy, that all earnest seekers after the right have been brought very near to each other. So the Christ is fulfilling not only the Mosaic Law, but *the Law* which in every age and in every race has said to those who could hear it at all, "This is the way; walk ye in it," when he says to us, "God is thus and thus, therefore so must you his children be." In particular regard, "Be ye merciful, as your Father in Heaven is merciful"; in the integrity of character, "Ye therefore shall be perfect, as your Heavenly Father is perfect." The measure of our unlikeness is the measure of our woe and our condemnation alike; the measure of our likeness is the measure of our sanctification and our well-being.

Now, you cannot compress a living character into either a code or a system, and therefore a presentation of New Testament Ethics is not the enunciation of a set of rules but the revelation of a Life. It is a Light in which we see the relation of persons clearly and truly, for God is Light. Yet it is possible to use a kind of spectral analysis, as it were, and for our more convenient understanding to separate this light, which in its own action is indivisible, into characteristics which we can hold severally in mind, always remembering that abstraction is a mere device of our feebleness, a process of our thought, and not a real thing.

Truth, right (or justice) and love are the primary colours of this moral spectrum. Truth at the violet end, relatively colder, but with much actinic force, passing from the clear intellectual accuracy of mental activity into the sincerity which makes the whole man ring true, through the justice which does the right and gives to each his due, into the glowing end, the red of pure emotion and undefiled passion, the Love which is a consuming fire. May we not say that the particular

markings of the spectrum, the Fraunhofer lines, are represented by those aphorisms and injunctions with regard to particulars with which the New Testament abounds, without limiting in any way the free spirit? Yet though this analysis is useful, it is in undivided union that the Holy Light shines and warms and wields its actinic power, for the man who does not feel purely can hardly judge truly, and passion can scarcely be pure if the intellect is cloudy.

In such Light, then, we have to examine briefly now our family and economic relations. What do they look like under such illumination? What ought they to be, to escape the condemnation which is so often incurred by coming into the light?

Our family relations have, I think, already been much cleansed and strengthened by the light, and I believe that this is because family life has always shown the nearest approach to the true and normal. It has implied a solidarity which has necessarily modified that individual selfishness which is at the bottom of the evil in the world. If there have been terrible breaches of its unity and defilements of its purity, such breaches and defilements have, on the whole, been described in terms of the greatest opprobrium, and in spite of the jokes of the professional humorist, family life has been the world's greatest hope. Its relations offered the most suitable descriptive terms to New Testament teaching. Brother and sister were words which expressed better than any other the attitude towards each other which all men and women should take; the care of parents for their children was used as the nearest image for God's love for us, while the relation of husband and wife stands in Paul's "great mystery" for the tie between Christ and the church. As it was the most fertile soil on which the seed could be sown, so it is not surprising that it has already borne most fruit. We have a clearer and more vivid ideal of what a family home should be than of any other part of human life, and also a nearer approximation to it. We can speak of a Christian home without the hopeless feeling that nothing of the kind is in existence.

In such a home truth, right and love are potent. There is plenty of truth-speaking, but while faults are not glossed over or excused they are healed in love. The insincerities of society are absent, but there is that consideration which is the truest courtesy. None receive *less* than their due, but more is given than selfish claim of right could demand. The weak are not thrust to the wall, but receive the greatest tenderness and care. No one dreams of taking advantage of misfortune, or incapacity or folly, or even of wrong-doing. The resources of the family are used not so much to reward ability as to remove disability. When one member suffers, all suffer, not only in fact but in feeling.

The golden rule is not considered impracticable in the family, however it may appear outside, and the more particular injunctions are more or less successfully carried out. Children submit themselves to their parents, not in sullen deference to force but in loving acknowledgment of a reasonable authority, and the parents rule the children for the children's good and not their own advantage or caprice. I will not say that wives submit themselves to their husbands; perhaps Paul himself would have cast his advice differently to-day, but this one can say: whichever be the stronger and wiser to control, to make decisions as occasions demand, such decisions and such control will be true service, and the one that does not make the decision will co-operate loyally in carrying it out, for the two are one. If that is so, I am not concerned

about the naming of the respective halves. Such homes may be rare in perfection, but there are enough which at times and in part approach it to demonstrate that the Sermon on the Mount is not a mere dream, but the only truly practical guide to happiness and power. It is in such homes that peace and strength are preserved in the midst of a rough and stormy world, and if the peace is often broken and the power made to fail, we know that it is through the recrudescence of selfishness and the jangle of unrestrained passions, not through the failure of the Christian Ethics.

It is because the ideal is so strong and the actual already seemingly within our reach that there is so great a recoil from all that threatens, even in the name of reform, to destroy home life. Rather do we want to extend and increase it, for here are fostered those characteristics which are most truly human, and here are to be found those relations by which the world without is judged and by which the world itself must be transformed.

But there is another side, and perhaps there is more in common between the assailants and defenders of home life than is commonly suspected. The latter are thinking of homes as they ought to be, the former are thinking of what so many homes, perhaps even the majority, actually are.

For on the one hand family life may sin against a life that has higher claims. He who said that a man must honour his father and mother, and that a husband must cleave to his wife, said also that the Kingdom of Heaven was for those who on due occasion could leave these, and that those who preferred them to himself were not worthy of him. Did he, in this, merely set himself as an individual, however exalted, over against other individuals? I cannot think it. Not in the narrow exclusiveness of jealousy but in the inclusive range of his concern in the whole of human life did the Son of Man speak. "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these ye have done it unto me." There is much family selfishness, unfortunately. Many families are offensive and defensive alliances against the general community, maintainers of narrow interests against a world which questions their privileges, co-operating to uphold unreal class distinctions and injuring the common weal by a disastrous nepotism. The man who provides for his own family in ways that injure the community, who secures for his children privileges that are deprivations to the children of others, is perverting the truth, right and love which are the laws of the Kingdom of God. It may be said of him as of Lancelot—

> His honour rooted in dishonour stood,
> And faith, unfaithful, made him falsely true.

And on the other hand, there are so many families for which home life in any real sense is practically impossible. I say practically, for I have seen that even in narrow tenements and with slenderest means the grace of God can work miracles. But miracles do not excuse the bad conditions which ordinarily wreck our human life. Sometimes it is alleged that socialism would only work with a population of angels. It is far truer to say that only angels could make anything satisfactory out of the conditions under which great masses of our people have to live from their birth. But after all, speculations about the angels are idle, one way or the other. We have to deal with men and women as they are, and with conditions as they are, with a view to seeing

if both men and conditions can be made better. These wonders of family life which I have seen in the midst of grinding poverty were certainly not created by, but in spite of, the conditions. If this is disputed, I make my customary challenge. Let the disputers send their own children at birth to be brought up in the slums, and let them take from birth some of the slum children. Will it make no difference to what they become? Nay, I ought to have gone further back still. For the parents of most of the children being born there were themselves children of like conditions. They, too, were born into a world of narrow tenements where the death-rate of infants is three, four or five times that of more favoured districts, and where the causes that slay their thousands maim and debilitate their tens of thousands. They, too, had to use the street as their playground, to grow up in the midst of sights and sounds from which most of us were carefully sheltered, to take their part in the battle of life while we were hardly out of the nursery, to do without the education given to us, without the thousand influences for which we are often so little consciously grateful, to find their recreation as best they could with little to attract save the public-house and all the force of tradition and social custom to take them within its doors. But leaving out this tremendous handicap of parentage and parents' conditions, you would not let your children risk the ordeal.

No doubt drink and other forms of vice have much to do with it; no doubt there is much improvidence and waste, from the most charitable point of view. If only these could be altered there would be so much more home life of the better kind. Truth cannot shut its eyes to this. But Right demands to know also whether these have had fair play; whether other people's sins may not have aggravated theirs, whether society has not allowed unjust relations to be established which are as much responsible for the failure of these homes as the qualities of the dwellers therein, and Love reminds us that the business of a Christian at least is not to condemn but to save. Indeed, if the poor were all they ought to be, I for one would not lift a finger to alter the conditions which produced so much more satisfactory results than are found in other classes. But let us look at some of the economic conditions.

In 1886 the Board of Trade conducted a kind of wage census, the only one as far as I know which has been attempted in this country. It was not exhaustive but selective in character. Sir Robert Giffen considered that it was "representative perhaps of three-fourths of the manual labour classes of the United Kingdom." He did not think that much difference in the result would have been made by a complete census. I am quite sure that the wage-figures given would have been no higher, and am convinced in my own mind by a study of what was left out that they would have been lower. However, I will take them as they stand. The average wage for a man was 24s. 9d. a week, and as regards numbers the larger part received less than this. The calculation referred to the rate, not to the amount actually received. Allowing for the days in the year when there was no work for them or they were unfit for the work, we should have to depress this figure still more. Since this census was taken the careful researches of Charles Booth, Seebohm Rowntree, the Committees which have investigated conditions of the poor in Dundee and in West Ham, and a number of minor enquiries show conclusively that whatever the cause, probably a tenth of the population in our towns at least have to

live upon incomes which would not maintain them in mere physical efficiency if they were spent with perfect knowledge and scientific accuracy, as well as such rigorous self-restraint as is found in no ranks of society; in short, on incomes which paragons could not stretch far enough to cover physical needs. A further twenty per cent. or thereabouts have an income which these paragons might manage, but which does not allow for being handled by mere faulty men and women. Moreover, the standard fixed by Mr. Rowntree and generally adopted is of such rigour that nothing is allowed for those amenities of social existence which some of us think are as essential even for physical well-being as food, for even the muscles will not work properly if nothing but the muscles are cared for. But the chief point just now is that nothing is allowed for communication with relatives, either by post or by visit; no member of the family may fall ill or die without either coming on the parish for tendence or burial, or taking from the stock of necessary food for the others. They must not do a hundred things which you and I consider not only legitimate but imperative for the maintenance of the home.

Is it, then, any wonder that many whose hearts burn within them at these things should think, not of destroying home-life as it should be, but homes as they are; should look for other means of establishing healthy human relations than that of leaving each family to fight a hopeless battle for itself or to secure advantages from the present economic conditions which isolate it from the general well-being of society? When the alleged sanctity of parental responsibility means practically that the ranks of irresponsible and ineffective parents are continually recruited by their equally irresponsible and ineffective children, is it a marvel that many turn with impatience to other methods of rearing a race of men and women fit for the duties and responsibilities of life? By all means let us keep the essentials of the home, but if we can make no better homes than those which fall to the lot of nearly a third of our townspeople to-day, let us not be angry with those who think there is a better way.

So we are led to the consideration of family relations and ask what the underlying economic relations look like in the light of New Testament Ethics.

Here we are met by two views of the matter, sometimes held distinctly, sometimes assumed implicitly, and sometimes confusedly combined. One is that economic relations have nothing really to do with Ethics at all. They are not interdependent but parallel. Ethics may have to take economic laws into consideration in shaping conduct, but cannot alter or modify the laws themselves. The demand for labour, the movements of capital, the rise and fall of prices and other economic phenomena are as far removed from moral considerations as the orbit of Encke's comet. It is true that certain ethical characteristics, such as sobriety, honesty and industry, with perhaps a certain amount of goodwill, may enhance the value of a man in the market, or may enable him to take fuller advantage of the working of economic law, but that is all. If good men go under through industrial or financial causes, we are sorry, as we are when they are drowned by flood or overwhelmed by earthquake or fire, but it cannot be helped. If rogues have good fortune, we would rather they had been of another kind, but again it is only as if they had caught the fish which the others missed.

This, while I do not agree with it, is on the whole a truer view than

the second, which seems to be that a man's moral character really is the determining factor in his success or failure, and that if the mass of men are poor it is because they are something or other that is reprehensible; if all men would only be sober, truthful, honest and industrious, they would all live in comfortable houses, the poor law would die a natural death with the public-house, and the unnecessary policemen, relieving officers, bookmakers and employees of the drink trade would find room in some or other of the productive occupations which already seem to be uncomfortably crowded.

I take this view first. I will not elaborate the experience of so many of us who have lived among the poor, which shows us that it is often the man who cares for his children who is unable therefore to put by for a rainy day; that it is often generosity and not thriftlessness that depletes the resources of the poor; that too often it is the mere hustler who climbs above his class and the man without moral backbone who knows how to curry favour and find promotion. I rather pass to broader considerations.

It seems to me to be an unanswerable fact that the low paid work will remain to be done, whether those who do it are all that they should be or not. Everybody cannot climb out of the ranks of the dockers, porters and street sweepers, the mere hewers of wood and drawers of water. If they did, what would befall our industry with our ships in the docks and no one to unload them, our roads in a filthy state and no one to sweep them, our packages waiting to be delivered and no one to deliver them, and all the thousand and one occupations unfulfilled which on this theory are the occupations of those who are in them because they are defective in character? Or is it seriously contended that if these men were what you think they ought to be, they would therefore get sufficient wages to bring up their children as you bring up yours? Some occupations could no doubt be served by fewer and better men, who might therefore be better paid, but this is not true of very many. The real truth is that generally speaking a man is not paid according to his worth, but at the rate which makes it worth the master's while to employ him, which is a very different thing. Too often he is not even paid so much, for the pressure of numbers seeking employment in his occupation allows the employer to get the labour for less than he would have paid if himself pressed.

This brings us to the question of unemployment. Are men unemployed merely because of their character? Let us look at some crucial facts. In May, 1897, the Trade Unions which give unemployed benefit reported to the Board of Trade that rather more than two men out of every hundred were out of work. This means genuinely unemployed, for the Unions are no fonder of paying away their money unnecessarily than other people. Multiplied by the number of hundreds of men altogether these two per cent. would make up a formidable army. But that is about the lowest point ever reached. In January of 1895, two years before, there were eight men out of every hundred out of work in these Unions. Was it because their character had become so much better in the interval that so many had found work? What a pity, then, that in December of 1904 the unemployed had reached almost the same high figures as before. Of course the truth is that it is economic change that is responsible for the great variations in employment, and not character. Naturally those are dismissed who can best be spared, but their unfitness is the occasion and not the cause of their going. Some one has to go, and

if the standard were raised to-morrow all round, those least profitable to their employers would have to bear the brunt, even though they were better than the best men to-day.

Once more, the statistician Mulhall, who is no Socialist, tells us that one and a-half per cent. of the people own eighty per cent. of the property in this land. Eleven more per cent. own eighteen per cent. of the property. So that the remaining two per cent. has to be distributed between the eighty-seven and a-half per cent. of the population. Will any one dare to contend that this is even roughly a gauge of the moral worth of men? Can it be said that it truly represents their ability, which in some quarters is estimated more highly than character?

No, if we have to choose between the two views I have stated, we must decide that economic laws are non-ethical, sometimes bringing success to those of good character, most often perhaps favouring the more able but less sensitive, and at times sweeping even fools along the current of prosperity.

But we need a more careful analysis. There are some economic laws which are indeed unalterable, and like God's sunshine and rain, the same for the evil and the good, but there are others which are merely the necessary consequences of man's own arrangements. There has not been sufficient attention given in economic science to the deep distinction between the Constant and the Contingent. The underlying laws concerning land, capital and labour are constant. No device can do away with the necessity of natural resources and man's inability to create them; no scheming can avoid the necessity of labour to produce what we call commodities out of those natural resources; no production can be carried to any appreciable extent without the accumulation of those results of labour upon resources which we call capital, and there are natural conditions attaching to the use and exercise of all these which are inherent in the constitution of the world.

But land, labour and capital are not the same things as landlord, labourer and capitalist. The relations between these are all man-made and therefore alterable by man, and if alterable by man, susceptible also of ethical judgment. The law of diminishing returns holds good of land under any circumstances; the law of rent only holds good under certain conditions of land holding. If there are individual owners of a town site, there will inevitably be rent to be paid for the occupation of different portions of that site, and some of the portions will be more heavily rented than others. The amount of the rent will be one of the most important factors in determining what will be possible in any given place. The health, even the business prosperity of the town, may demand that many premises be swept away for greater space and broader streets, but the cost of buying out the individual rights may be prohibitive. Hence the rights of the landlord will stand in the way of the business and health of the community. The sunlight and the air will be excluded, vehicles will be impeded in their traffic, men and women who must live in these parts must also sacrifice a large part of their scanty income for dwellings that are unhealthy and unfit for homes, and child life must pay its toll of death and disease. This is not a doctrinaire speculation, it is a very insufficient and cold-blooded description of what actually exists to-day. If on the other hand there were a community using that site which also possessed it, the different portions of the site need have no

rental, and the value of each part would be simply what it could best be used for. Landlordism, then, is a name for a system of economic relations which must come under the scrutiny of Ethics. The consequences which flow from the underlying relation of landlordism are no doubt inevitable if that relation be granted, and economists have done this part of their work well and thoroughly. But why should there be landlords at all? There have not always been, and those that have been, have been of many different kinds. The land has no need to explain itself; it is a constant. The landlord is only contingent, and must give an account of himself. The fact that when he does he at once brings in the phrase, "My right," is itself witness that his very existence as a landlord, not as a man, is a matter for ethical determination. If his right is a real right, then we must put up with the economic consequences: but if his right is merely another name for other people's wrong, he is not wanted in God's Kingdom, and the economists will be relieved of much unnecessary work.

Again, capital is necessary for any advanced stage of production. All machinery, all premises, all docks and the ships that use them, all roads and the vehicles that run thereon by any kind of traction, all implements, all the store of goods needed to maintain those who are engaged on long processes of production are capital, which we cannot do without. But what is the capitalist, and why does he receive dividends and interest? Of course as things stand, the answer is simple; because his capital is being used, and it would be unjust to use it, and perhaps lose it, without some payment of the kind. Here again we find the word "unjust" comes in at once. Payment to a capitalist is not so necessary a part of the world's structure as to make anything else unthinkable. The capitalist has to go to the law courts very often to maintain his "rights." Evidently, then, this relation also is not merely economic but ethical, and must so be judged. Perhaps enquiry may reveal that capital can exist without capitalists, that the arrangement of landholding, which we have seen, is itself a subject for ethical enquiry, is unjust, and involves capitalism also in its injustice, and it is therefore the duty of man to make other arrangements. There are many who hold that view.

Labour is certainly essential. "In the sweat of thy brow thou shalt eat thy bread." It is true that as things are many people manage to eat their bread by the sweat of other folks' muscle or brain, but this very fact shows us that here too are ethical questions. Ought labour to be the lot only of those who cannot get money in any other way? Ought labour to be remunerated according to what the labourer can exact, or according to what he can produce, or according to what he needs? Should he be remunerated for the amount of exertion or for the degree of skill? According to the necessity of the things he produces for human life or the ability to appeal to special tastes in exceptional degree? Ought he to labour only for his own individual or family advantage or for the good of the community from which he reaps so many advantages which he could not create for himself?

Let us be quite clear that the enquiry is not whether certain persons are fulfilling their relations properly or not; it is not a matter of condemning either individuals or classes of men and women as such, nor would proof of their personal blamelessness settle the points at issue. The question is far more fundamental; it is whether the relations themselves are right or wrong.

These questions are actually raised to-day and they are questions that belong to God's Kingdom. They are neither the ranting of demagogues nor the cries of class hatred and greed. They are troubling the consciences of many in all ranks of society, the "haves" as well as the "have-nots." They cannot be put aside by any wild talk about "doctrinaire politics" or "utopian dreams." They cannot be hushed by curious enquiries and speculations as to the detailed working out of a system other than that with which we are familiar. Right and wrong are first questions. If we see the right, then "to follow right were wisdom in the scorn of consequence." If the world would be turned upside down, what then? It is an old cry against the Christians: are we afraid of it to-day? It would surely do no harm to a world which has been trying to stand on its head and continually toppling over in the crash of empires in consequence, to set its feet upon the eternal base of truth and right; it might then get its heart right side up as well.

There is no fear of hurrying on the golden age too soon; there are far too many interested in putting on the drag to need the assistance of the servants of the Lord. There is no fear of making folk more materially minded by applying the spiritual judgments to material things and relations. There is no danger of belittling the dominion of the Lord by carrying out his commands in everyday things. There is no danger of the community injuring the well-being of the individual by putting itself in the right. True, the Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking, but it is rightness in the Holy Spirit. Not clamouring for our own rights but seeing that the little ones of God have their birthright in the land which the Lord their God has given to them. Social righteousness will never take the place of individual righteousness nor by itself suffice for the full redemption of man. But it will remove many stumbling blocks from the path of God's children, and most important of all, it is to be pursued not so much as the cause of God's character in others as the necessary consequence of that character in us, Truth, Right and Love.

The Rev. Charles S. Mills, D.D., Pastor of Pilgrim Church, St. Louis, Missouri, next addressed the assembly on "The Bearing of New Testament Ethics on Social and Economic Relations."

ADDRESS BY REV. CHARLES S. MILLS, D.D.

THE BEARING OF NEW TESTAMENT ETHICS ON SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RELATIONS

Mr. Chairman, Fathers and Brethren,—I beg leave to say, at the outset, that the topic, as worded, seems to me to involve two quite diverse treatments, and in the limits of time, I am constrained to choose between them. Without, I hope, doing violence to the spirit of the Committee's desire, I would include the family in a more comprehensive term, so that the title will read: The Bearing of New Testament Ethics on Social and Economic Relations.

The character of this assembly determines the spirit of approach to this discussion. Reminding ourselves that we are not here primarily

as students of economics, but as disciples of Jesus Christ, we turn in this hour from the academic and technical, and interpret the choice of this theme as a response to the challenge of the complex problems of the present social order, and a call to define afresh the duty of the church toward them.

To determine their bearing upon social and economic relations, we need to keep steadfastly in mind that New Testament ethics were evolved by the Master to put into effect the principles of the kingdom he had come to inaugurate; that this ideal social order wherein God's law of love should have free course and be glorified commanded his heart and inspired his service; that he looked forward through the ages to the coming of this kingdom as the ultimate of his message and his mission; and that this divine plan for mankind, devised by his matchless wisdom, set forth pre-eminently in his teaching, illuminated with the splendour of his optimism, empowered by the gift of the Spirit, abides as the summary of his commands. It may seem far remote from present-day attainment, yet it can never be classed as a Utopian dream, for Christ's seal is upon it. It is no momentary picture, to fade away in the heavens like the stars before the sun when a greater day of culture comes on, for it shines with the divine glory which can never be eclipsed. It cannot be swallowed up like the setting sun in the darkness of some night of human need, for God cannot be defeated. It abides, it compels, and it inspires.

Whatever, then, the world may come to be in its material power, the Christian can never rest until the kingdom shall come, and if he shall seem to be an unsparing critic of the present social order, it is not that he fails to appreciate the progress of humanity and the noble service rendered in a myriad fields, but because the ideals of the Master summon him so imperatively that a divine discontent possesses his soul until the conquest of the kingdom is complete. In this spirit we are here met. The compulsion of the kingdom is upon us. The method we shall follow is to take four well-known principles of New Testament ethics and ask how these apply to present-day conditions.

(i.) *The foundation principle of New Testament ethics lies in Christ's revelation of the Father.* Filial obligation to God transcends all other duties. To look at the world through the Father's eyes, to work with him upon his plan for the kingdom of love, and to this end to preach and to pray, to labour and to live, so that all God's other children may know him as he is—this is the supreme desire.

But as one seeks to fulfil this high mission and looks for means by which God in his love may be manifested to men, he can but ask himself how far the world reveals the divine character. For he reflects that, if the world is God's world, and men are his children, then those who need to know him should find him in the social order as they find him in the physical universe, and should be able to read the manifestation of his love in the social and economic life as they read the divine glory in the beauty of the wayside flower and the glow of the evening star.

What witness, then, does the world bear to the loving Father? If that question may be answered, as it often is, by pointing to the great advance of the present era over the barbarism of distant ages or the civilization of the nearer years, it is not difficult, for no earlier age can compete with this in intellectual vigour, ethical standards, or social service. But if the question goes deeper and carries one back, as it must in this hour and in this presence, to Christ's real programme for humanity, we

cannot fail to see that, with all its material splendour and moral enlightenment, the day in which we live is still very far from the divine goal, and that the disciple of Jesus is summoned to a service as imperative and as significant as any that the apostles of the past ever wrought.

How the bare facts stare us in the face! The startling inequalities, the widespread unrest and discontent, the utter social indifference in many quarters, the self-centred living, the sordid, passionate, all-engulfing ambitions! Here is the ominous shadow of concentrated wealth, with its fabulous luxury, idle extravagance, and open contempt for the rest of mankind; and there, on the other hand, the tragedy of the poor: in the startling figures of the sociologists, 800,000 in the East End of London habitually underfed; "four millions" in the United States, so we are told, "dependent on public relief"; over 1,200,000 in England's metropolis living in poverty.

Now the point is not the poverty, which presumably must exist in some degree as long as men are what they are; but whether in the world of the good Father, forces are at work, back of all we see in these life conditions incompatible with his justice, hindering the revelation of his love, producing fruit utterly at variance with his wish for mankind.

What kind of an impression of the world do these children of the Father get, who sleep in the 300,000 windowless rooms in New York City? How does it look to those two million little ones in the United States, who, it is estimated, lack sufficient daily bread for childhood's nurture; or to the multitudes of boys and girls running in the streets of this beautiful city in the rags of poverty, begging alms from those who visit its historic shrines, as though the words, "poor oot," which they call after our carriages, were the first their infant lips had learned?

Is it fair, in the world of the good Father, that the child, half-grown and half-educated, should be forced out of the school into the shop, driven from the field into the mine, deprived of the inalienable rights of childhood, to become prematurely old, stunted in body, dwarfed in mind? Is it fair to the family—God's plan for social relationships, on whose preservation all that is best in the world is staked—that the mother, designed to be reserved for the glorifying of the home, should be compelled to commit her growing children to the tender mercies of the street to stand with her husband amid the wheels of the factory, or to crowd boarders into her meagre quarters, to poison the already fetid air with their breath, and to make home, already hardly more than a name, still more impossible?

To quiet the conscience in the reflection that the poor we must have with us always, that multitudes are content to live in the mire, that many who suffer do but incur the penalty of their own sloth or vice, that each man gets in proportion to his worth, that this is only a phase of an age-long problem, that progress is being made, or that there are great philanthropies, is to deny our sonship in the Father's world. To point from the city's poor to its social settlements is insufficient. Our Princes Streets with their beautiful gardens are not the complete answer to our High Streets in their squalor and vice. Our question is not whether we can make this world a "soft world," wherein all hard conditions are abolished, and all men are equally prosperous or treated as if equally capable; it goes down to the root of things, and asks whether this present world is the kind of world God wants it to be. If it is not, then he has more light for us, and we must somehow find it.

So long as Christ's law of love is not dominant, to accept the dictum of "fat-witted optimism," or of complacent self-interest, "whatever is, is best"; "stand pat"; "let well enough alone," is to be a poltroon.

We are face to face with the alternative—either we are to work to make the world bear larger witness to God, and so bring in his kingdom, or we must confess that Christ's ideal is only a dream. If we dare to pray "Thy kingdom come," we must answer our prayers by helping to make it come; and his kingdom, well defined as his "spiritual reign in the souls of men," can only come, truly come, when his love dominates the social order, becomes vocal everywhere.

(ii.) *A second principle of New Testament ethics is the teaching of the supreme value of human life.*

We thank God that under this deep conviction despotisms have crumbled in the dust, the shackles have fallen from the limbs of the slave, the world has been permeated by a divine pity for the weak and the poor, and a fine humanity has been wrought into the fabric of social customs and political institutions.

And yet pride in these splendid conquests must not be allowed to blind us to the fact that even to-day man has made material gain the one goal of the industrial order, and is apt to be so absorbed in multiplying his possessions that he is all too unconscious of the good of the worker beyond and above his gains. What sensitive soul does not echo many a time Hood's refrain:

> O God, that bread should be so dear,
> And flesh and blood so cheap!

One of our American verse makers represents the Spirit of To-day, lifted up in pride over the immense material prosperity of the age, as asking the Spirit of All Time, "Have you seen my big machines?" When the Spirit of All Time replies:

> Haste, and let your work go on:
> Belt the tides to sew your garments, hitch the suns to draw your sleigh;
> But . . . tell us, how about your men?

Aye, that is the supreme question of our civilization. However, the mills thunder and the rivers are harnessed, and the lightnings are manipulated, and wealth rolls into the coffers of the rulers of industry, we cannot escape that test, and whatever our joy in the privileges of to-day, we must confess that manhood is far too cheap a commodity among us. Think of the tendency to sink personality in the mass; the individual employer succeeded by the corporation, with its elusive sense of responsibility; the seclusion of the family lost in the city slum; the massing of employees in giant enterprises; and the introduction of machinery giving less scope to individuality.

Aye, how about your men? What does it mean when we are told that there are more than 500,000 casualties yearly in the industrial army of the United States—a number greater than that of the killed and wounded in the Russo-Japanese war; that "we send to the hospital or the graveyard one worker every minute of the year"? What is the significance of the remark of an inventor: "If I produce a device to save time it is quickly sold, but when I offer one to save life I cannot dispose of it"? What are we to infer when we read that in 1889 one in

35·2 American railway employees were killed or injured, and in 1905, one in 19·7, the figures implying that the danger nearly doubled? Even when you have made all allowance for culpable and contributing negligence on the part of the employees the figures are simply appalling.

A hospital for the stricken, an institute for the fatherless, a home for incurable cripples—beautiful charities as they are—are not adequate response. To use the word of another, we must match a Christocentric theology with an "anthropocentric" industry. We must go back of the effect to the cause. We must have the acumen of the superintendent of an insane asylum, mentioned by one of our sociologists, who tested the new recruits of his institution by taking them to a basin under a running faucet and asking them to dip out the water. The insane merely dipped and dipped; the sane turned off the faucet and dipped out the rest.

The remedy is not primarily protected machinery, though this surely ought to be; nor working men's insurance, which seems an admirable plan; but such a sense of social responsibility, such a noble social passion, such an appreciation of the New Testament teaching of the value of the man that any unnecessary destruction of health or happiness or life shall be impossible because intolerable.

And, if one is tempted to say, This is the preaching of idealism,—let us remind ourselves that in the teaching of Jesus it is no more chimerical to expect that the social order shall guard the interests of all and shall produce a noble manhood as its ultimate than that the earth shall nurture the seed in its bosom and bring forth lovely flowers and luscious fruit. Truly has it been said by a member of this Council (C. R. Brown), "Society can do what it ought to do. This I believe because I believe in the human will, finite but powerful. And what ought to be will be. This I believe because I believe in God, whose will is infinite and all-powerful as well as holy and benevolent."

(iii.) *A third principle of New Testament ethics is that the worth of life is measured by the value of its service.*

We have long preached this doctrine for the individual. The day has come when we must apply it fearlessly to all human operations. As has been truly said here, Christ did not preach the salvation of a few scattered individuals, but the establishing of his kingdom. The Redeemer of man cannot be satisfied with the rescue of certain men more or less, but only with the redemption of the total life of man.

It is easy in criticising the social order, to fling cheap gibes at the empty-headed and degenerate heirs of fortune; but if every son of wealth in the world were to-day to lay down his possessions it would not cure the trouble, for with to-morrow's sun, the old tendencies would be at work again to produce the same conditions. We must deal with the principles that inhere in the social order itself.

If we preach that the individual is not to live to please himself, let us be consistent enough to apply that rule to industrial life until men shall see that business is most worth while, not when it reaps the largest results for those who manage it, but when it renders the largest service to the whole community.

Let us catch the spirit of America's greatest preacher, who for seven years has lived in the White House and who has used his lofty pulpit, in the spirit of an old-time prophet, to apply the moral law to our great American corporations, and take heart at the practical result of that preaching in the profound revival of the sense of ethical responsibility,

an effect so deep that neither of the great political parties would dare to name a man in this presidential year who is not known to be himself a preacher of righteousness.

A noble-hearted employer said to me a few weeks ago that he felt most keenly the lack of initiative and moral vigour in the average working-man, whom he often found too dull and spiritless to accept the opportunities which he spread before him. If such be the experience let us not stop with that average man, as if his condition was by divine decree, but go back of him and inquire what has made him what he is and what influence we can bring to give a different spirit and a larger vision to his children and his grandchildren that are coming on after him.

Let us be frank and openly concede that the church has taken too exclusively the individualistic attitude; that it has developed far too little the social conscience; for we can all see for ourselves that its religious expression, its hymns, its prayers, its preaching, have been chiefly, often wholly, directed to the personal experience, the conversion of individual souls, and what one calls, the "rescue of the flotsam and jetsam of society."

Accepting without reserve the words spoken more than once from this platform that in our passion for social reform, we must never lose sight of the fact that the gospel lays supreme emphasis on human sin and divine redemption, and that the ultimate of that redemption is not the establishing of justice between man and man, but the right relation between the sinning soul and the holy God, and that accordingly the cardinal and abiding and supreme mission of the church is to bring the redemptive message of its master to meet the needs of the individual, yet let us recognize that, to the very fulfilment of that mission, the church urgently needs now to cultivate a larger social passion. Let this be so deep and so powerful that in the eager quest for the individual, its eyes may be open to the needs of the common life and its hands at work in social ministries. Let it amplify its all too meagre hymnody of the social gospel with verses that shall stand beside Gladden's "O Master, let me walk with thee." Let it voice its convictions in sermons that shall ring with the spirit of the Sermon on the Mount. Let it saturate the social order from top to bottom with the ethics of the Son of Man.

When a labour leader cries as one did recently, "The church, we used to hate it; we no longer hate it, we despise it,"—let us not turn away in scorn, but ask whether the church itself is in any degree responsible for this sad sentiment in the heart of this man. If we feel, as one puts it, "that socialism is a pathetic substitute for Christian faith," yet let us remember that "so long as the Christian church regards the world of industry as foreign territory, so long those who are inextricably involved in the industrial order will create a new religion for themselves," and that the only effective way to meet the revolt of the labouring classes is to prove "that the Christian religion is socially redemptive, and economically justified."

If the working man indicates that he has in the labour union a good substitute for the church, let us enter into his world and tenderly press home to his heart whether he is not really conscious, as Stelzle puts it, that it is a *poor* substitute, and convince him "that there can be no lasting service of man outside the service of God." Let us accept the definition of Rauschenbusch that the church must be "the organized conscience of Christendom, swiftest to awaken to every undeserved suffering, bravest to speak against every wrong," and ask ourselves

whether we have yet risen to our high commission as the salt of the earth and the light of the world if we leave the processes of the social order so largely out of view.

(iv.) *A fourth principle of New Testament ethics is that the fundamental problem of society is the problem of the personal character.*

One may not speak of the well-known economic schemes proposed to remedy social ills without a profound sense of the travail of spirit out of which they have been born, and of the fact that for them multitudes come to have a reverent regard and passionate devotion which we ordinarily associate with religion. But they all break down, it appears to me, in dealing with the man.

Suppose, for instance, we divide all wealth equally; that division would last only long enough for the shrewd and the strong to possess themselves of the share doled out to the dull and the weak. Or suppose we were able to command all the supplies needful to care for the world's poor, the problem of the social order would still remain so long as men remain what they are. Model tenements will not make model men. It takes more than a bath-room to secure moral cleanliness.

As one well says, "Food, drink and shelter, considered as ends of charity, are as inadequate as when, in more luxurious form, they are regarded as ends of life by the self-indulgent rich. A rich man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesses; and the poor man's poverty does not consist wholly in the lack of such possession."

Or, suppose land and capital were taken over by the state, does not this plan, suggestive and fascinating as it is, fail at the same vital point? It does not take the man fully into view, reducing him practically to a part of a great machine and making insufficient provision for the ineradicable inequalities of endowment and disposition. If we deny to the individual the right to keep the reasonable results of his own industry we withdraw a chief motive to thrift and make him practically the slave of the community. And the provision is, at best, only partial, since it moves on the plane of economics and leaves out of sight the hunger of the soul and its aspiration after God. For it is truly said that "a sociology which ignores the fact that right relations with God are the source of right relations with man has in it no redemptive power."

If, then, the fundamental problem of the social order is not that of economics, nor of the distribution of wealth, nor of the housing of the family, but the problem of the man,—the only place to take that problem is to him who speaks of man with an authority and a clarity of vision such as no other teacher ever possessed. To take such appeal is not to bury oneself in a vague platitude; it is to accept the conclusion of our modern psychology and emphasize the person rather than the plan, lifting the supreme person to his proper pre-eminence. Of every merely economic scheme which offers itself as the remedy of social ills the Christian is forced to say: It is fatally defective. It has taken away my Lord and I know not where it has laid him.

Communism says: Give a man money and he will take care of himself. Philanthropy says: Provide for physical want; but is at its best conscious that it may only palliate the pain. Socialism says: Give us a right social order and you will have right men. Christ says: Make the man what he ought to be and he will see to it that social conditions are rectified.

It is because these economic devices are theoretical that they are

like the grass of the field that to-day is and to-morrow is cast into the oven. It is because the teaching of Jesus is practical, dealing fundamentally with the man that it blooms in ever more glorious beauty in the larger light of the progressing centuries. As Peabody nobly suggests, each period "following its own path back to this teaching of Jesus has found there what seemed an extraordinary adaptation to the immediate issues. As it has happened a thousand times before, it is likely to happen again that the gospel, examined afresh with a new problem in mind, will seem again to have been written in large part to meet the needs of the new age."

We shall not find in it some already elaborated system. Jesus Christ did not come to teach the science of economics any more than he came to teach geography or astronomy. But we shall find there something more than a scheme. The fundamental need of the world is not machinery but power. Whenever that is found, machinery is readily developed to utilise it. Grant that steam can turn the wheels, and you have speedily your steam engine and your locomotive. Grant that electricity has dynamic power, and your electric motor follows. Give society moral motive power, adequate to express the Father's love, to exalt the value of the man, to define social ministry, and all else will follow as the noon-day follows dawn.

Men have compassed sea and land to evolve some plan which should effect deliverance for suffering humanity, but they come back from their distant explorations to find the secret of the power for which the world waits in those teachings of Jesus that they have all the time possessed, yet have not adequately applied.

At the last annual meeting of our National Home Missionary Society a level-headed New York layman, presenting the complexities of industrial relationships, and set to reply to the question—How shall the church win the working-man?—said, "Tell the preachers to preach the gospel." And when a smile went around as if he had uttered an empty common-place he soberly continued—"I assure you in my life-time it has never been tried." Suppose we give it adequate trial. We forget too often that the mightiest thing we know is not elemental force but divine grace, and that the supreme gift of Jesus Christ to the world is the gift of that power which discounts every other that the world has ever seen or shall see, the power which can transform the human soul into the divine likeness.

It is only as power comes into the world at this point to lay hold of the man who is himself the master of material things that there can be any hope for a new order; and it is because the gospel of the kingdom comes just there and gives man power to be what he ought to be that we may put in it our hope. The world to-day waits until the heart of man shall freely welcome that power from on high, and his transformed character shall in turn transform the world.

Discussion

The Chairman: There is now opportunity for twenty-five minutes' general discussion of this matter.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Scott, Chicago

I think there is one thing to be gathered from these papers and that is that the solution of social questions is to come from Christianity or

it will never be found. The ancient world tried to solve these problems. The Greek world tried to solve them from the point of view of Socialism. The Spartans had their common table, and their common life for every boy from nine years of age, taking him away from father and mother that he might be trained for the state. All the Greek cities tried to be Socialists, and their social system, although perfectly set forth in Plato's Republic, came to nothing. The Roman despised the Greek, and the Roman centred all his efforts for moral improvement in the family. The paterfamilias and materfamilias were centres, and he would allow all the Greek Socialism to go to the winds while he held by the union and sanctity of the household. Those were the two great fundamental ideas in ancient life—the municipality of the Greeks and the family life of the Romans, but both these things failed largely because they were built on slavery. Half the populace were slaves. When Christianity came into the Empire it touched both these questions and the slaves were gradually freed. Then there came the mediæval feudalism with the labouring man as an artizan, and the system lasted until our own day. A hundred years ago in the West the ordinary boy could not leave the village, could not learn a trade, or get married without the consent of the land-owner, and in our own days in Russia we have seen the serfs set free. Christianity led the world out of slavery, led it out of serfdom, led it into the position of the hired man and the employer, and now we are going to try and work towards co-operation, brotherhood between the man who has the capital and the man that offers his services. Here, then, we are face to face with the problem which Christianity has presented and which Christianity alone, I think, will be able to solve. The hardest thing, one which Dr. Mills has touched upon, is that there are so few among us who are able to go on Sunday night into a revival meeting that go on Monday and work for social reform. The Lord seems to have made us, or we have made ourselves, so that we get on Socialism or social work, and have no interest or little interest in Evangelistic work, and the Evangelistic brother gets astride of his hobby, which is a great one, to convert the individual, and looks askance at social reform. It is the Church of God that must solve this problem, that neither the wisdom of the Greeks nor the high moral character of the Romans was able to solve. I think we are to solve it by holding on to these two fundamental things, both the grace of God that converts the individual, and that view of the kingdom which will never cease to pray for the good estate of the Catholic church, and also for all men, whether they call themselves Christians or not.

Remarks by Rev. C. R. Brown, D.D., Oaklands, California

I am especially happy to have listened to these two splendid papers. It has been the feeling of many of us that more space might have been given in the programme to these problems that bear upon everyday life. I am glad we have had this whole forenoon given to these very important topics. I find myself in very hearty agreement in what was said in those papers. I notice that whenever reference has been made to the preaching of the gospel, no mention is made as to what we mean by the word "gospel." In the Southern states in our own country the gospel was preached for generations and well preached, and it was believed and accepted. There was a lower percentage of Church

members in the Southern states than in the Northern states up to the time of the civil war, yet those men went on holding slaves until those slaves were freed by social agitation, and I believe that the same thing is true in other forms. The gospel is sufficient if it be a gospel which includes the Sermon on the Mount as well as the gospel of an individual redemption. I think many of us have been pained by what we have seen in Edinburgh, in the High Street and other parts of this historic city. The gospel has been preached, faithfully preached in Scotland, and yet I wonder if the whole content of the gospel has been understood. I have seen more drunkenness in Edinburgh in a single evening than I have seen in a whole month in San Francisco. I believe we are further along on our side of the water than the people are here. By and by we will give up our toddy, and our glass of beer or wine, for the sake of those who are being made to stumble. I believe the gospel must have a good many notes in it, clearly and strongly sounded, if it is to accomplish that for which Christ has sent us.

Remarks by Mr. G. K. Smith, J.P., Dundee

I rise for the purpose of giving thanks to these two gentlemen who have given these papers. On the first or second day of the meetings I said a few words, and I have been found fault with by a few of the ministers for saying that I had got soaked through and through with theology. Now our friend here has voiced my sentiments. For that paper to which we have listened from the English delegate—"Will Reason" is the name he is known by in England—I especially desire to thank him. He mentioned Dundee: that is one reason why I rise to allow our American friends to have an idea of what is done in Dundee. It is a plague spot of Scotland—there is no doubt about that. The Social Union of Dundee got up a paper which showed how many thousands of human beings had to stay in one-roomed houses with their wives and children. We in Dundee make what you Americans know as burlaps. We have only one string to our bow—jute, of which we make burlaps and jute bags, and married men with families earn only twelve, fourteen or sixteen shillings per week—less than four dollars. A representative of the recruiting staff from London said that the recruits presented from Dundee showed the lowest type, the smallest chest, and the smallest head of all the recruits of the country. No wonder, when a married woman has to work in the jute mills up to within a few weeks of the time her children are born. Now some of these jute lords are elders and deacons and members of your Churches, that is what I cannot understand. Then, when you talk about these things, they tell you they must do it because of the competition in Calcutta, yet many of the mills in Calcutta belong to these very men in Dundee, who are Church members, elders, and deacons. There is no doubt they are making money. Go to some of the houses where their horses and carriages are kept. I tell you, gentlemen, they would not keep their pigs in the houses where the workmen stay. And I wish you members would do your duty, and talk to these men. Don't be frightened at the monied men in your Churches. If they cannot hear the truth, well, their Christianity is not worth having in your Churches; let them go outside. No wonder I hear working men in Dundee, who are called Socialists, going for the Church. The wonder is that they allow the Church to stand at all, the way that the Church

uses them. Then the landlords—Mr. Reason spoke about the landlords in Scotland—are a perfect curse to the country. The land in Scotland belongs to twenty-seven men. One duke in Scotland has about a million acres and you are not allowed to walk on it. And they tell you the working man of Scotland does not want to go to the land. I knew a man in Perthshire, a mill-worker, who had a small bit of land, two or three acres. He had a family of four children. He worked in the factory from four in the morning to a quarter to six, and when he got home he went to work on the land, with his children and his wife, and they made as much in a few years as would buy the land, and he says he never knew what it was to be happy until he went to work on the land, and his children were never ill and ate twice as much as they did before. This proves that there is no healthier occupation for men and women and boys and girls than the land. You may never make money on the land, but still you will have happiness, and what is money without happiness?

Remarks by Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D.D., Chicago

I should like to express my indebtedness to the readers of these papers. I suppose the church from which I come is about as far down in our city as any, and we have every problem that can be thought of in connection with metropolitan life. I want simply to say this: Very much has been said on this plan concerning the new Bible and the New Theology and the new interpretation of the Scriptures, that I wish to acknowledge myself to be a man of the previous generation who finds it hard even in Chicago to keep up with the procession. But the thing which impresses me in this whole question is that you have got to have some spiritual authority. If you are to preach to men in regard to their relations to their fellow men you cannot come to them with an apology for your Bible. You have got to say "Thou shalt not" and "Thou shalt, as I am spokesman for Almighty God." I can remember hearing, as a student, George Lee Walker, the father of our professor who is here to-day, say to his men who sat before him—and near the aisle was a line of millionaires—"There are men sitting here before me who are running their places of business, their houses, for illegitimate purposes. I see them in the pews. They are disobeying the commands of God, and they are members of this church and pew holders here." That kind of preaching goes home. We have four or five trained workers, sometimes ten, going hither and yonder, and we do not send them into the homes with the idea that they shall say that the Pentateuch is not what it was considered to be in past days, and the authority of the Bible comes to you with less degree in the Old Testament than in the New. Now, I say this in all kindness of spirit—I don't believe a labouring man has got to read with his New Testament in one hand and Driver, for instance, in the other. The wayfaring man, though a fool, cannot err therein. We ministers are in danger of scuttling our own ship. I for one would have to desert the down-town church if I did not believe that towering above all is the authority of Jesus Christ, the Lord God Almighty. I simply want to make a plea on this platform for allegiance to the Word of God. You get the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the life of a poor man or woman and you see drunkenness and debauchery and sin go every time. And the moment a husband and father is regenerated through the Spirit of Christ, and the moment a

landlord has the kindlings of the Spirit as he sees the vision, then there comes a regeneration that will never be brought about by your fiddling away in the pulpit with social economics. The social economics will be brought about when we in the pulpit are faithful to the message that is given to us preachers.

Remarks by Rev. Professor R. Mackintosh, Manchester

I should like to suggest, sir, that it emerges from this discussion that the demand which our Lord and Master is making upon us at this time grows heavier. I think there can be no doubt that that is the fact in regard to the critical discussions which have been again referred to by the last speaker. It was an easier matter a generation ago to preach the Gospel or to teach in the Sunday-school than it is to-day. But if we look to our Lord who has put this burden upon us, and if we try to rise to our duty with adequate faith and with adequate courage, he will carry us through. In regard to these extremely difficult economic questions, the demand made upon the capitalist is that he must be less concerned with dividends and more concerned with the conditions of labour that prevail under his management. And if we say that to the capitalist we must appeal also to the labourer, that he shall not serve with eye service as a man-pleaser, but with good will in his heart do service to the Lord. The Christian minister also has heavy obligations laid upon him, if there are men under his ministry whom he has great reason to suspect are taking their maxims of administration from the ways of the world. A very strong challenge was addressed to us in Mr. Reason's most interesting and telling paper when he seemed to teach that any great moral evils that arose under any system proved that system to be directly unjust. I heartily welcome the admirable paper that followed, in which we were thrown back upon what is surely the primary concern of the Church—moral force and moral methods. It may be that in the wisdom of providence there is some great material scheme of economic organisation which the rest of us do not see through. If we are to make, the world a soft place instead of a hard place, in the day when God's demands are rising, we are to arrange a mechanical system, and at the price of liberty have a well-fed, well-lodged, well-drilled slavery, then I should doubt whether that was the way in which to serve our Master. But with the earnestness and eloquence and force with which both papers made their appeal, one has the profoundest sympathy, and one feels for them the deepest gratitude.

Remarks by Mr. F. S. Curtis, Brookfield Corner, Conn.

I can see that I am one member of a council of brave and courageous men. As a contribution to the practical side of this question I beg to call your attention to a question which we all of us neglect very seriously. In all our processes of education we make no room for communication from the parent generation to the young who follow us of instruction in the mysteries of life, and we leave them to obtain their ideas and form their habits from corrupt sources. I think it belongs to the Christian Church to take the subject up and consider this matter of instruction, and I think it belongs to Congregationalists who have the privilege of doing what they think to be right in the face

of assumed or actual opposition. I beg that this Council will lay to heart the responsibility that rests upon Christian teachers, upon parents, upon ministers and teachers alike to encourage instruction of the young in those wonderful truths that shall secure the highest fulfilment of the instinct God has placed in our hearts for the perpetuation of the race.

Remarks by Rev. Principal Ritchie, Nottingham

I wish to join in the expression of admiration of these papers. I think it is necessary in these discussions that we should keep a balanced judgment. I am very tired of the futile see-saw of contention between restatement in theology and social work. There should be no contradiction between Principal Forsyth and Hackney College and Mr. Silvester Horne and the magnificent work he is carrying on at Whitefield's. Hackney College, with its deep thinking theology, is not one water-tight compartment; Whitefield's, and its splendid social and Christian work, is not another water-tight compartment. These two compartments flow the one into the other, and I wish we would put out of our minds the idea that there is any necessary contradiction between the highest academic study, the seeking for truth, and the earnest Christian and social work that is seeking the upbuilding of society. In these matters we are all fellow labourers, and it will be a bad day when theology has no interest in social work and does not see the application of it to itself. It will be a worse day when the social workers have no interest in theology, and do not realise the power, the quickening, that come from it. I trust we shall put out of our minds for ever the idea that there is any necessary antagonism between these two great fields of Christian activity. I have one last word. I am very deeply interested in the problem of unemployment, and I was delighted to hear Mr. Will Reason speak on that topic with the words of a master. We know that he has mastered this whole subject. Now when we come to speak of the unemployed, there are three classes—the out-of-works, the can't-works, and the won't-works, and they have to be treated in three different ways. I have the greatest sympathy with the out-of-work man. It is a pathetic thing, an almost heart-breaking thing, for a man, a willing worker, with strong brain, and skilful hand, to be in the streets seeking an opportunity to earn bread for himself and his family. It is a serious moral position, too, for a man to be put in, and those of us who have had to do with it have been touched with nothing so much as with the deterioration that goes on in a man's character when placed for any length of time in such circumstances. How quickly the out-of-work becomes the man who can't work. It is not merely an economic question, it is an ethical one, a religious problem of the first order, and the sooner the church of Christ rises up to see it the better. I have to express my debt of gratitude for the two magnificent papers which we have had on these great problems.

Remarks by Dr. R. F. Horton, London

Would you allow me to say just one word? I feel that the subject this morning is in a certain sense the crucial subject of the whole of this congress. Our answer to the questions that are raised in this discussion will be heard through the length and breadth of this country,

and no doubt in the United States, and if we can give an answer which is at all clear, definite, and authoritative, it will do incalculable good. If we give an answer which is simply vague, contradictory, and even mutually recriminatory, it can do nothing but harm. And the question that seems to rise as we bring this discussion to a close is this—can we as a Council say something upon the social question which will determine the action of our members and our Churches throughout the whole of Congregationalism? I do greatly agree with our friend from Chicago. I still further agree with Mr. Will Reason. I agree with them both. I feel that the man who does not understand social questions and economics as the result of close and careful study, should not mention them in the pulpit. To talk in the pulpit vague denunciatory generalities about Socialism and the like, with semi-sarcastic hits at capitalists and landlords, is the most stupid thing a minister can do. I protest that is not the gospel of Jesus Christ. It is not the manner of Jesus Christ. If a man is not trained in economic questions, if he has not studied the subject as carefully as, presumably, he has studied his theology and his Bible, let him in the name of God be silent, let him announce in the pulpit that he knows nothing about the subject and, therefore, he thinks it wiser to say nothing. But, on the other hand, what Mr. Reason has presented to us in his modest and transparent way is, that the minister ought to be an adept on the question of economics. At least he ought to be a man who has so studied and understood the society in which he lives that he sees with impassioned clearness how the gospel of Christ applies to these social problems. The result can only be achieved by the most careful and most painstaking and most self-denying study. Where is that study to be given? Now, what I would urge as coming from this Council is, that we, as Congregationalists, in close touch with the people and longing for social reform, believe that the time is coming when the Theological Seminary should, as a matter of course, give a careful preparation in the applied economics of the Gospel, and that that teaching should not be given as an extraneous subject by an extraneous professor, but that it should be just as much a part of the curriculum as pastoral or dogmatic theology; and it should be the duty of every Congregational student, before he enters the ministry, to pass an examination in economics, which will at least qualify him to speak in the pulpit—modestly, of course, and simply—in a way that commands the respect of the instructed people in his congregation. If we are trained as economists, we may speak in the pulpit on the subject. If we are not, let us be very cautious and very humble, because the simplest man in business knows more upon the subject than the best instructed minister who has not studied it; and every word that is uttered by a minister upon this subject, which betrays his ignorance, undermines his preaching upon the subject of the gospel itself.

Now let me conclude by saying that many years ago, just when I was entering the ministry, I knew intimately and loved tenderly one of the noblest men that this country has ever produced, the late Arnold Toynbee. That man, in addressing an audience of undergraduates or of working men, touched them, moved them, with a passion which was almost inexplicable, when you saw his delicate, sensitive face and his almost total absence of self-assertion and self-confidence. The reason why he moved everyone to whom he spoke, whether undergraduate or working man, was that his study of economics had been penetrated through and through with his religion. The two were one. He

preached the social gospel not in any denial of the gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, but as it were in fulfilment of it. That gospel of Arnold Toynbee founded the settlement in East London which has been the original fountain of all social movements in the Churches up to our time, and we know that Arnold Toynbee though he died, as it were, a martyr in his youth to his enthusiasm and devotion, has been one of the prophets of the nineteenth century. Let us be prophets like Arnold Toynbee by fusing an absolute knowledge with a spiritual enthusiasm, and I believe the change will come which Dr. Mills magnificently prophesied. For, of course, the Kingdom of God will come, and of course it is our duty to bring it to pass by the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Remarks by Mrs. De Selincourt, London

I would not presume to discuss such a question as that of capital and labour, but I should like to mention one single fact that may be a little interesting in this meeting. For many years I have been intimately connected with a firm the practice of which has always been to share their profits. There are many hundreds employed by the firm and they are all treated in the same way from the highest to the lowest, each receiving a share of the profits. The simple fact I want to tell you is this—at one time there was a great financial panic in the city, and the head of the firm had to give up his country house, his carriage, and also to give up a great many things he could not hide from his *employées*. The heads of the departments waited upon him and said that they were grieved to find that he was travelling third class to the city, and other things, and they requested that a certain amount—I forget now what—should be taken off their salaries. They wished to contribute what they could to the prosperity of the firm by relinquishing their own hard-earned money.

I need hardly say what the answer of the head of the firm was. He said, "My friends, I have given up something I had before that you may not suffer." Now if all Christian men carried out that plan and shared their profits we should have a new heaven and a new earth. There would be no strikes. Strikes! I could tell you instances in the history of that firm of love and sympathy and devotion on the part of the workpeople towards not only the head of the firm but all the members of his family that would bring tears to your eyes. Let me suggest that in England and America that plan of sharing profits should be carried out. There is only one drawback to it. When there are no profits it is a terrible thing for the employer.

The Chairman next called upon the Rev. Edward D. Eaton, D.D., of Beloit, Wisconsin, U.S.A., to speak on "The Bearing of New Testament Ethics on Civic Relations."

Address by Rev. President Eaton, D.D.

THE BEARING OF NEW TESTAMENT ETHICS ON CIVIC RELATIONS

Nothing was further from the thought of the writers of the New Testament than to construct or defend a system of Ethics. A redeeming life had been lived in the world, and it was for them to keep

that life present and vital among men. A breath divine had been breathed upon lifeless humanity; they were to impart its vivifying power. Here was hope for the hopeless, and help for the struggling; they must bring it to those in direct need. A new devotion, making life buoyant and beautiful, filled their hearts, and they were eager to impart it to the heart of the race. All creation must have the great good news. Upon this their energies were bent.

Nothing, however, is more certain than that the founders of Christianity did recreate the ethical life of humanity, and are at the heart of the ethical movement to-day, even where they are unrecognized. When Jesus uttered the words, "Your Heavenly Father" with profoundest conviction and infinite persuasiveness, he laid the foundation for a Christian Ethics of absolute finality. As with a flash of sunlight illuminating a darkened landscape, he disclosed a law of love wide as the universe and deep as the heart of God, laying its imperative on every child of the Father in every relation into which he may come with any other child in the universal family of mankind, and instead of laying this law as a burden upon the race, he lifted it into the splendour of an infinite inspiration by embodying it in a life of tenderness, of ministry, of self-abnegation, of death for the recovery of the children of his Father, through death bringing them into the abundant life which he lived in his Father's presence.

By those who caught the spirit of the Founder and lived and taught the truth as it was in him, the individual, of whatever race or rank, was set in dignity against the background of a divine origin, and bidden to prepare for a future whose possibilities were of infinite beatitude or unspeakable tragedy. At the same time all of these individuals were grouped in one body in Christ, in which the interests of each were seen to be the interests of all; and even as Christ pleased not himself, so every life was to be a service, an ungrudging devotion to the world for which Christ lived and died.

Here we have that discovery and redemption of the individual, and that organizing of him into a regenerated society, which is the moral triumph of the gospel and which gives free play to Christian Ethics.

It is not the province of this paper to trace the operation of these new principles of living through the centuries, and set forth their results personal and social in the many wide fields of life. It is for us to speak briefly of their application in a single field, one that is of vital consequence to human welfare to-day.

Ours is pre-eminently and increasingly an era of democracy. I do not refer to names and forms of government, but to the directive principles of the governments themselves. There can be no question that all the enlightened nations of the world have during the past century or so become essentially democratic, governments of the people, by the people, for the people; and the aspirations and agonies of the other nations are centred in the struggle for the same liberty. It is the ethical spirit of Jesus and Paul, of Luther and Knox, of Milton and Cromwell, surging upward to full expression. It is the ethical doctrine of the Heavenly Father and the human brother organizing itself in the order of human life.

Now that Christian civilisation has unlocked the doors of progress, into what region are we to emerge? The chains are off of body and mind; what use are we going to make of our freedom? Is our liberty to be that of Rousseau, which holds representative government to be a new and absurd tyranny, and the law to be obeyed by the individual

only so long and so far as it has his personal approval? Is the freeman to be a superman, glorying in his unobstructed will as the only real expression of himself, flouting any claim of others to his consideration and care? Or on the other hand is the organization of mankind to be so complete that the individual must be in lock-step with the mass, regimented into a social order where uniformity has superseded individuality, and the tyranny of the State is substituted for the tyranny of the despot? What is the contribution of Christian Ethics toward the solution of these problems of the civic life?

In the first place, the Christian reverences the law, and is obedient to it. The Master stood face to face with Imperial Rome, and instead of flinging himself upon the spears of her legionaries, he calmly said: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." In the same spirit the Apostle enjoins: "Put them in mind to be in subjection to rulers, to authorities: be obedient," and again, "Let every soul be in subjection to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God." That is, obedience to God being the highest duty, and governments holding a delegated authority from him, loyalty to the government is a fundamental Christian obligation.

If this was true when the government was pagan and oppressive, how much more clearly obligatory is it that we be obedient to a government that is Christian and free. Indeed it is one of the crowning blessings of a Christian civilization that the spirit of reverence for the nation is given opportunity for untrammelled and lofty expression in the Christian heart. That the springs of patriotism and of religion lie close to each other is evidenced by the fact that whenever a great national peril is fronted, at once Christian feelings are stirred to their profoundest depths.

To the thoughtful Christian the State is ennobled by his realization that it is the embodiment of spiritual achievement. The hopes of bygone ages, the prayers of the oppressed, the visions of reformers, the high resolve of warriors and their valour "on the red rampart's slippery swell," the heroism of pioneers, the patient wisdom of statesmen, the eager researches of scholars, the faithfulness of undistinguished homes, all these are interwoven in the life of the State like a garment growing on the loom of God, fit for the shoulders of the Ruler of heaven and earth.

The Christian recognises in the State the opportunity of the individual and the race. Holding with Aristotle that man is by nature a political animal, he believes that man can come into his best estate as a moral and spiritual being only through the responsibilities and the privileges of civic life, by which he is broadened, disciplined, taught to serve, and filled with the fulness of interrelated lives, as mountain brooks, which single have a wild and desultory existence, unite to form the river which moves majestic and powerful, upbearing the keels of the world's commerce and imparting motion to myriad wheels of industry.

Obedience to the law of the land thus comes to be a fundamental Christian duty, a duty which needs emphasizing in our own time. Especially in my own country is there urgent occasion to take this truth to heart; for there the informality of pioneer life, the mingling of races, and the consequent breaking down of inherited customs, the self-assertion bred of emergencies, and the inconsiderateness of a rough-and-tumble scramble for material goods, have fostered an individualism which takes little account of the sanctities of the law

when they contravene present convenience or desire. Men who consider themselves good citizens thus undermine the very foundations of the State. Many who feel only horror for the excesses of a French Revolution, allow themselves in practical Rosseauism which, if generally adopted, would prelude a new Reign of Terror. An "unchartered freedom" is but the precursor of anarchy.

Hence the acquisition of wealth by evasions or direct transgressions of law, which are a reproach to our nation; hence the employment by great corporations of the most eminent legal talent to keep them just within the letter of the law while nullifying its spirit; hence white-cap raids, lynchings, and frightful burnings at the stake, and defence by dynamite which horrifies the civilized world. Our hope lies in the awakening of the public conscience, which we believe is mightily to increase; the faithful discharge of duty by many State and local officials; and the fearless enforcement of law and call to righteousness by our Christian President. The help of every Christian is urgently needed. And no doubt a measure of similar need exists in every land, though conditions may be less exigent. The choice everywhere must lie between obedience and chaos.

In the second place the Christian is to be an active, not a passive, citizen. This duty is not urged in the New Testament, and for the best of practical reasons; there existed at that time no field for active Christian citizenship. To have urged the believer in apostolic times to realize his responsibility for good government would have been about as timely as to impress the same duty now upon the Kaffir in South Africa. But when Christianity had won its moral triumphs, and the sceptre of the Nazarene was extended over the nations, then the responsibility of the Christian in this regard was instant and permanent. If ye are the light of the world; if ye are salt of the earth; if ye are one body in Christ and severally members one of another, there can be no question as to the civic duties of a Christian. If the State is the embodiment of the spiritual achievements of the race and the organ of the development of human nature, civic functions become almost sacramental, and their right exercise has the highest ethical significance. Every Christian should be in politics; he belongs there, *ex officio*, as a Christian man. *She* belongs there, whether a voter or not, in the exercise of an enlightened, self-devoting, purifying influence.

Christian Ethics prescribes certain characteristics of the Christian in politics, which are deserving of his attention.

(1.) He is to be characterized by public spirit. This sounds axiomatic; but how difficult of realization. "Seeketh not her own" might well be inscribed as an ideal over the doorway of legislative halls and council chambers. It is manifestly a Christian attitude; but how hard to maintain it. When local politicians fix things for their own advantage; when aldermen hold up corporations until it is conceded that franchises must be purchased with bribes; when great commercial interests intrench themselves in legislatures as a dam against the will of the people; when it is assumed that after a political campaign to the victors belong the spoils; not only are Christian principles flagrantly violated, but the foundations of the State are undermined. As President Hadley has recently said, "Every man who admires a public officer for success in serving himself rather than for success in serving others, who respects the man for getting rather than for deserving office, shows himself to that extent unfit to be a

member of a self-governing nation, and diminishes the capacity of the nation for self-government."

It is vain to hope for the permanence of free governments or even of social order, if the people come to believe that selfish considerations dominate those who make and administer the laws. Lecky called attention to an important truth in observing that all loyalty is drawn out to life that is organic; when men's attention is centered upon private interests, the dissolution of the State is at hand. The passionate loyalty of the Japanese people toward their Emperor is justified by that attitude of the Emperor which led him to put out the fires in his palace in the winter on learning of the sufferings of his soldiers from cold in Manchuria during the war with Russia.

Disinterested statesmanship is the glory of English political history. It is the hope of American politics that men are arising who believe public office to be a public trust and that the people are rallying to them. When W. Murray Crane was elected governor of Massachusetts, his first act was to sell all his holdings in companies whose affairs might come under his official cognizance during his administration. William H. Taft two years ago refused the urgent tender of a seat upon the supreme bench of the United States, the appropriate culmination of his legal career, that he might continue his self-denying service in behalf of the Philipinos. The career of Governor Hughes of New York is one of the most hopeful signs of the times. When in addressing a great assembly in Chicago recently he asserted that "Special interests MUST KEEP THEIR HANDS OFF in city, state and nation; the welfare of the people must be the supreme law," his hearers thought of his own struggle with life insurance companies, with holders of public franchises, with race-track gamblers, and gloried in the utterance of a strong and honest public servant. Their applause carried me back in thought to a scene in New York a few months before, when at the International Peace Conference Mr. Carnegie introduced Governor Hughes with a quotation of the well-known words which point the path of duty as the way to glory:—

> He who treads it, only thirsting
> For the right, and learns to deaden
> Love of self, before his journey closes
> He shall find the obstinate thistle bursting
> Into glossy purples that outredden
> All voluptuous garden roses.

The truth which Tennyson thus expresses as illustrative of the career of the Iron Duke is experienced in his measure by every man who gives his thought and strength unselfishly to the interests of the public weal. The forbidding duty discloses its own peculiar satisfaction and reward.

Another characteristic of the Christian in politics is truthfulness. Misrepresentation seems almost a matter of course in political contests and insincerity the natural atmosphere of the politician. The Yellow Journal is expected to distort issues with malevolent ingenuity; and even the leading organ of a party shows little desire to represent fairly the principles and position of an opponent. To accept its estimate of him is to view him in convex or concave mirror, whose brilliant surface presents a grotesque and startling distortion. But the Christian whose birthright is freedom through the truth, and who has put away lying as the essential trait of the evil one, is going to have value in civic affairs

largely in proportion to his resolute truthfulness. And it is astonishing what corrective and curative power resides in the simple truth when it is simply and fearlessly presented.

A striking and cheering instance of this is found in the recent municipal history of Chicago. A few years ago the government of the city was in the hands of a hopelessly corrupt body of men. Out of seventy-eight aldermen, sixty-eight were of the worst type, popularly denominated the grey wolves. Thoroughly organized, and entrenched in the support of the ignorant, the thoughtless, the partizan and the vicious, all attempts to dislodge them seemed unavailing. At length some ten or twelve college men associated themselves in a municipal voters' league. They kept the organization as unobtrusive as possible, had no officers, held no public meetings; but between the time of the caucuses and the election they were in continuous session. The record of every man nominated for alderman or other municipal office was subjected to a thorough investigation, and the results were published in the name of the league, with estimates of each man as worthy or unworthy of confidence, entirely irrespective of party considerations. At first scoffed at and contemptuously ignored by party managers, the league soon became a power to be reckoned with. Its straightforward truthfulness won the attention and confidence of the voters. Disreputable candidates began to shrink from having their careers in the limelight of the bulletins of the league. Party leaders even came to the league to ask in advance for its appraisal of the character of possible candidates before putting them in nomination. Bad candidates went down to defeat at the hands of an informed and awakened electorate. The pack of wolves was driven out and the shame of Chicago's government purged. The enfranchising power was the simple truth in the hands of truth-loving men.

May I say an additional word in characterization of two members of this voters' league whom I have had the privilege of knowing well. One is a professor in a theological school, a deep-hearted lover of his fellow-men, who for years has made his home with his family in one of the most forbidding wards in the city, where tides of emigrants break as the surge on the sand, and where ignorance of free institutions gave easy victory to corrupt bosses. Here our Christian in politics found his opportunity. Having won the goodwill of the people by his brotherly life among them, he organized a good government club, instructed its members in the functions of citizenship, stimulated them to desire the best for their ward and to work for it, until the club came to hold the balance of political power in the ward and has recently celebrated the tenth consecutive annual victory of good government in that old stronghold of ignorance and corruption. Our friend, who has been the centre of this social regeneration, though a Protestant clergyman, is beloved of Catholic and Socialist alike, is in constant demand as an arbiter in labour disputes, lives a strenuous life at all times, and especially before elections, but finds his life most richly repaying. For him surely the thistle has opened its ruddy heart. The other member of this voters' league was a Yale man, a lawyer of breadth and acumen, who in addition to large professional responsibilities threw himself with the ardour of a Christian soldier into these campaigns for righteousness. His fine physique gave way under the strain of his labours, and he died in his prime, deeply lamented, leaving a reputation which a general might envy, his name an inspiration and a challenge to those who come after to be also valiant for the truth.

One other characteristic of the Christian in civic relations, and an inclusive one, is his insistence upon divine standards. His Master set for him an absolute standard: "Ye shall be perfect even as your Father in Heaven is perfect," he cannot be satisfied to apply lower standards to the public life of his time. While not impracticable nor intolerant he will steadily stand for the best and the highest. As Washington said to the Constitutional Convention of the American Colonies in 1789, deprecating compromises which would yield unworthy results: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the good can repair, and leave the result with God." There are plenty of others ready to advocate the base or the inadequate; he will not "bend the pregnant hinges of the knees" to current prejudice or to successful selfishness. It is for him to be a rock amid the sands, a beacon above the waters.

The central civic problem of our time and of the future seems to be the problem of the city. The centripetal movement of the race inevitably builds up greater and greater aggregations of urban population. How much more difficult it is to give reality to Christian brotherhood here than in the simpler life of the country! How pitiless the exactions of toil, how unrelieved the gauntness of poverty, how frightful the wreckage of sin! How poignant the contrast between culture opulent and resourceful, and sordid and tattered want. The Christian citizen can never rest in this condition of things. This is not the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, which he is to help to bring down out of Heaven. With that eager vision before him, with the kingdom which was constantly in his Master's heart in his heart as well, he plans, he works, he votes. Is the city to be a sewer into which the rills of country life trickle to be lost in its pollution; or a reservoir of power and refreshment for the world? The answer lies ultimately with the Christian in politics. Dickens' whimsical statement regarding one of his characters that though homeless he "had the key of the street," Mr. Chesterton applies in a higher sense to Dickens himself, as knowing intimately the life of all classes inhabiting it. In a still higher sense it may be said of the Christian in politics that if fitted for his public service he will have the key of the street; having first mastered its life, he will know how to unlock to it the world's accumulations of higher and richer life. The great provisions which the London County Council has made in recent years for the comfort and regeneration of the poor; the parks, playgrounds and public baths which are transforming life for multitudes of the boys and girls in Chicago; the juvenile courts which are putting an arm of wise sympathy and care around young offenders, with extraordinary success; are suggestions of the vastly greater gains we are going to see when the Christian faces his civic responsibilities in the full spirit of brotherhood, and beholds his Master in the guise of the disadvantaged and the outcast.

Wherever now a sorrow stands,
'Tis mine to heal His nail-torn Hands;
In every lonely land and street,
'Tis mine to wash His wounded feet;
'Tis mine to roll away the stone
And warm his heart against my own.
Here, here, on earth I find it all,—
The young archangels white and tall,
The Golden City and the doors,
And all the shining of the floors!

We are approaching the centennial of the birth of Gladstone and of Lincoln, both having been born in the same year, 1809. How great the contrasts between the two statesmen! One the heir of wealth and culture, the other born in a log cabin, the child of generations of backwoodsmen. One trained in historic seats of learning, from his youth the companion of great leaders of men; the other studying a borrowed book with the light of a cabin fire for his candle, thinking out the principles of life alone while splitting rails or steering a raft. One honoured the world around as Prime Minister of the Imperial Mother Anglo-Saxon Nation, departing calmly at nearly fourscore and ten years of age; the other at two score called out of obscurity to save a nation buffeted with storm and threatened with shipwreck, after four years of tempest to be himself smitten as with a thunderbolt in the hour of the nation's recovered peace. Yet in their unequal lives how equally they embody Christian principles as applied to civic relations. Each reverenced the State as the august realization of the Divine purpose for humanity. Each held himself under obligation to serve the public weal, and regarded office as a commission from the Most High. Each pierced sham and deception with the spear-point of truth. Each founded his policies on the Rock of Christian principle. To each might be applied with equal accuracy the lines of Stedman describing the hand of Lincoln :—

> No courtier's toying with a sword,
> Nor minstrel's laid across a lute;
> A chief's, uplifted to the Lord
> When all the kings of earth were mute!

These are illustrious names, potent for good to succeeding generations. But who shall say that Christian principles are less faithfully embodied by humbler statesmen, by Mark Fagan the Irish newsboy, who as Mayor of Jersey City brought to terms the dominant railroad powers; by John Burns in Parliament and Cabinet; and by countless unknown citizens through whose vision and faithfulness the State is to become, we trust, the visible expression of the invisible kingdom of righteousness and peace on earth.

The Chairman intimated that a short time remained for a discussion of the last address.

Remarks by Rev. James Buchan, Sydney

I could wish that this subject could have been discussed from the Australian point of view. I come from a land where Socialism has made great strides. Many of you have heard of Tom Price, the premier of South Australia, who is a labour member. We have had Socialistic governments in several of the States. Now I hold no brief for Socialism. I wish to be known as a preacher of the Gospel of Christ, and when I die I hope I shall be remembered as a preacher of the Gospel of Christ. But I think we should earnestly consider how the question is viewed from the labour side, and also earnestly consider the effect of the attitude and relations of the labour people towards the Christian Church. Let me transport myself just for one moment to the side of the Socialists. We must remember

that the present day is one when intelligent working men can read and think and debate on all current topics, on ethics, economics, civil and political and religious relations. I am speaking for Australia. They see, in a word or two let me say, these two facts. They see a small portion of the world in possession of great riches, and they see that portion growing richer. They see on the other side a large portion which is in many places growing poorer. They see these things. They see, or they think they see, that there must be radical changes. Governments are evidently in a state of helplessness to remedy fully and to remedy quickly the things that seem wrong. Now the Labour Party—I am speaking of Australia—try to force the hands of the Government to some kind of definite action to find a remedy. Now—I do not say they are right—they think the Church is not only unsympathetic, but is opposing the bringing in of better conditions. We meet, we consider the question, we decide that we are right and that they are wrong. It may be so, but I want you to look at this. I believe they are right so far and that their movement is going to help the whole world, but I do not believe that all the methods they are outlining are right. But let us remember this, that while we are discussing these things they are drifting on and passing away from us. I allow this, that the Church has always led, and leads to-day in all kinds of charitable, benevolent and philanthropic deeds, but the cry that is going up to-day is a cry for what they believe to be the right of every man. Now we have spoken lately about the poor in Edinburgh and the poor in London. But I have to remember that the poorest and the most miserable man is my brother. You say, perhaps, that it is his blame that he is poor. That may be so. Still he is my brother, and I have to help him ; and there are many who are not to blame and we have to try and help them as well. We have to recognise, we have to face the position. We may be startled by some of the things that are said to-day, but what is going on in Australia is going on here and will become more intense here as the years pass. As Christians we have many things to unlearn and we have many things to learn. We have to remember the teaching of our Master and to do everything that can help the bringing about of his kingdom. But we are not doing that, if we are leaving the people who are struggling for what they believe to be their rights—leaving them to struggle and not helping them. Let the Church face the position, let the Church take its place and lead.

Remarks by Rev. J. S. McInnes, Seatonville, Illinois

We have heard of the Church in its civic relations and what the Church might do. Let me by way of illustration tell you what has been done by a little Church of which I am pastor. I live in a town of about 1,200 inhabitants, a country mining town. About seventy-five per cent. of our inhabitants speak foreign languages. We have had as many as sixteen saloons at one time in that town, or one for every seventy-five or eighty of the inhabitants. Just after I went there we had an election. It was a three-cornered fight, and one of the worst characters in the town—a drunken loafer—was elected mayor. We organized a Law and Order League, and sent a request to the mayor to enforce the law to close the saloons, especially on Sunday. They were being run in open violation of the village ordinances, and also of

the State laws. He ignored our request, then several times repeated, and then we went and had an interview with the state attorney and also with the sheriff, who were not willing to help us for fear of losing votes. But we forced them to do their duty, with the ultimate result that the mayor resigned office, and from that day the town has been better because there has been in it a little Congregational Church, and because while we believe it is right to save men's souls for the next world, it is also right to save their bodies in this world. Since that time the saloons have been closed on Sundays, and I think they will continue closed so long as the Church is in the place.

Remarks by Rev. W. Adamson, D.D., Glasgow

I have been delighted with both the papers and the discussions. I have listened to a number of discussions and never remember a more practical one than that of this morning. We ought to be the better, every one of us, and the more determined to see that right is done to all classes after what we have heard to-day. There never will be reform until we go to the real tree of the matter, and remember the principle of the Master—let the tree be good and then the fruit will be good. As Dr. Mills said, until you get man rectified, you will never get society rectified. I think we ought to congratulate ourselves on the progress that has been made. I have taken an active part in political, social, and theological movements since I was sixteen years of age, and I think a discussion like this would not have been possible in any previous period of the history of this country. You ask what has the Church done in matters that make for progress. Who emancipated the slaves? Wilberforce was a Christian man. I do not know of one social reformer in this country or America who was not. It is members of the Churches who make up the great reforming power in this country and everywhere else. Take our working men, our Labour Party. I know some of them, particularly one of the leaders—Mr. Keir Hardie—and I am quite sure that if he were here to-day he would be ready to testify to what he owes to the Church. Almost all the members of the Labour Party are Christian men who have derived their ideas from the church. We are not to imagine that the Church is behind; it has done a great work and will do a great work still. I remember reading an article in an American paper in which a clergyman said that every tenth person in Edinburgh was under the power of intoxicating liquor. I believe he is perfectly right in one way, and wrong in another, for I could take him into many streets in Edinburgh where he would not see one intoxicated person. Persons under the influence of drink gather in one small place in Edinburgh. If you Americans go into the High Street and the Canongate on a Saturday night you see the darker side of the city. But I want to vindicate the city where I spent seven years, and I tell you it is on the whole a sober city, an honourable city, and you will find as little drinking here as in almost any city in the United States.

Remarks by Rev. O. K. Hobbs, M.A., Batley

I rise to draw attention to an institution which I believe is doing most excellent work in England in bringing New Testament ethics to bear on family, economic, and civic relations. I refer to the very

large meetings that we have on Sunday afternoons for men and oftentimes for women on a week-night. We have one gentleman in this assembly, Mr. Jeffs, of London, who has attended most of our sessions, who has taken a deep interest in this work, and who is far more capable of speaking about it than I am myself. At these meetings we are able to bring New Testament ethics to bear upon the life of the labouring classes, the working classes, of this land. We all lament that a large section of the working classes are absent from our ordinary services, and it is a great gain indeed to get large companies of working men and working women together in our churches that we may bring to bear upon them New Testament teaching. It is thought by some that at these meetings we only speak to these men about their rights and their sufferings, but indeed I have heard splendid deliverances in P.S.A. gatherings, and in meetings for women where the truth has been brought home to bear upon them concerning their duties and their responsibilities. I should also like to add that one of the deacons of my own Church has been doing what Mrs. De Selincourt has been advising here this morning. He has 1,500 *employés*, and he has adopted the principle of profit sharing, and the gain is not so much in the increase of reward to the individual worker as in the creation of a new atmosphere throughout the mills. That manufacturer is no longer regarded as a task-master, and the worker is no longer regarded as a toiler, but as a fellow-worker with his employer. The whole atmosphere of these mills has been changed by the introduction of that admirable system of profit sharing.

Remarks by Mr. G. H. Baines, J.P., West Hartlepool

I do not want to prolong this discussion, but I wish just to point out, with reference to what Dr. Mills has said in regard to the increase in the ratio of accidents on railways in America, that in this country we are happily going in the other direction. I have not the figures, but I believe that the number of accidents on railways in this country has decreased almost as much as it has increased in America. One word as to the association of the word "capitalist" with the gigantic "trusts." There are in this country as there must be in America, working men who set up in business, small capitalists, in very great number, and we should not forget that class in our reflection upon the methods that we have in this country. Our friend from Dundee referred to the tenancy by families of a single room, the men earning fourteen, sixteen, or eighteen shillings a week. I have been asked to say that in Dundee, as in other cities, there is family employment, and it is unfair to say that there are many earning only fourteen shillings. In many tenement rooms there are three, four, and five pounds going in, and many of them might, if they would, take larger and better houses. That is a case where the municipality should endeavour to improve the position of things.

The Chairman closed the Session by pronouncing the Benediction.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Rev. John Fordyce, M.A., D.D., of Sydney, presided at the afternoon Session, when various aspects of the education question were discussed.

The Rev. Alexander Lewis, PH.D., of Kansas City, Missouri, was the first speaker. He introduced the subject of "Elementary Education in America."

ADDRESS BY REV. ALEXANDER LEWIS, PH.D., D.D.,
PASTOR FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, KANSAS CITY, MO.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN AMERICA

Mr. Moderator, Fathers and Brethren, Ladies and Gentlemen.—The subject assigned me and what seems to me, for the sake of those unacquainted with our system, its necessary treatment, will appear to many of my American colleagues as very common place. On the other hand even Americans, unless they have kept in very close touch with the rapid progress made in the States educationally during the last decade, will find some phases of the subject refreshingly new. I must ask them, therefore, to bear with the first for the sake of the second.

You have noticed that some of the topics on this program are very broad and that some of our speakers have availed themselves of the full privilege of their subjects. Repetition, however, is not altogether a misfortune provided that the subjects are of paramount importance. All will agree that the subject of education belongs to this class.

In order to secure the very latest and most reliable information I adopted the following lines of investigation:

First, I made a careful study of our educational reports, as issued by our national commission (of education), then I read what such authorities as President Eliot, of Harvard; President Butler, of Columbia; President Hall, of Clark; and Dr. W. T. Harris, of the National Education Commission, had to say upon the subject.

That I might get a more correct view point, I found it necessary to look at our schools through other eyes, so I studied with great care a monograph, issued in 1907, after a tour of personal investigation, by Mr. C. H. Burden, Head-Master of the County Secondary School, Hyde, Cheshire, also the reports of the Mosely Commission.

I found it necessary, further, to familiarize myself more fully with conditions in England. Therefore, I read President Isaac Sharples, of Pennsylvania, on "English Elementary Education"; "The Englishman at Home," by Parritt; and "The Making of Citizens—A Study in Comparative Education," by Mr. R. E. Hughes, M.A., Oxon,

B.SC., London. This latter work covers, in small compass, German, French, English, and American education, and is the best popular work on the subject that I found.

That my impressions formed by reading might be tested by comparison with the experiences of others, I sent the following questions to a number of professional educators and laymen on both sides of the water:

1. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the American elementary educational system?
2. What are the advantages and disadvantages of the English elementary educational system?
3. In what respects does the American system excel the English?
4. In what respects does the English system excel the American?

The majority of these questions have no place under my subject, and were asked simply to assist the writer in finding his view point.

Then, further, I took it upon myself to visit, in person, a number of our schools, that I might test the foregoing by what I saw in actual operation. You will see, therefore, that the position which I assume is not so much the position of an advocate as that of a judge, whose duty it is to weigh carefully the testimony of accredited witnesses, and, in the light of facts presented, render a verdict.

OUTLINE OF SYSTEMS

The educational system of America is divided into three great sections, while each of these sections is subdivided into private and public schools. These divisions it is absolutely necessary to have clearly in mind at the beginning.

The three main divisions are Higher, Secondary, and Elementary. The Higher is divided into private schools, namely: Colleges, which are supported by tuition and private gifts, like Dartmouth, Williams, and Amherst; private universities, like Harvard, Yale, and Chicago; and public or State universities, such as Pennsylvania, Michigan, and California.

Our Secondary schools are divided into private academies, such as Andover, Exeter, and Worcester, corresponding to Rugby, Harrow, and Eton; and supported, like the private colleges, by tuition and private gifts; also private and public normal schools and public high schools.

The elementary or grammar schools are likewise divided into private and public. The private schools include young ladies' and boys' schools, and parochial schools. In the country at large there are 1,250,000 pupils in private grammar schools. The work done in these institutions has no State inspection, and, as a rule, they receive no State aid. Some of the States can by a two-thirds vote of their legislature give money to sectarian schools, but it is the exception when this is done.

All private schools should have State inspection, for at present the only hold upon them is that if their pupils attain a certain grade of work, then their graduates are admitted to the higher institutions of learning on certificate. If the graduates of a private school fail to maintain the required standard in the higher institution, the privilege of admission by certificate is withdrawn, and the pupils are required thereafter to pass entrance examinations. To have its pupils admitted by certificate to one of the higher institutions is considered

such a great honour that it is usually sufficient incentive to secure good work. A private school depends largely upon the tuition of its pupils, and, if the school were not in good standing with the higher institutions, the pupils would soon drop off, the tuitions cease, and the school come to an end.

The public Grammar School, the public High School, and State University have no tuition, except for those outside the school district, or for those coming from another State. The funds for the support of these schools are derived from public taxation and the sale of public lands, set aside by the national government for school purposes. Taxes are levied, not according to the number of children a man has to attend school, but according to the amount of property he possesses. This plan, it is observed, gives a poor man a chance to educate his children equally with a rich one and places a premium on large families, not on small ones, for the rich man with no children helps to educate the large family of the poor man. For convenience and clearness, we might divide our public Grammar Schools into Country and City Schools. The Country Schools are, as a rule, poor, though they are improving wonderfully, especially in the central west. The teacher has, frequently, as many classes as pupils, and can give but little personal attention to the individual scholars. With the multiplication of railroads, the growth of towns, and the trend of population toward the city, this evil is remedying itself. This brings us to the crux of our subject—the City Grammar School, which is our ideal and the standard by which we should be judged.

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE CITY GRAMMAR SCHOOL

1. The School Board.—This is composed of a group of persons, usually men, though women sometimes serve, who are especially interested in educational work. In some cities they are elected by popular vote, or appointed by the mayor; in others, each of the leading political parties elects or appoints its proportionate number. The first method, that of popular election, is falling into disfavour, as it causes a position on the school board to be sought as a stepping stone to prominence in the political world.

The school board, with two exceptions, serve without compensation, and give much time, and render very valuable service to the public. The school board has general supervision of the schools, hires the superintendent, and, in conjunction with him, engages the principals and teachers, determines the salaries to be paid, the text books to be used, and is the court of final appeal, though the general management is left largely to the superintendent, principals, and teachers.

2. The superintendent is, almost without exception, a professional educator. As a rule he does not have charge of class-room work, but devotes all of his time to the supervision of the schools, the arrangement of the curricula, and the conducting of teachers' institutes. The superintendent has so much power that, if so inclined, he could be almost an autocrat, but the result of this one man power is that it gives one man whom the school board can hold responsible. If the schools are not prosperous, he is dismissed; if they do good work, he is commended, and, occasionally, rewarded. The salary paid the superintendent varies according to the size of the city, the number of schools under his charge, and the liberality of the

people, but, generally speaking, ranges from $2500.00 to $5000.00 per year, though some few receive considerable larger salaries.

3. The Principal, like the superintendent, is a professional educator and usually a college graduate. He has charge of a building with from three to thirty rooms, as many teachers and from 300 to 3,000 pupils. The principal usually teaches one or two of the more advanced classes, and spends the rest of his time in visiting the different rooms, and in taking general supervision of the school. The exercise of discipline usually falls to him. The principals are about evenly divided between men and women, and receive salaries varying according to the number of rooms under their care and the time in service. From $1000.00 to $3000.00 per year would be a general estimate.

4. The teachers and pupils would form the next sub-head of our general scheme of organization. These will, however, be spoken of later.

II. BUILDINGS AND EQUIPMENTS

Perhaps there is nothing of which the Americans feel more justly proud than of the appointments and equipments of their school-buildings. From the standpoint of architecture, sanitation and convenience, they are all that could be desired. The buildings are usually heated by steam, the heat being regulated by thermostats.

All of our high school and some of our grammar school buildings have Assembly Halls, seating from 500 to 3,000. The principal usually has a small room for office purposes, but no general reading and resting room is provided for the teachers, it being expected that when resting time comes the teachers will go directly to their homes. General libraries are found in every city, and small reference libraries are usually in each separate school building. Hat and cloak rooms, lavatories, and similar conveniences are very complete in their appointments. The halls of the building are large and airy. The class rooms have pianos, blackboards, sets of maps and charts on spring rollers, globes, and are seated with a separate desk for each pupil; while the walls are decorated with copies of the great masters, and, here and there, a piece of statuary. These last are usually presented to the school by the different graduating classes, though occasionally entertainments are given, the proceeds of which are used for school-room decoration. The playgrounds are usually small and inadequate; occasionally a basement room is fitted up with simple gymnasium apparatus for stormy weather, and, in some of our cities, where land is very expensive, the roofs of the buildings have been successfully utilized for play purposes.

Nearly all of our city grammar schools are now provided with rooms equipped for manual training. The different rooms in a building are connected with electric bells for signalling purposes, while the different buildings are connected with one another, with the superintendent's office and the outer world by means of telephones.

The annual expense for the maintenance, including salaries, is, according to Dr. Harris, $199,000,000.00, an increase since 1870 from $1.64 per capita of population to $2.67. To account for this one must allow for the slight increase in length of a school term, and for the increase in enrolment from less than seventeen per cent. to more than twenty per cent. of the population. But the chief items of increase are to be found in teachers' wages, better apparatus, and more commodious school buildings. It should be added that America spends



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more in the gross, and more per capita than any other country in the world for the education of her children.

III. THE TEACHER

In our elementary schools the teachers are chiefly young women. It is rare to find a man on the teaching force, except as before-mentioned, when as principal he takes a few of the higher classes. The reason for this is that the men can earn larger salaries in other lines of work. Some point to our lack of men on the teaching force as a weakness. If co-education works well among the pupils, they say, it should also work well among the teachers. Probably most would agree that it would be a good thing for a boy, if not also for a girl, to be brought for a part of the time, at least, under the influence of a male teacher. This deficiency is in part met through the principals or heads of schools, who are, in about half of the cases, men. If a boy in a school where there is no male principal, seems to need the masculine touch, he is transferred to a school where there is such a head.

Notwithstanding all that can be said in favour of male teachers, it is to be doubted if, on the whole, any better results would be secured if half the teachers were men. Teaching seems to be the special function of womankind, and for it she is certainly richly endowed. A more loyal, tactful, consecrated, enthusiastic company of workers cannot be found on the face of the earth than the young women who make up the chief teaching force in our grammar schools.

Many young women from our very best homes enter this field of activity, not alone because they wish to make a livelihood, but because they are desirous of making their lives count for the most possible, and they believe, and rightly, that there is no place where their strength will count for more than in the shaping and moulding of youth during the formative period of adolescence. It is no uncommon thing in America to find the daughters of ministers, lawyers, doctors, and successful and well-to-do business men among our teachers. For they have learned that there is a vast difference between making a living and making a life.

While the personal influence of friends counts with us the same as it does the world over, in securing the appointments of teachers, the evils of this plan are, through the examination system in vogue with us, reduced to the minimum, merit in examination and actual attainment in the school room being almost universally the standard of appointment and promotion. As religious tests are never made or required, it matters but little whether the applicant be Protestant, Catholic or Jew. A young Catholic woman of high moral character, and none other of any denomination is ever considered, who has reached a high grade in examination, would, without doubt, receive the appointment over a Protestant young woman who had made a lower grade. Many of our very best teachers are to-day coming from among the children of foreign parents, and not a few are from the Roman Catholic Faith. The reason for this is that to many teaching is the stepping-stone to social and intellectual recognition. The only distinction made of any kind is that where separate schools are maintained for white and black children—usually the law provides that the teacher shall correspond.

The training of our teachers is a subject in which you will be deeply interested. Let us suppose in a class graduating from the High School there was a group who wished to teach in the Grammar Schools. Two

courses are open to such, supply teacher training and Normal School training. If they decide to follow the first, they take the teacher's examination immediately. Those who reached the required standard of grade would be placed on the list of supply teachers and called upon, in the order of rank attained, to fill vacancies or to assist some teacher who has an unusually large school. A supply teacher receives the special attention of the principal, who is supposed, by suggestion and kindly criticism, to correct any faults of teaching, and bring more prominently to the front the good qualities of his protégé. After a year of satisfactory service, the supply teacher is a candidate for a permanent appointment. The supervision of the principal, however, continues, and her training continues as rigidly as before. In two of our cities, Boston and St. Louis, teachers' training classes are held for the public school teacher. This plan is looked upon with favour, and will, ultimately, prevail throughout the country.

While many excellent teachers are produced by the foregoing method, the Normal School training is said to produce the more efficient teachers. The first permanent Normal Schools were the three founded in Lexington, Barre and Bridgewater, Mass., in 1839 and 1840. Now, with but one exception, they are to be found in every state in the Union. The total number of such schools in 1898 was 345, with 2,871 teachers, and 67,538 students. Of these students, 23,175 were male, and 44,363 female. The total value of the Normal School buildings, grounds and apparatus is $25,027,729, and the total income for 1897 and 1898, $4,344,600.

The work done in the Normal Schools is on a par with that in our best high schools, while special attention is given to pedagogy. The Normal School course usually covers two to four years. The graduates are required to take the teachers' examination, the same as supply teachers, but they begin higher and are promoted faster. Teachers' colleges, summer schools for teachers, university extension courses, and teachers' monthly institutes complete the list of opportunities for the training of our grammar school teachers.

In addition to the above, the superintendent names several books, which each teacher is required to study and pass examination upon during the year. In Kansas City, four solid works are required. I heard complaint that this was more than a teacher ought to do, in addition to regularly required work. In the light of these facts, it is difficult to understand how Mr. Hughes could say, "The weakest point in the American system is the teacher." This judgment certainly does not agree with that of Mr. Burden, who spent the better part of last year in a tour of personal investigation. When two Englishmen disagree, there is nothing left to do but to accept what we think of ourselves, which is—that we have, all things considered, the finest body of teachers in the world.

The class room work, which each teacher is expected to do, is fully in proportion to the equipment required. Each teacher has under her charge, first of all, a room with from thirty to sixty pupils. The scholars are usually divided into two or three classes, and one class studies while the other recites. In the higher grades the pupils are expected, however, to do some study outside of school hours. The teacher usually gives special attention to backward students, but such help must, obviously, be limited where the class room method is followed. While the text book is the basis of all work, there is abundant opportunity for originality.

On a recent tour of inspection, I found the pupils busy with a spelling lesson, in which they were writing the words announced by the teacher, the same being corrected by an exchange of papers. This was not particularly interesting to a visitor, and so the teacher asked the scholars to lay aside their work and give attention to the pictures on the wall. "What is the name of the picture to my left?" asked the teacher. Every hand was raised. The pupil designated replied, "The Aurora." "And what does that mean?" asked the teacher. "Dawn," was the answer. "The picture is then intended to portray?" "The breaking light of the morning," came the answer. "Why would you say the man in the picture was a good driver?" Again a score of hands, and the one designated replied, "Because he holds the reins firmly and has his eyes upon his horses." "Who painted this picture? Where is it to be found? When did the artist live?" were all answered with equal promptness.

The children are encouraged to bring flowers, small animals, and insects to the school, and nature study, a great deal of which is done, is conducted in much the same way.

On my speaking of this experience to a friend he designated such work as "frills," but, in the same building, children were reading who did not yet know the alphabet, and adding columns of figures placed upon the blackboard by the teacher with a rapidity that surprised me. What some sarcastically call "frills" seem to me but to give balance to the practical work of the school room and to transform the childish pursuit of knowledge from pain to pleasure, from burdensome drudgery to enthusiasm. Then, too, if to cultivate the love of the beautiful is as much a part of education as to teach children the three R's, this method of work has a much deeper significance. Mr. C. H. Burden calls special attention to the enthusiasm of the pupils and teachers in our elementary schools. No little part of this is due to the privilege which each teacher has of introducing what the critic calls "frills."

As a rule the teacher exercises but little discipline, and that but of the mildest nature. An unruly boy or girl is sent to the principal, who deals with the case as he thinks best. Corporal punishment, however, is falling into disuse. In one state, New Jersey, it is forbidden by law. No other state goes to this length, but several specifically provide a penalty for excess amounting to cruelty. In a number of others, whipping must not be inflicted unless the written consent of the parent or guardian has been previously filed with the city superintendent. Several of our leading cities provide, where the state has no legislation upon the subject, that whipping may be used as a last resort, but then only under rigid regulations as to reports, etc. With such a public sentiment, it is easy to see why corporal punishment is declining. The methods of discipline employed, such as changing an unruly boy from one school to another, the reporting of his misconduct to his parents, the very occasional expulsion of an exceedingly bad boy, seem to accomplish the end much better than corporal punishment.

In one school visited the principal told me that he had not had a case of fighting for over two years. I asked him what he did in such cases, and he replied, "Always punish in some way the guilty boy, but never both boys. If I am unable to find out which boy was to blame, I let it pass with a general rebuke." This is quite different from the old method of assuming that both boys were to blame, and then giving both a sound thrashing.

The chief reason given for the excellent order in our schools, and the

little necessity for discipline, is the almost military basis upon which they are conducted. The pupils, at a given signal, form in line, march to recitation, and march in and out of the building. Our system has been criticised as mechanical, but, when you have from 1,000 to 5,000 boys and girls in one great building, absolute order must be maintained, or chaos will be the result.

Mr. Burden seems to think that our teachers do not look overworked. With this judgment most Americans would disagree. To be sure they have long vacations and short hours, but the work is so planned that every teacher is required to spend most of her spare time in preparation for the class room, institute work, or private study. A school year like that of Germany, with forty weeks, would be preferable to the crowding of pupil and teacher that now exists. One principal writes, "The public school teacher or principal who does all that is called for, has no time for any personal recreation or absolute rest until retirement or death overtakes him. It is too strenuous."

We come next to the teachers' salaries. Dr. Harris says that the expenditure for salaries in the public schools, teachers and superintendents both included, was $123,809,412 in 1897 and 1898, or 63$\frac{5}{10}$ per cent. of the total expenditure for school purposes. The highest average salary is found in the West where the average per month for men is $58.59, and for women $50.92. The lowest average salaries are in the South, where the average is $31.21. In Kansas City, Mo., a principal of a two-room building receives $85.00 per month; of a four-room building $100.00; of a ten-room building $165.00; a fifteen-room building, or more, $190.00.

The teachers in the grades receive $500.00 for the first year's service, $550.00 for the second, $600.00 for the third, $650.00 for the fourth, and $720.00 thereafter, provided each year's service shows satisfactory advancement. All teachers having taught one year at the maximum salary of $720.00 shall be entitled to take the professional examination, and, upon passing it, shall receive a salary of $760.00; and, after teaching one year at $760.00, shall be eligible to take the second examination, and, upon passing it, shall receive a salary of $800.00; and, after teaching at a salary of $800.00 for one year, shall, upon recommendation of the superintendent, receive a salary of $825.00 per year. Substitute teachers receive $250.00 per year, and experienced kindergarten teachers from $500.00 to $600.00. The average salary paid in Kansas City Elementary Schools is $663.08; San Francisco, Denver, Indianapolis, New York and Cincinnati each pay over $800.00; while Boston heads the list with an average salary of over $1000.00. Compared with Germany, France, or even England, this seems generous, but, when compared with the cost of buildings, of living in our country, and salaries in other lines, these amounts are pitiably small.

It is hard to understand how people who provide so lavishly for buildings and equipment will deal so niggardly with their teachers. "The Outlook" of May 16th speaks editorially on this subject as follows. For a people who are irrevocably committed to faith in education, Americans are shockingly neglectful of teachers. We boast of our common schools and then underpay those who conduct them. Our millionaires endow colleges and universities; but nobody makes it his business to see that the teachers who give worth to laboratories, libraries, and lecture halls are even fairly paid. The Association of Collegiate Alumni of the State of New York urged upon the

legislature of that State, during its recent session, a measure providing for retirement annuities to teachers in State institutions. Some of the facts presented by that Association are worth noting. Nearly nine-tenths of all the teachers in the state are women. So preponderant are women in the profession that many boys graduate from the high school without ever having been taught by a man. And there are not even women enough who wish to teach to fill all the positions. In the city of New York alone there were recently 700 positions unfilled. The United States offers in this respect an unhappy contrast with the Argentine Republic. Here we pay public school teachers about what we pay our cooks and housemaids. There teachers are so paid that recruits to the ranks of Argentine teachers are drawn from the United States and from Europe. Full salary in gold is paid as an annuity on retirement after thirty years of service. Whether pensions for public school teachers are expedient or not, the present salaries of teachers are plainly inadequate. When the people of America learn to honour their teachers as heartily as they now brag of their schools, they will have better schools to boast about, and they will probably boast less. Think of a college graduate, a trained teacher, an authority on pedagogy, capable of managing a school with twenty rooms, as many teachers do, and a thousand or more pupils, working for less than $2000.00 per year.

A few years ago our college presidents were dealt with in the same miserly way, but in recent years a change has taken place, and now there are at least a score of college and university presidents who are receiving a salary of not less than $10,000 per year. It is to be hoped that this long overdue justice will soon reach the superintendents, principals and teachers of our grammar schools.

IV. THE PUPILS

The place which Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell occupy in the annals of English education is held in America by Horace Mann and W. T. Harris. The latter states in his monograph, prepared for the Paris Exposition of 1900, that we had in America 1,249,665 pupils in private grammar schools, and 14,558,036 in public grammar schools. This is in enrolment a shade better than 70 per cent. of the entire school population, an increase of 10 per cent. during the last twenty-eight years, or a total increase since 1870 of from less than seven to over 15,000,000 pupils. This seems to us a very remarkable showing, when you remember that America is not a homogeneous nation, with educational traditions, but that our educational system has been developed within a century. We have 10,000,000 blacks, and, the past twenty-five years, from 500,000 to 1,000,000 immigrants have been landed annually on our shores. When you recall that most of these are from the undesirable nations of the world, and the less desirable portion of those nations, without educational ideals and without even educational desires, the result is little short of miraculous.

This very large per cent. of children in school attendance has been brought about through a healthy public sentiment and a general feeling that education is a stepping-stone to success. Where this appeal has not been sufficient, compulsory educational laws in thirty of our states have greatly assisted. The most general period of required attendance is from eight to fourteen years of age, though a few states make it from

seven to fifteen or sixteen. In Massachusetts and Connecticut the child is required to attend the full time that the schools are in session, in other states from 50 to 70 per cent. of the full time. Massachusetts requires counties and New York requires cities to maintain truant schools. Illinois requires cities of over 100,000 inhabitants to maintain such schools. In Kansas City the Juvenile Court, with its probation officers, look after school delinquents. The chief obstacle in the way of school attendance is the indifference of parents, and the desire of both parents and children that the latter shall help in the household expenses. Less than one-third of our states have laws prohibiting child labour, but a healthy, growing sentiment is now moving in this direction.

In our elementary schools the girls and boys mingle with the greatest freedom, and in the country as a whole it may be said that co-education is the general practice. At recess, when out for exercise, the boys and girls are required to keep within the limit of their own grounds, but at all other times they mingle as naturally with each other as do men and women of the larger world. Perhaps something of the order prevailing in our schools is due to the restraining influence of co-education. Mr. Burden gives the following as the result of his observation:—

"There is no doubt of the superiority of the mixed schools over the others. In the boys' schools entered, there was either poorer discipline or methods were adopted which showed that the absence of the girls had a bad effect. The statement that the boys become effeminate is made from pure ignorance, and I saw very little evidence of the girls becoming rough."

Co-education in the elementary schools has met with such universal approval that it is gradually forcing its way into higher institutions. Between 1870 and 1890 co-education increased from $30\frac{7}{9}$ per cent. to 70 per cent. President Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, one of our leading colleges for young women, writes:—

"During the eight years, from 1890 to 1898, men have increased in co-educational colleges 70 per cent., but in separate colleges for men only 34 per cent. It is the women who have shown the preference for separate education, for women have increased more rapidly in separate colleges for women."

Canon Jephson, after a recent tour of the States, said in this connection:—"Owing to the American system of co-education and the preponderance of women teachers, the English lad has far more shrewdness and cleverness than the American boy." The *New York Sun*, in commenting on this criticism, said:—"Canon Jephson should repeat his visit, be provided with a guide of approved patriotism, and a working knowledge of how to reach the ball fields."

In one of our schools the teacher was giving a fifth grade class a lesson on flowers, and she asked for the names of the different asters, specimens which were in the window. The class replied: "Imperial aster, Queen Victoria aster, Comet aster, Chinese aster, etc.," as the case might be. Finally the teacher came to one that was broken, when a seven-year-old boy raised his hand and innocently inquired if that was a "dis-aster?" The English boys have their virtues, but we decline to give them precedence over their American cousins for cleverness.

The work done by the pupils in our elementary schools has reference first to the acquirement of knowledge, and, second, to the acquirement of character. To set forth what the pupils do in the acquirement of

knowledge, I cannot do better than to give the course of study with the time devoted to each subject. The kindergarten should be mentioned first of all, for we now begin with our children as early as four years of age. The elementary course, proper, occupies eight years, and claims the child from seven to fifteen. Reading is studied daily throughout the entire time; Penmanship during six years; Spelling during the fourth, fifth and sixth years; Grammar seven years; Latin, French or German during the eighth year; Arithmetic third to sixth year; Algebra and Geography the seventh and eighth years; Natural Science and Hygiene, oral lessons, sixty minutes per week for eight years; History of the United States seventh and eighth years; Constitution of the United States last half of eighth year; General History, Biography, Physical Culture, Vocal Music and Drawing one hour each week throughout the entire course; Manual Training, Sewing or Cooking one half-day each week during seventh and eighth years. In addition to the above, Calisthenics has its regular place in the daily routine. Exercises of a public nature, with recitation and song, are held at stated periods. In one school I found a class of eighty boys and girls of the fifth grade doing volunteer work in German, and teacher and scholars seemed greatly interested in the undertaking.

In the United States the illiterate population sends eight times its quota to jails. We are, therefore, not surprised to hear one authority say that there is no influence, except religion, that is doing as much to cultivate self-restraint, orderly, concerted action, and interest in the pursuit of truth, as the school.

Patriotism is drilled into our children from the kindergarten on. To this end the stars and stripes floats over every schoolhouse, and the children are taught to respect and honour it. The flag salute is common, at least once a week, in most of our schools. In one school which I visited, the room showing the best order for the week, as they marched in and out, is permitted to carry the flag to the pole stationed in the centre of the school lawn, and all the scholars march out and take their proper station, and, at the given signal, salute the flag; and, with arm extended towards it, recite:

"I pledge allegiance to my flag and the republic for which it stands —one people—one language—one flag!"

It is, however, to the moral and religious influences of our schools that we look chiefly for the moulding of character. Sectarian instruction is forbidden by law in some states, and would be considered out of place in all states, but, in the broad and true sense, we do teach religion just as we teach patriotism without teaching partisan politics. Just what is and what is not sectarian has led to some difference of opinion. General Crowe, of Missouri, gives it as his judgment that repeating the Lord's Prayer in the public school is unlawful, while two of our states, Wisconsin and Nebraska, have declared that the Bible is a sectarian book and have, by law, forbidden its reading in the schools. From the standard of an orthodox Jew, the New Testament and the Lord's Prayer and the keeping of Christmas may be sectarian, but this is the extreme and there are but very few who go this far. Even those who object to the Bible do not object to our text books, which recognize religion and quote frequently from the Bible. Thirty-seven of the one-hundred and forty-seven lessons of Appleton's Fifth Reader refer to God and his attributes. McGuffie's Readers now in use in Kansas City include ninety-two lessons referring to Deity and three-hundred and seventy-eight lessons referring to his attributes. Religious hymns,

like our National Anthem, are sung in every school, and not a few of our teachers open their school with the Lord's Prayer, while in every school the evils of profanity, lying, intemperance, dangers of temptation, and the value of purity, patience, self-control and self-denial are set forth, and the existence of a Supreme Being of Infinite Wisdom, Power and Goodness, and the duty of all men to adore and love God are taught.

V. ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

1. Our system has been successful in giving the great mass of our people a working education. Says Dr. Harris, "The transformation of an illiterate population into a population that reads the daily newspaper, and, perforce, thinks on National and International interests is thus far the greatest good accomplished by the free educational system of the United States. Other systems may develop more specialists. Our system raises the average.

2. It has emphasized true democracy, which in the church we call brotherhood.

3. It has fostered manual training, thus equipping the hand as well as the head.

4. It has developed initiative. Americans are the inventors of the world.

5. It has sharpened the mind by personal contact in the class room, and developed the thinking powers by the use of the text book.

6. The maintenance of our schools is met by a system of taxes based on property, a system which gives the poor man an equal chance with the rich man.

7. The training given our teachers and the liberty granted them in the class room has given us an earnest, enthusiastic body of workers. Neither incompetent teachers nor dull teachers can survive our system.

8. Our buildings and equipments are of the best.

9. Absolute separation of church and state in the management of our schools is one of our chief glories.

10. Our schools are completely governed by the people and their representatives. It is they who pay, appoint, dismiss, and indeed, license the teachers. Our system is thoroughly and absolutely American. We have copied no one, though we have learned from all. What we have accomplished, therefore, is a real contribution to the world's pedagogical knowledge.

An Englishman and an American were travelling together in Central and Southern Europe. The former saw much to praise while the latter spoke disparagingly of what he saw, for there was always something in America so much finer and grander. At last they came to Naples, and Vesuvius was setting forth one of her magnificent displays of midnight fireworks. "There," said the Englishman, "you have nothing in the States as grand as that!" "No," said the American, "we have not, but we have a waterfall over there that would put the whole thing out in ten minutes!" This incident expresses the feeling of some Americans, but when it comes to educational matters, the boastful spirits are few, for Americans know, and usually are very willing to concede that their educational system is far from perfect and that their shortcomings are many. We will enumerate but a few of the more pronounced, with comments in brackets added by a prominent Kansas City educator, who kindly read my manuscript:

1. Our curriculum is too crowded. Our teachers and scholars try to do too much; their work, therefore, lacks thoroughness.

("True 'tis pity, pity 'tis, 'tis true." Our educational garden needs a heroic weeding-out crusade. A lot of things consume the time and strength of pupils and teachers for mere show, or to gratify some notoriety-loving experimentalist).

2. Our teachers are shamefully underpaid, and little provision is made for old age pension.

3. As a natural result of small salaries, we have too few men in the schools, and too many of our teachers make teaching but a stepping-stone to something else.

(A very just criticism, but who is to deliver this corrective message to the right parties at the right time and place ?)

4. In developing initiative among the children, we have lost upon their part reverence for parents, teachers, and things sacred.

(You are not strong enough in this criticism. It is putting it mildly to say that the *majority* of our boys are at least indifferent to these vital matters which so concern the maintenance of a high moral standard, and the promotion of the best things in our social, home and national life).

5. Our class room method does not take sufficiently into account the backward student, while at the same time it does not give sufficient opportunity to the exceptionally bright student.

6. Music does not receive the place it should.

7. Things which are material and practical seem to be crowding out the things which are spiritual and ideal.

8. Playgrounds and exercise rooms are altogether inadequate. (Often none at all).

9. National compulsory educational laws are needed and the state laws we now have should be better enforced.

10. Far more emphasis should be placed upon the moral and religious teaching. The Bible, the greatest compendium of literature the world has ever known, should be taught daily in all our schools.

(Amen! At least the Beatitudes, Lord's Prayer, Proverbs and Psalms,—if not all the New Testament; yes, and the Book of Job, that grand old Hebraic Epic.)

The Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., of Brisbane, followed with an address on "Elementary Education in Australia and New Zealand."

ADDRESS BY REV. A. J. GRIFFITH, M.A.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

We have no Established Church in Australia or New Zealand. No Lords Spiritual sit in the Upper Houses of our Parliaments; nor for that matter have we any hereditary legislators. All the men who make our laws are directly or secondarily responsible to the people. Our parliaments, through their cabinet ministers, do not interfere with the members of the Episcopal Churches and determine who shall

be their bishops. The Episcopal Church in our Australasian lands is not only honoured; she is all the more honoured because she is free.

Nor does the feudal squire, or territorial magnate, dictate to the man who tills his acres or minds his sheep the manner in which he should cast his vote; and visit pains and penalties on those who dare to think in opposition to himself. I can imagine what would happen at Barcaldine sheep station if the owner attempted dictation in the time of a general election. He would quickly find himself without a man to shear his 760,000 sheep.

This disappearance of the authoritative influence of the clergyman, and of its frequent concomitant, practical pressure from the squire, immensely relieves some of the political problems that we have to face. And notably is this the case in the settlement of the educational problem.

What are you fighting about so fiercely in England? Is it over the education of the child? It is over no such thing; that is a matter of comparative simplicity. It is to prevent the undue ascendancy of one denomination as against the others in the education of the child. The work of our Free Churchmen of a couple of generations ago, in securing undenominationalism in our government, leaves us free to-day to attend to the real object of every education measure, viz. the education of the child.

This clearing of the ground has had a marked effect on our educational policy.

For one thing, it has led our statesmen, in every Australasian Parliament, to inscribe the term "secular" in the very forefront of every Act which defines the character and quality of our various educational systems. The three great notes invariably found in each one of those systems now are "Free," "Secular," "Compulsory."

The battle fought in New South Wales, the mother-state, is interesting. Before 1880 there was a dual system of education, the four state-aided denominations (Church of England, Roman Catholic, Presbyterian and Wesleyan) had schools supported by annual votes from Parliament, and under the control of the official head of the denomination for the time being. There were also national schools, supported by the state, under control of a Board appointed by Government. This dual system was found to be costly and wasteful. It filled the country with small, inefficient, and competing schools in places where one school might have answered all purposes. A League was formed to secure secular, compulsory, and free education, of which Sir Henry Parkes was the head. This system carried the day and became the law in 1880.

Eight years before Victoria had passed an Education Act on free, compulsory, and secular lines, to be administered under a minister of public instruction responsible to Parliament.

It is exceedingly important to remember, in understanding our Australasian educational methods, the connotation of the term "secular." Its signification in our codes bears upon the attitude and duties of our Government towards the subjects taught by its officers to the children. It is the affirmation of the principle that it is no part of the business of the state to teach religion among those subjects. The word "secular" also stands for the declaration that no part of the taxpayers' money shall be expended by Parliament upon the teaching of dogmas and beliefs upon whose acceptance all the

taxpayers are by no means agreed. It represents a defined and fundamental principle in Australian legislation.

While this is so, the separate states vary in some respects *in the carrying out* of the principle. Several of them permit the school buildings to be used for the purposes of religious instruction, just as some of them permit the same buildings to be used for political meetings, and for the practices of musical societies. In some cases the religious instruction may be given in the regular school hours, sometimes either before or after regular school hours.

I may adduce two illustrations: that of New South Wales and of Western Australia, which has imitated New South Wales.

The system in New South Wales is as avowedly "secular" as the rest. But the Act affords facilities to clergymen (which is the generic term for a Christian minister with us) to impart religious instruction within specified hours to children of their own denomination; and whose parents desire that it shall be given. For two half-hours a week a minister of religion may enter the school during regular school hours, and teach a Scripture lesson or a Catechism to the children of his own denomination. Short sections of Scripture are inserted in the School Readers, and the teachers are expected to explain them as they do other literary selections in the Readers.

In Western Australia the Act runs:—"In every Government school a portion of each day, not exceeding half-an-hour, may be set apart, when the children of any one religious persuasion may be instructed by clergymen or other religious teachers of such persuasion." The instruction must be that of the church to which the child belongs, the consent of the parent must be obtained, and the instruction must be carried on in a separate room.

How careful they are to safeguard the "secular" principle, even when allowing the clergyman to enter under these conditions may be seen from the words of the following "regulation," which has to be conspicuously posted up in every Western Australian School:—

"It shall not be required, as a condition of any child being admitted into or continuing in the school, that he shall attend or abstain from attending any Sunday-school, or any place of religious worship, or that he shall attend any religious observance or any instruction in religious subjects in the school or elsewhere, from which observance or instruction he may be withdrawn by his parent."

"It shall be no part of the duty of inspectors of schools to inquire into any instruction in religious subjects given at such schools or to examine any scholar therein in religious knowledge, or in any religious subject or book."

No religious test or requirement is to be applied to a teacher any more than to a scholar.

But in other states there is no admission of the minister or religious teacher during school hours. Thus the law in Victoria runs:—"In every state school secular instruction only shall be given, and no teacher shall give any other than secular instruction in any state school building. And in every school used under this Act . . . four hours at least shall be set apart during each school-day for secular instruction alone. . . . But nothing herein contained shall prevent the state school buildings from being used for any purpose on days, and at hours, other than those used for secular instruction."

And then follows a clause further defining subjects other than the usual subjects of teaching, but no mention is made of religion:—"The

secular instruction to be given in every state school shall in the case of children over nine years of age include the teaching of lessons from some recognized lesson books on the laws of health, and from some recognized temperance lesson books."

The Victorian Act allows ministers of religion to form classes and teach the tenets of their faith on the school premises before or after school hours. The same is the case in Queensland, South Australia, Tasmania and New Zealand. To give religious instruction under these conditions has often been attempted, but without success. The children will not attend before or after school hours.

The administration of our Education Acts is in the hands of a minister of cabinet rank, who is immediately responsible to Parliament. The appointment of inspectors and teachers, the management of the schools (primary and secondary) and of the training colleges, is in his control. There is also a local authority, termed the Local Board, or Board of Advice, in each school district, elected by the ratepayers, whose duties are to visit and inspect the schools under their supervision, to suspend teachers in cases of misconduct not admitting of delay, to report on the condition of the premises and if new schools are required, and to attend to other matters of a similar nature.

One prominent defect which has marked the Australian systems has been the scant attention paid to the infant school. We have clung too long to the dreary superstition that the tiny little child has only one intellectual faculty, and that is memory. Teaching through observation and action have had little place in our system.

Now a revolution is taking place. The old pupil-teacher system is doomed. The current idea was that lack of skill and very imperfect knowledge did not much matter where junior or infant classes were under instruction, and therefore the pupil-teacher was put in charge of them. It is at last recognized, as Mr. Coghlan has pointed out, that it is "absurd to expect the best results from a system which entrusts the teaching of children to young people who, in addition to being untrained, are not very highly educated." The principle which is now being enunciated so emphatically by our foremost psychologists and educationalists, and which is making its power felt in Sunday-school circles as well as in secular education all over the world, viz. that it is the initial stages of education which call for the best and most scientific teaching —this principle is now happily in the ascendant amongst our best educational reformers. And efforts are being put forward in the direction of ensuring that all infant school teachers shall possess a thorough theoretical and practical acquaintance with kindergarten methods. With us, as elsewhere, the kindergarten will be the infant school of the future.

Closely allied with this approaching reform is another of great importance. We are abandoning the old style of what used to be called object-lessons, and replacing it by courses of Nature-study. This applies to the older classes of our schools. It is based upon the same psychological principle as the kindergarten, that education is something more than the impartation of facts, it is the development of the self-activity of the scholar. The actual environment of the child is utilized as an educative factor. He is trained to observe the soils, and plants, and animals, and flowing streams, and sky and heavenly bodies immediately present to his eye, to note the phenomena they present and to exercise his mind on what he observes. This newer method of Nature-study is already producing a finer type of teacher.

Reforms are also proceeding in the teaching of manual subjects. Throughout Australia a new interest has awoke in technical education. Facilities are afforded to the scholars in the elementary schools to pass forward into the Technical Colleges, where they may receive tuition in the applied arts and sciences; to the Agricultural Colleges to be trained in agriculture; or to the Mining Colleges to become experts in mineralogy, assaying, and other studies useful on our goldfields and other mining districts.

The cadet system is another special branch of our Australian educational work. It is exerting an important influence on our development as a growing nation. It is calling forth the sentiment of patriotism. It is training our boys to a sense of the responsibilities of citizenship. It is giving a more wholesome direction to our Australian love of sport and outdoor life. We are just inaugurating a military system of our own. It is a citizen army. Our permanent force is very small. But in three years time we expect to have a national guard, framed on the Swiss model, of over 80,000 men, drilled and well-armed. We have no dreams of military conquest. But you people in Britain have a little way of now and then requiring our service in defence of our common flag, and we desire to be ready for your call. And, moreover, we realize that we have a duty to ourselves and our hearths, and that in securing ourselves against foreign attack and putting our own house in order, we are indirectly benefiting you and the Empire at large.

We are not bellicose; but we are far-seeing as a poet of our own sings—

> Though we were bred in the gentle days,
> The build of our fame is hard;
> Though being fain to the peaceful ways,
> We all shall leap to our guard:
> And this sure thing the world may know,
> Whatever a foeman's grace,
> We could not live at the grace of a foe,
> Nor bow to an alien race.
>
> *C. G. Colles:* "The Heritors."

Another radical defect which has marred our systems, and which is now being remedied, has been pointed out by Mr. G. H. Knibbs, one of our leading educationists.

"Unfortunately, in the Australian States, the educational system, viewed in its totality, has this characteristic, that the whole effort is on the plan of the lowest type of school, namely, the elementary school." He argues that one thing which we require is cultured influences to affect the child, and we must throughout the whole scheme of education start at the top. We differ from the method in Europe and America, where the leading idea of modern education is that there shall be grades of education—viz. a primary, secondary, and university—that the university man shall affect fundamentally the secondary schoolmaster, that the primary schoolmaster shall, in his turn, be influenced by the secondary schoolmaster or the university man, so that the horizon, outlook, and instinct of each shall always be formed by those better than themselves. There is great room for improvement in our methods along the line indicated by Mr. Knibbs. And we have the apparatus and means in existence for carrying out this improvement. In four of the States of the Commonwealth there

are universities, and there is a university also in New Zealand. One will soon be established, we expect, in Queensland. Encouragement of a very material kind is being afforded by our Governments to teachers in training, both men and women, to secure their degree at one or other of these universities, and thus to take the fullest advantage of the wider culture which a university training affords. Further progress in this direction will have a very beneficial influence upon the quality of teaching imparted in our primary schools.

In addition to the schools administered by each Education Department, there are (it needs hardly to be said) numbers of private schools in each State. While the standard in many of these is exceedingly satisfactory, in others the teaching is not marked by thoroughness and efficiency. So far no general system has been adopted by the States for insisting upon a certain standard of education being maintained, and on the production of diplomas or certificates of efficiency by the teachers in these schools. A further trouble arises from the opportunity these schools frequently afford to unscrupulous parents to evade the compulsory clauses of the Education Acts, as the State has no means of discovering whether the children in these schools attend with regularity.

Of the 853 private schools in New South Wales in 1905, 421 were undenominational, 361 were Roman Catholic, sixty Church of England, and eleven of other denominations.

Turning now to the cost of elementary education in our states, [17.13 per cent. of population in Australasia are at school] we do not compare unfavourably with other parts of the world.

It is perfectly true that the expenditure on administration and maintenance per child is diminishing in all the States, without impairing the efficiency. We do not congratulate ourselves on this diminution, except as it shows care in the expenditure of the revenue. A nation should be lavish rather than thrifty in its outlay on education. The generous hand means economy and national enrichment in the long run. Australasia spends £4 6s. 4d. on each child in average attendance and on the erection and upkeep of school premises.

Mr. F. F. Belsey informs me that in the county of Kent in England the cost per child per year is £4. Other countries surpass these estimates. Thus while the cost per child is in the United States as a whole £4 9s. 1d., in the North Atlantic Division of the United States it runs up to £6 18s. 8d. per child; and in the Western Division to £6 11s. 7d.; while in the Argentine Republic it amounts to £5 16s. 11d. and in Manitoba, Canada, to £5 12s. 1d. So far as the larger expenditure represents a higher estimate of the value of education to the future of the State, we are unwilling to be in any way behind these other nationalities of the world.

The subject assigned me is simply elementary education in Australasia. Its limitations therefore preclude my saying anything about our admirable grammar schools, high schools, continuation schools, technical, industrial, and agricultural colleges. Our universities, too, are fast rising into eminence amongst the older seats of learning of the world. But they, too, are outside the scope of my subject.

We feel that the fierce conflict which is being waged in England over the successive Education Bills that appear before the British Parliament is identically the same struggle which has been already fought and won in every Australian State and in New Zealand. The end is in each case identical, viz. to obtain a national system of education

under national control. As new countries we possessed many advantages over England. For we were able at once to create new institutions to suit new conditions, without being obliged first to clear the ground of useless and cumbersome survivals of bygone centuries. Yet even with us, there would have been the same attempt to compromise between the old and the new, to reconcile ecclesiastical privileges with civil rights, the precedents and traditions of the past with modern progress,—had it not been for the sagacity and pertinacity with which the early Free Churchmen insisted upon the severance of religion from state control. The solution of the education problem which we have arrived at is summed up in the word "secular" which appears in the Acts of Parliament that define the educational systems of our several States. While interpreting the word in a broad, elastic manner we are able to do so because we have made the term stand for a principle which is fundamental and irreversible in all the States.

You ask, what is the effect of the prevalence of our system? I answer, the morals of our land are not deteriorating. I do not deny that we are characterized by certain glaring vices, as we all feel with intensest sorrow. But of these I am bound to say that they are not the vices of old and decadent races,—but those of lusty, exuberant, virile adolescence, such as have been found over and over again in young new peoples awakening to the discovery of boundless material resources. It is the same type of life you see reflected in the stories of Bret Harte and Ralph Connor. But we are growing out of these, and slowly leaving them behind.

Our drink bill per head of the *adult* population is lower than that in England and Scotland. Our legislation against drink and gambling is ahead of that in older countries of the world. Crimes of violence are rare in our midst. We are closing gaols, because the accommodation provided in past years exceeds the requirements of the present time. Our artisans and our young people behind the counter in our shops cease their work at six o'clock in the evening,—they are free after a day's toil of eight hours for which they receive a full day's pay. We have manhood suffrage, and for that matter womanhood suffrage too. And in the exercise of the suffrage this principle is gaining the upper hand—we are determined that if we cannot make men pure and sober by Act of Parliament we will have Acts of Parliament made by pure and sober men. The welfare of the individual—man, woman, child, is the supreme aim sought in our legislation. It is not accumulation of wealth, it is not the rights of property, it is not the privileges of class or rank,—but the elevation of each individual citizen in solid permanent well-being that guides our legislative acts. We are not suffering, we are not deteriorating, under our policy of secular education. We are moving upward in the pathway of social and moral reform and the betterment of human condition.

But a great responsibility is laid upon our churches. And we are, I think, accepting this devolution of special religious instruction upon our churches, our Sunday-schools, and our religious homes, as a bracing and wholesome discipline permitted by God to visit us. If it be not the function of the state to impart the essentials of religion to the young, it is absolutely and incontrovertibly the function of the church to do so. And this whole controversy, whether its arena be the southern hemisphere or the northern, is a trumpet-call from God to all Christ's people to take more strenuously to heart the task of training the child in the ways and truth of God.

In a special way we feel the importance of this question of education in Australia. We are nearer the growing point of human development than you are, who dwell in a land burdened and fettered in too many directions by baleful precedents of the past; a land still in the grip of feudal institutions and of the dead hand. We are freer, by no merit of our own, but by the accident of circumstances, or rather the appointment of God. And so it happens that we have the start on the new line of development. The absence of the hereditary principle in our parliaments, the possession of adult suffrage through all our States, the payment of members, the uprise of labour and its stride into the political arena never to be again turned out,—these conditions are making ours the pioneer lands in the newer political developments of our time. This is the new phase the democratic movement is taking on. It is coming to you, and over all the earth. The tendency of the group system to displace the two-party system has entered your conservative legislature. We are in the full flush of this phase. We have our Labour Party in every State; in some of them we have Labour Premiers and Labour Cabinets.

And let me say that we are not afraid of the new order. We believe that it is for the well-being of the body politic that the Labour party take their place and exert their influence alongside other parties. The Labour party are men; they have human instincts and human consciences. And the circumstance that, with us, the adult woman has the vote equally with the adult man, renders the operation of those instincts only the more pure, and the exercise of those consciences only the more certain, along the path of noble aims.

Hence, you will understand the paramount importance we attach to the school. We know that these virile expanding democracies of ours can be trusted the more surely, their judgments will be more sane and more enlightened, because the boys and girls (who are to be the voters of to-morrow) are gathered under wise instruction. We are vigilant in our care of our elementary educational institutions. We are eager in our efforts to improve our system, and to adopt whatever is better in the methods of older lands. We attach the utmost value to our primary schools, our secondary schools, our Universities. In them we find one reliable guiding force, directing the energies of our young manhood and womanhood in the attainment (amidst intense and often fierce conflict of opinion) of just and equitable forms of national government.

Mr. Alfred J. Shepheard, L.C.C., of London, was the next speaker. He dealt with the subject of "Elementary Education in England and Wales."

ADDRESS BY MR. ALFRED J. SHEPHEARD, L.C.C.

ELEMENTARY EDUCATION IN ENGLAND AND WALES

The scope of my paper does not extend to Scotland, and the exigencies of space will prevent my dealing with any special features connected with Welsh education; but I have reason to hope that subsequent speakers will supply all necessary information on these points. I confine myself, therefore, to the main characteristics of Elementary

Education in England and Wales; particularly in connection with its religious teaching.

May I at the outset, as we have so many friends present who do not suffer from the evil effects of a state church, call attention to the fact that one, if not our main, difficulty in connection with establishing a really national system of education arises out of the institution of a state church, which gives a privileged position to a church representing a part (and indeed at the present time a minority only) of the Christian people of the country. This minority assumes to itself an undue prominence and weight and (perhaps naturally) resents opposition to any interference with its opinions and practice. It is not my duty to argue here for or against a state church, but it is impossible to touch upon our national system of education without finding at every turn that it is hindered, and adversely affected by the dead weight of sectarianism centered in the Episcopal body, which body has an undue influence in all discussion and action by reason of its being "the church as by law established."

Let me for the benefit of our friends from abroad give a very brief historical summary.

State Education in England practically commenced with the year 1870. Prior to that date Elementary Education was almost entirely in private hands, the only part that the state took in the matter being the inspection of schools, and the granting of sums of a larger or smaller amount, for the purpose of aiding the erection of buildings and the maintenance of school teaching.

Some of the best Elementary Education that was given was that provided by two societies, known respectively as the British and Foreign School Society, and the National Society. Of these two bodies the British and Foreign School Society was the first started; and it is this year celebrating its 100th anniversary, having been founded in the year 1808. The basis on which it proceeded was, that as good a general education as possible should be given, and that such education should include Bible teaching, which should be of a strictly undenominational character. The society attained a large amount of success; and has been not only honoured by the notice of our present King in connection with its centenary but by his predecessor on its foundation. Unfortunately, however, a section of the Church of England, believing that it was necessary to insist upon dogmatic religious teaching in public schools, in 1811 (three years after the formation of the British and Foreign Society) founded the "National" Society. The object of this society, to quote from one of its own publications, is to secure "That the poorer members of the Church of England shall have their children daily instructed in suitable learning, works of industry, and the principles of the Christian religion according to the Established Church."

Thus early two rival associations, one connected with the Church of England and enforcing its doctrines, and the other connected with the Free Churches and undenominational, were found running side by side. The effect of these religious differences is concisely epitomised in the following words uttered a few months ago by Mr. Haldane, the present Secretary of State for War: "So long as the religious question overshadows the education question so long will the latter wither and remain sickly." A pithy sentence, unfortunately only too exact, and historically true.

In addition to the semi-public schools formed by the two societies

there have existed a large number of private schools (resident and day) where a fair education has been given; but they have been for the most part only available for the wealthier classes.

The education of the children of the poorer sections of the community (apart from the schools of the British and Foreign and National Societies) had, prior to 1870, to be obtained (if obtained at all) mainly in schools which subsequently came to be called "Dame Schools," in which a very inferior class of education was given. Unfortunately, but undoubtedly, many hundreds of thousands went altogether without school teaching.

The following figures may help the Council to appreciate two facts. One how great the need was in 1870, the year to which I have alluded as the commencement of state education, and the other the growth of public unsectarian education since that date. In 1870 public grants were made in respect of 1,878,584 children, of which the Church of England schools received 1,365,080, or about three-fourths; the Roman Catholic, 101,556; and other schools, 411,948, or not one-fourth. In 1907 the total attendance in public elementary schools was as follows: All schools, 5,291,284, *i.e.* four times as many as in 1870, of which there were in church schools 1,899,965, not two-fifths. Roman Catholic, 286,188; and in other schools 3,105,131, or about three-fifths.

The Elementary Education Act of 1870 marked a distinct epoch in the educational work of England and Wales. It provided that public bodies, called School Boards, should be elected in every part of the country, the members being representative of the ratepayers of the various districts. The Boards were to ascertain the number of children in their districts of school age, and to provide such additional buildings as were needful in order to accommodate children not otherwise being properly educated. They were also charged with the duty of compelling all parents, who did not do so of their own accord, to send their children to a recognised school. And of course it was their duty to provide proper education. It will be seen, therefore, that the scheme of the 1870 Act was supplemental to existing education, but that for the first time two very important principles were introduced into English life, viz.: education under public authorities and compulsion.

The application of the Act was not easy. In working the new system great administrative changes had to be introduced, and the opposition of many parents to the compulsory powers was in the first place very strong. However, the various School Boards addressed themselves with energy to their task, and in course of time were able to effect very great and useful results. As a consequence the prejudice against compulsory education has almost entirely been overcome, and England has been provided with accommodation for all children who need Elementary Education, although in many cases, and especially in those erected by voluntary agencies, the school buildings are not what they should be. There are still and always must be a certain number of children in the populous cities who cannot be reached by reason of the migratory habits of their parents, but speaking generally, the statement is true, that all the children of England under the age of fourteen who can attend school are to be found there.

The striking alteration in numbers attending school which has been effected since 1870 has already been shown.

The standard of Education in the Schools, both as regards Teachers and Curriculum, has also greatly advanced and in some respects, if not

in all, may now bear comparison with that of other nations advanced in civilization.

Still, Mr. Haldane is right. Education at the present day is *sickly*, compared with what it might have been, if the efforts of Educationalists had been entirely devoted towards promoting education, and had not been diverted into controversial channels connected with the character and scope of religious teaching.

Considerable discussion took place before the Act of 1870 was passed as to whether or not the public provision for elementary education should be entirely secular, but the opinions of those who did not wish to divorce secular from religious education prevailed ; and the Act left it open to the Boards to provide religious education if they thought fit, attaching two conditions : one, a Conscience Clause to the effect that no child should be compelled to attend any religious education which its parents did not desire, and another, that no education in the schools should be of a denominational character.

At the commencement of the work of the School Boards very serious debate necessarily took place as to what should be done under these clauses. In the London School Board (which dealt with a very large area of child population) the discussions were carried on for many months and were shared in by such well-known men as Lord Lawrence, Professor Huxley, Samuel Morley, Dr. Angus, Mr. McGregor (Rob Roy), Mr. Lucraft (Working Man), Rev. J. Allanson Picton, M.A., Dr. Rigg, and others representing all classes of opinion ; some being strong Denominationalists, some representatives of Free Churches, and some supporters of secular education. In the end a system, which has since been known as the School Board Compromise, was agreed upon. By this system Religious Education is given entirely free from any Denominational bias, and practically confined to the reading and teaching of the Bible. To this compromise the London School Board adhered throughout its existence and the principle was adopted by nearly all the School Boards throughout England.

There were exceptions and the case of Birmingham was notable, as there secular education was tried for some years but was afterwards abandoned. It was thought that if the School Board teaching were confined to secular education, the religious education would be supplied voluntarily by other persons. This expectation was not fulfilled, and the School Board Compromise was subsequently adopted.

But even with this Compromise difficulties have throughout existed. The reason is not far to seek. It lies in the fact that opinion as to the connection of religion with education is distinctly and conscientiously divided. There are a large number of persons, who, from conviction, are persuaded that no education should be given, unless it is accompanied by religious teaching of a definite dogmatic description. There are others who are equally convinced that there should be religious teaching, but that it should be completely undenominational and free from dogma. And again there are those who oppose all religious teaching in the Public School, some few because they object to Religion itself, but the many because they hold that the authorities have no right to force upon the parents, directly or by implication, any Religious Teaching to which they are opposed, or because they believe that in the best interest of Religion itself it should be taught by the individual Parent or Guardian, and not by the state or its representatives.

The difficulty is accentuated as before-mentioned by the fact that the supporters of Denominational Education are largely to be found

amongst the members of the Church of England, a Church not only established by statute but having amongst its adherents a very large number of wealthy and influential persons.

It must be remembered that under the Act of 1870 private schools were not abolished, indeed, their supporters were encouraged to preserve, and even extend them. Large grants were given to all bodies and Societies giving public elementary education in approved Schools, and a period was allowed under the Act during which fresh provision of schools intended to be used under private management might be made. During this period a large number of new buildings were erected, and aided by building grants from Government.

A considerable proportion of these privately managed or "Voluntary Schools" (as they came to be called) were in country areas attached to the parish church where there was no other public school within reasonable distance to which children could be sent. As a consequence, in a vast number of the parishes of England, attendance being compulsory, parents are compelled to send their children to the Parish School, in which almost invariably denominational education is given, their only protection, if they object to the Doctrinal Teaching, being the Conscience Clause of the Act of 1870. This clause, however, is almost inoperative, inasmuch as few parents are prepared to subject their child to the remarks or ignominy which arise from their being treated differently from their fellow scholars. Some idea of the extent to which this particular difficulty extends may be judged when it is remembered that there are 656,450 children in attendance in these single school areas.

On account of the circumstances above alluded to, and of others too numerous to mention, it will be seen that it was inevitable that sooner or later a strong and increasing feeling of dissatisfaction connected with the religious provisions of the Act of 1870 should arise, and for many years past it has been felt that an amendment was imperative.

The agitation for an alteration has arisen chiefly amongst those who wish to do away with denominational education in public schools, whether School Board or Voluntary, but so strong has the feeling become that the Conservative Government which was in power in 1902, and which supported Denominational Teaching, felt compelled to take the matter up. Accordingly in that year after a very prolonged discussion an amending Act was passed. This Act abolished School Boards and handed over public education to the various municipal authorities which represent the ratepayers throughout England. It provided that additional grants to a large amount should be given to the "Voluntary" Schools, but on the other hand it professed to give to the administrative Councils to whom the education was entrusted large powers of control over the teaching in such schools.

As a matter of practical working, however, although the Voluntary Schools or (as they were called by this Act) "non-provided" schools obtained their additional grants, the provision for giving control to the public authority, has, to a large extent, proved illusory. The increased grants, and the general desire to improve education has, no doubt, advantageously affected the education given in Voluntary Schools, and they are better staffed, and more completely equipped with school appliances than they were before 1902. But the appointment of teachers is left in the hands of the Managing Body of the various schools, that is, in the hands of private individuals whose object it is to promote Denominational Education.

It seems needless to add that this Act has not settled the real difficulty—the question of religious teaching. Indeed, by giving to the Non-Provided Schools large additional grants out of public funds, the Act really accentuated the trouble, making it more evident than ever that private and individual views as to Religious Education were being promulgated at the public expense.

So strong has been the resistance to the Act of 1902 that many Free Churchmen have refused to pay that part of the rates which they considered represented the amounts applied by the local authorities towards Denominational Teaching, and a movement affecting large numbers, and widely spread, has resulted. The objectors have obtained the name of Passive Resisters, inasmuch as their method of action has been to decline to pay except under compulsion. "Passive Resisters" have allowed themselves to be distrained upon; and in some cases where there has been nothing to be taken, the Resisters have been committed to prison for short terms.

There is no doubt that this proof of conscientious conviction, coupled with willingness to suffer, has greatly advanced the general cause, showing, as it has, the necessity for further legislation in the direction of freedom of conscience.

Following on the above short and imperfect historical review we may turn to the present position of Elementary Education in this country.

It may be shortly epitomised as follows: There now exists a system in efficiency far in advance of what was a few years since, under which the Secular Education of the country, Elementary, Secondary, Technical, and Special has been fairly started, and will, it is to be hoped, go forward continuously.

At the same time the religious question hampers and hinders any advance. It has necessitated dual systems of control by bodies representing the public, and by individuals or trustees representing private interests, and whose chief object is to preserve the denominational character of the schools.

But it is a very satisfactory feature in the present controversies that, as the result of years of struggle, nearly everyone interested in education is sincerely desirous of bringing about some compromise, and there never has been, apparently, a time when a permanent settlement seems so likely to be arrived at.

The points round which any discussion with a view to a compromise must range are fairly well defined. It is admitted on all hands that all elementary schools should be under the actual and complete control of Bodies representing the Public. Again, it seems clear that the country is not ready for secular education. The writer has never attempted to conceal his opinion that pressed to a logical conclusion the argument in favour of Secular Education only, on the part of the state, is unanswerable. But facts have to be recognised, and it is a fact (which, no doubt, astonishes the representatives from America and the Colonies at this Conference) that in England there is a strong feeling against the state confining itself entirely to the secular side. The large proportion of the parents and ratepayers in England and Wales are not prepared to give up Bible teaching in the public schools, and it seems to be a position accepted (whether willingly or unwillingly) by all parties that the wish of the majority must prevail and that the secular solution is not possible, at least until every other method has been tried and failed.

But controversy turns upon the questions: What religious education shall be allowed; By whom shall it be managed, and by whom given, the last point raising the very important question: How far, if the teachers in the state school are permitted to give the additional denominational instruction, will they on appointment be subjected either directly or indirectly to religious tests?

As above mentioned the London School Board compromise provides for simple Bible reading and teaching, with a prohibition of everything in the shape of Denominationalism, and with the Conscience Clause enabling any scholar to withdraw from religious instruction.

A very large section of the community, probably a considerable majority, would be prepared to accept this compromise, but there are three classes of persons who are not so prepared. They are the Roman Catholics, the Jews, and the Anglican section of the Church of England.

As far as the Jews are concerned all seem prepared (inasmuch as the Jews are not numerous and their position is peculiar) to allow them to be specially dealt with, by providing that in schools where the Jewish element largely predominates, teaching in accordance with their own persuasion should be allowed. This is in practice the case even at present, although it may be doubtful whether such practice is strictly legal.

In regard to Roman Catholics there is a somewhat similar opinion in some quarters, but it is not by any means so universal, and a good deal of difficulty would be found in inducing the general public to accept a proposal for special provisions of the kind in the Roman Catholic School.

In regard to the Anglicans, the difficulty is still more accentuated. They are an indefinite body both as to number and creed. Furthermore, they form a portion of the memberships of the Church of England, and there is a strong feeling prevailing (which we here shall no doubt heartily endorse) that they—a minority—have no right to object to anything which the majority in that church are prepared to accept. If they persist in carrying out their own beliefs and wishes they should at once retire from the Establishment and form themselves into a separate Free Church body. The principle governing the Church of England is that it must be ruled by those in authority, and any who are not prepared to accept that principle should accept the inevitable result, namely, departure to other climes and freedom in independence.

There are two Bills in Parliament dealing seriously with these impending difficulties. The one a Government Bill introduced in the House of Commons, by which complete public control of schools is given. It provides that in all schools managed by the public the London School Board compromise should be accepted, and the difficulty connected with the Jews, Roman Catholics, and High Anglicans of the Established Church is met by clauses, commonly called "Contracting Out" clauses, under which certain schools can, with the approval of the Board of Education, remain outside the public scheme. They will then, if efficient, be dealt with as private schools, and will receive limited grants from Parliament. It will be seen that this Contracting Out proposal is based on the principle that the state should pay for a part of the education, presumably the Secular part, and that private individuals who want particular religious teaching should defray the cost of that part themselves.

The second Bill is produced by the Bishop of St. Asaph. Here again public control is to be universal. The contracting out idea is not introduced, but in place thereof, what are called "Facility Clauses," provide that in all the elementary schools throughout the kingdom, while the religious teaching given by the Authorities is to be on the basis of the London School Board compromise, with the Conscience Clause added, the public authorities are to allow persons the right of entry to selected schools, for the purpose of giving to the children such Denominational teaching as they or their parents may desire.

It will be at once recognised that neither the Government Bill nor the Bishop of St. Asaph's Bill can be regarded from a merely educational standpoint as entirely satisfactory.

The omission of a number of schools from the national scheme must tend to prevent complete co-ordination of education, and must keep alive (to some extent at least) the religious controversy. The alternative proposal of facilities is also open to great objection, inasmuch as it would introduce into many schools, and sometimes into the same school, Denominational Education of various types. It would also tend to inculcate amongst the children a spirit of rivalry and dissension which would be most undesirable. This facility proposal also raises the troublesome question, Who is to give the religious education? Particularly, is the head teacher of the school or any of his assistants to be at liberty to do so, and, is it to be given in the stated school hours?

If the teacher in the public school also gives the additional religious teaching, the question of the beliefs of teachers would inevitably be raised at the time of their appointment, and thus would be kept alive that system of religious tests to which Free Churchmen must object always and absolutely.

Again, if special religious instruction is to be given in school hours, the public authorities would be under the necessity of compelling the attendance of children during such instruction; and this, in the view of many persons, must constitute a distinct infringement of the rights of conscience.

It would be out of place here for the writer to express any absolute views, but he may be permitted in this Conference of Christians and Congregationalists to say that he hopes that the desire which is now manifest for a settlement, on Christian lines, of the present difficulties may come to fruition. At the same time he earnestly asserts that nothing should be done which will be contrary to the principles Congregationalists hold so dear, that liberty of action and conscience in all matters of religious education shall be unfettered, and, further, that the conscientious beliefs of teachers and children and their parents must be unreservedly preserved.

The writer, who has had the pleasure and honour twice of visiting the United States of America and Canada, is painfully conscious, as he has put his pen to paper, how strange it will seem to the representatives of these two countries, and probably also to those coming from other parts of the Empire, that in the twentieth century old England should be troubled by such religious questions as those above alluded to. Why not, our friends will be saying, disestablish the Church of England and let all religious bodies be free to do what they will, and thus settle once for all, not only this controversy, but those many others which spring up out of the union of Church and state. And

why not if the question of what religious education should be given is so difficult of solution, accept the remedy which we find works so well.

Parents are not so impulsively progressive as their children, and in England thought does not move so quickly as in the countries it is proud of having brought into being. There is a large amount of Conservatism even amongst the most revolutionary of us.

As to disestablishment, I believe that opinions are now ripe, and that a few years will see it an accomplished fact.

As to Secular Education, the country is not yet ready, not being convinced that it is the only remedy. But when we have arrived—as I am convinced we shall—at the right conclusion, and the consequent results, we shall, perhaps, value them the more because they will have been the result of long and protracted discussion and struggle, and perhaps also they will be more likely to be lasting and permanent than if they had been brought about merely by a wave of passing feeling overpowering at the time, but possibly likely to recede as quickly as it advanced.

It is a great satisfaction to the writer to be able to note that since he penned the last paragraph the Prime Minister has publicly said (see *Daily Chronicle* of June 18th, 1908): "We shall adhere in any settlement to two main governing principles—

(1) That popular control must accompany rate aid, and

(2) That our system of education must be made a really national one, and that at no stage or rung of the educational ladder shall anything in the nature of a denominational test intervene."

Mr. J. D. McClure, M.A., LL.D., B.MUS., Head Master of Mill Hill School, was the last speaker. His topic was "Secondary Education in England."

ADDRESS BY MR. J. D. MCCLURE, M.A., LL.D., B.MUS.

SOME PROBLEMS IN SECONDARY EDUCATION

It would be almost impossible to exaggerate my indebtedness in preparing this Paper to the Address delivered by the Head Master of King Edward's School, Birmingham (Mr. R. Cary Gilson), from the Chair of the Incorporated Association of Head Masters in January last—an indebtedness which it is alike a duty and a pleasure to acknowledge.

The subject allotted to me is a vast one, and no friendly suggestions have reached me from head quarters or elsewhere as to which of its many aspects I should present for your consideration to-day. Thus, left to my own devices, I have doubtless gone astray as is my wont; but I can only hope that in touching upon some points of the greatest interest to myself I may raise questions of the greatest interest to all.

To those of us who are actively engaged in the work of teaching, one of the most painful and ever present facts is the multitude of counsellors, individual and collective, to whom we are invited, nay compelled, to listen. Some manifest that infallibility which is the inseparable concomitant of youth and inexperience; while others—grown too old any

longer to set a bad example—find their recreation in giving good advice; but all, with one consent, resolved to "make our flesh creep," evidently believing that only in this way can they awaken us to the madness of our methods and the perils of our position. From time to time there appear slashing onslaughts upon teachers or teaching from one or another of the many notable—or notorious—people, who have much, or little, or no right to speak on the subject, followed by the inevitable telegram, reply paid, forty-eight words, from the *Daily Mail*, requesting an immediate expression of our views on the matter.

We are surrounded, too, by a network of Associations from whose meshes even the most insignificant can hardly hope to escape: The Mathematical Association, the Classical Association, the Historical Association, the Modern Language Association, the English Association, the Geographical Association, the Physical Society, the Chemical Society, the Child's Study Association, the Parents' National Education Union, Associations of Head Masters, Assistant Masters, Head Mistresses, Assistant Mistresses, teachers of technology—every kind of teacher in short; and every organisation of course advocates with more or less vehemence its special claims upon the attention of the teacher and busies itself in the manufacture and distribution of good counsel. We are compelled to waste some of our hardly-earned vacations in Conferences of doubtful utility, which discuss questions, pass resolutions, and occasionally take action; and during term we are often called upon to neglect our work—as I am doing to-day—in order to attend meetings which shall teach us how better to do our duty. Last, but not least, the Board of Education inundates us with Schedules which are as the sands upon the seashore for multitude (and aridity), and from time to time issues Regulations which seem like fragments of the lost Sybilline Books, and show how far the Board has changed, is changing, intends to change, and perhaps ought to change its policy. Then from all quarters our curriculum is assailed with a fury which suggests ignorance or fanaticism. A friend of mine, a brother Head Master, keeps a list of subjects which have been recommended publicly or privately for inclusion in his School Course. In January last the number was 127, and was still growing; and he adds, "there is hardly one of them—except, perhaps, the art of advertising strongly pressed some years ago from America—for which some sort of a case cannot be made out." (It may interest Ministerial delegates here present to know that there are seventy-nine Societies which have asked for or claimed collections on their behalf in our School Chapel).

It is not easy to do one's work efficiently if one listens to this babel of tumult, and this clash of conflicting infallibilities. Yet amidst all the clamour some suggestions at least are worthy of careful consideration and should be made the subject of patient thought and experiment. They must be "disentangled, put into shape, and tried—not in the Debating Society or the Magazine article—but in the school," the true laboratory of education. All this clamour, however disconcerting it may be, is in truth a hopeful sign, for it tells of life, of awakening interest in education and its problems, and in this matter the great enemy is not strife but stagnation. I have faith in the triumph of sweet reasonableness. It has been said that the British race loves compromises; it may be so, but at any rate it loves fair play, and above all it loves the man who knows what he wants and pursues his object steadily, quietly, and persistently.

The advice I would give to my brother teachers and to myself has

already been indicated in part. I will add, join no more Associations; attend no more Conferences; read no more Papers thereat; hear the outsider, and study chiefly the children committed to your charge, and those who teach them; strive to adapt yourself, your curriculum, your methods, to get the best out of the children and their teachers, and let who will have the applause of the multitude and pose as the experts and authorities on education.

My ignorance of Elementary Education is phenomenal, yet there is one aspect thereof which forces itself upon the attention of all thoughtful people. Granted the many advantages of free education, the many improvements which have followed its adoption in elementary schools; granted, too, that it may be the duty of the State to provide free education as it has done, is it not clear that there are losses as well as gains involved in the change—that it has not been an undiluted blessing? Has it not lessened almost to vanishing point the parent's sense of responsibility for the upbringing of his children, and for starting them in some career in life? We look almost in vain amongst the so-called lower and lower middle classes for parents who think it to be natural and right that they should pay for their children's education, and who work hard and deny themselves in order to give those children a start in some trade or profession where they will be able to earn their own living. Amongst what may be called the true middle classes—professional men, tradesmen in comfortable if not opulent circumstances, managers of large warehouses and factories—such a feeling does undoubtedly exist, though how long it will continue to do so no one can say. For even in this class there is an attitude towards College Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, which is not creditable to us as a nation. The money thus provided was left in the first instance for the poor, that is, those who without such assistance could not obtain a University education. A youth may enjoy the honour of a Scholarship without the pecuniary emoluments thereof, and yet in an experience of over twenty years I know of but one instance (at Cambridge) in which this course was taken, though there must be scores of scholars who have no real need of money assistance. In America, I am told, the money given by way of College Scholarship to a poor man is regarded as a debt of honour to be repaid later from his earnings in trade or profession, and I have been assured that in many Universities loss by reason of the non-payment of the debt is almost or quite unknown.

To resume. This unwillingness to pay, this shifting of the burden of responsibility from the parent to the State, is bad alike for the parent, the State, and, perhaps, most of all, for the child, who is deprived at once of the living interest and sympathy of his parents, and of the very valuable incentive which the knowledge of the parents' sacrifices for the child's sake never fails to supply to any right-minded boy or girl. Nor is this all. We are turning out every year from our Secondary Schools boys with no special gift or aptitude for any calling and with no idea as to the employment by which they are to earn a livelihood. As a rule there is not much difficulty in providing employment at low wages for boys; but unfortunately the wages do not increase at all adequately as the boy grows up to manhood. Hence, as when youths they have learned no trade, have no parental guidance, and as their parents feel little or no responsibility for them, they sink even when not improvident, from casual to unemployed, from unemployed to unemployable, and so to the gutter and the grave.

I said that such cases were being turned out from our Secondary

Schools. There are many boys in the great Day Schools of the country, even at such places as Manchester and Birmingham, who really ought not to be there at all. For they will leave without ever having had a real Secondary Education, and will probably sink, in the no very distant future, into the class of wretchedly paid clerks, and semi-skilled office-workers. Last year Mr. McKenna, then Minister of Education, announced from his seat in Parliament that henceforth 25% of the places in those Secondary Schools which wished to qualify for the higher grant from the Board of Education must be reserved as free places for pupils from the Elementary Schools. It was recognized at once that there were many districts in which this would be impossible, and, without any request whatever, or the slightest pressure, the Board of Education waived the claim in several instances, and were content with 10% (or perhaps a little more) of free places. Even as it is, I believe the regulation to be fundamentally wrong, and I am sure it will exaggerate, instead of checking, the evils of which I have been speaking. A full Secondary School is not of necessity a source of strength to the school or to the nation; and in the present instance it would be pure gain to the nation and to the individual if the conditions of entry to Secondary Schools were made more stringent, even if in consequence the number of those schools was lessened. Then we might at least secure that those who entered were really able to profit by the education given, and went through a complete course of four or five years' duration. There are many schools in the country where boys leave before the third year of the course, and a very small percentage really complete it; and there are not wanting instances, I believe, where not a single boy who entered for the four years' course did actually complete it. It should be remembered that, in England at least, there is not that respect and enthusiasm for education which one finds in Wales, and which exists, or used to exist, in Scotland to a remarkable degree. This is really one of the saddest aspects of the case. Parliament is legislating more or less wisely, the Board of Education is working strenuously, but as yet the response in the hearts and minds of the people is but feeble.

Parents realise the value of education at the Secondary School, for it means, perhaps, to their boy a better place to begin with. They have realised the value of education as "a means of livelihood, but not as a means of life." A year, or at most two, at the Secondary School is a gain for the reason given, but any time beyond that spent at the school is, they say, luxury, if not waste. I do not make this statement rashly or without evidence. Enquire for yourselves at Manchester, Birmingham, Leicester, or any other similar large town, and the statement will be confirmed to the very letter. Not only so; "the stipulation that free places must all be given on an (inadequate) examination at a very early age, and once given, retained throughout the whole school course, is so completely anti-educational and out of date, that revision is inevitable." Such a stipulation illustrates incidentally the price we pay for being governed by "amateurs," however brilliant, for it is simply unthinkable that it could have originated with, or have been approved by anyone who had experience as a teacher in a Secondary School.

This sounds, perhaps, very unsympathetic, and seems to ignore the claim of the poor man to a good education; and we can imagine the indignant question, Shall the higher education, then, be the peculiar privilege of the rich? God forbid. But the same answer may with

equal cogency and equal relevance be given if we ask, "Shall it be the special privilege of the poor?" It is doubtful if any who are not actually engaged in the work of education realise the very great differences which exist between one child and another in the matter of capacity and natural endowment. And if we are to give the best training, the best education and culture to that mind which is most capable of receiving it, some selective process far more thorough than any in actual existence to-day is absolutely necessary, We shall not obtain, we cannot obtain the best results by indiscriminate allotments of places, money and other allowances. The aim it may be said is to establish equality, but it is a lower type of equality. The true equality for which we strive is not that of indiscriminate levelling up (or down) as the case may be, but the equality of opportunity, based upon free competition. Do not hamper the poor man's son by any means, but give him every reasonable chance; and, if he proves himself to be the right kind of boy, let him go through Eton, Harrow, or Rugby, to Oxford and Cambridge, and, if he can, secure the greatest honours these places have to bestow. Our present system, though it does something to secure such a result, seems especially designed to turn great multitudes of boys, who might become good artisans, into wretched and poorly-paid clerks. Let us have an educational ladder by all means; the great need of the moment, however, seems to be an educational sieve.

I have left myself but little time to touch upon other topics. Yet there are some at least which must be mentioned, if not discussed. It has been said that the question of moral education is the heart of the modern educational problem; and I fear, I greatly fear, that there is a widespread disposition to look to the school as the chief means of moral education, and to transfer much of the burden which rightly belongs to the parent, to the shoulders of the schoolmaster. Such duties cannot be delegated, and the very attempt to delegate them is a policy either of laziness or despair. The school at best can be but one out of the many instruments of moral and religious training. It can never be the chief. It can never take the place (it ought never to be asked to take the place) of the home as a soul-shaping agency. Yet too often, I fear, the home training is neglected. I ask this meeting of Congregationalists from all parts of the world, if the moral and religious training in the homes of our members is as it was in our fathers' days? Whether we parents also are not shirking our plain duties in this respect and laying upon the schools a work they cannot truly perform? I ask in no censorious spirit. My only claim to ask at all is that I am the chief of sinners.

Nevertheless the school does exercise, from the very nature of the case, a potent moral influence; for the greatest factor in moral education is, by the universal assent of those best qualified to judge, *personality*—be it the personality of the parent, teacher, master, or comrade. Every great truth, every great quality, every great principle, is at bottom a function of personality, and never becomes really operative until it is enshrined or embodied in a human life. Hence the most essential things in moral training lie in the personality of the teacher—sympathy, moral insight, pastoral care, justice, open-mindedness, self-discipline, force of character, reverence, faith. Hence the true teacher approaches his work not as a profession but as a vocation. In this connection I will make two remarks only: 1. This should lead him to exact and careful preparation for his life work, to

an extent far greater than has been the case in the past; 2. It becomes the duty of Governing Bodies and of the State to see that the salaries paid to teachers, and the provision made for their old age should be such as to keep their minds from the dread of want in the future, or undue anxiety for the present. But the gravest danger which threatens the future of English Secondary Education is the possible failure to secure and keep a sufficient number of the best type of men and women as teachers.

May I remind you, too, of a very powerful factor in preserving the sense of corporate life and duty. There are few more pleasing features in the Secondary Education of to-day than the growth of Old Boys' Clubs; and it would not be easy to over-estimate their value to the present and future development of education. They supply a long-felt want, and bring the school into contact with the subsequent life of its pupils in a way that must, on the whole, be for good.

It has been well said that Edward Thring could never have made Uppingham if Uppingham had been a County Council School, or a school under a local authority. The restraint, irksome yet necessary, the official organisation, the steady pressure which cramps initiative and kills genius, would have "repressed his noble rage, and frozen the genial current of his soul." But it may be urged that a man like Thring comes so rarely that there is little need to consider him in preparing a general system. The exact opposite seems to me to be the truth. It is because he comes so rarely that his work is so valuable, not only in itself, but as an inspiration to others; and no system should be so rigid, no organisation so cast-iron as to prevent such a man, if he does appear, from fulfilling his destiny.

Yet here lies a very great danger. Secondary Education need not fear the democrat; she may even welcome him with open arms. But let her beware of the bureaucrat, for *he* is her greatest foe. We have much to learn from Germany in matters of education. A close study of the German system and methods has done much to enable us to put our house in order, and to improve the chaotic condition into which our Secondary Education had fallen. But one thing I trust we never shall learn—that cast-iron system which seems the ideal of most government departments, which would sink or raise all schools to the same dead level of type, and place enormous power in the hands of permanent officials—a power which, judging the future by the past, we may safely say it is certain they would often abuse, and with the best intentions, would not employ in the best interests of education. Municipalisation, co-ordination, correlation are truly "blessed words," but one may pay too dearly for them if thereby we sacrifice that "freedom, elasticity and initiative" which has been the salvation of English education; and it is possible to have so much of municipalisation, co-ordination and correlation that there is no room left for education.

Lastly, there is a religious question looming on the near horizon, and what will be the issue no man can say. Two considerations, however, make one hopeful: 1. In many cases, whether we will or not, we must trust the teacher, and such a policy will generally be successful; 2. From the nature of the case the "Clergy and Ministers of all denominations" will have much less to do with the settlement than has been the case in the Elementary Schools. Both these facts seem to make for peace. Meantime I cannot conclude without reminding you of one great factor which is making for the settlement of the

religious question, and in a higher sense for true religion also. The school chapels of our land are doing the greatest work in the quietest way, and, owing to this influence, there comes forth from year to year from the schools of our land, that fine, manly, open-hearted type of youth which is at once the greatest joy of the present and the brightest hope for the future of the nation.

The Chairman intimated that a short time remained for a discussion on the addresses.

Discussion

Remarks by Dr. Sheldon, Belfast

Dr. Sheldon, who opened the discussion, referred to the position of education in Ireland and described the arrangements under which the various schools were worked.

He thought a few words on the Primary and Secondary Education of Ireland might interest the Conference. The Primary is in a very unsatisfactory condition; though nominally unsectarian it is practically everywhere under sectarian control. No primary school can receive a government grant if it gives during ordinary school hours sectarian religious teaching, or if it allows attendance at a place of worship to interfere with school hours, or if sectarian emblems or mottoes are displayed. All the primary schools comply with these conditions, except those of the Christian brothers, whose schools accordingly receive no grant from the Board of National Education. In all other respects the primary schools are completely sectarian, being controlled by individual managers or by committees appointed by the religious bodies to whom the school-buildings belong. The two chief blots on the system are; (*a*) the multiplication, owing to the desire of the various denominations to possess schools, of small schools, with the accompanying poverty, want of appliances, poor salaries and mean buildings, and (*b*) the dependence of the teachers both for appointment and for continuance in office, in most cases, on the individual views of a sectarian manager, nearly always priest or parson, or at best dependence on a sectarian committee; this position leading naturally on the part of the teacher to an injurious want of independence.

The net result of the education given is of so scrappy and elementary a nature that pupils, who usually leave school at an early age, are poorly equipped for their life-work, and are unable to take proper advantage of technical instruction, where such is available.

In the large towns education is compulsory, but many children slip through the meshes of the educational net. A thoroughly national system of primary education is urgently required; in no other way shall we have adequate buildings, etc., and independent, self-respecting, competent teachers.

As regards Secondary Education, Ireland was almost entirely short of funds for this purpose, until the Act disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church. One million pounds were then set aside for the promotion of Secondary Education. Owing to the acute nature of the religious differences, it was thought best that this money should

be invested and the yearly income allotted among the pupils and school managers by the results of a competitive examination.

Hence has grown up the "Intermediate Board," and its important examination system. According to the results of a yearly examination, valuable scholarships and prizes are awarded to pupils, and important result fees paid to schools. This system has worked moderately, and only moderately, well. One fault is inherent in it—this is, the heavy percentage of the money that is spent on the mere working of the system;—a large amount of the available income in no direct way helps education, being spent on office salaries in Dublin; the other evil is due entirely to the frequently unsatisfactory nature of the examination rules laid down by the Intermediate Board. This evil is not inherent in the system, but is due to the way in which the Board is constituted. It consists of experts in various branches of learned life, but contains few experts in education—it is truly Irish that such a Board should consist almost entirely of lawyers, clerics and doctors; were the Board representative of and partly elected by those engaged in Secondary Education, as it would be in England, this present chaos would soon disappear.

The speaker maintained that there is urgent need that all branches of education should be brought into co-relation, that the Primary schools should be brought under public management, and that the Secondary schools should be placed under the control of men conversant with the requirements and possibilities of such schools, men, most of whom have themselves been engaged in actual teaching in the Irish Secondary schools. He stated that at present there is much and very natural dissatisfaction in all branches of Irish education.

Remarks by Rev. J. Hirst Hollowell, Rochdale

In dealing first of all with remarks that had been made concerning Mr. McKenna's regulations for secondary schools, Mr. Hollowell said:—I hold most decidedly that when £5 per scholar is made to any institution guarantees should be given to the Government for a sufficient measure of Free Education. I do not suggest that those regulations can easily apply to Mill Hill. We want High Schools like those in America, and as free as our Elementary Schools. I do not believe that Free Education has had any depreciative influence on the morals of the parent, for if he does not pay in one way he does in other ways. In Ireland they have a system that was an absolute welter of anarchy, and sectarian dissension. My friend's system is a sufficient answer to Mr. Shepheard that Disestablishment would settle their differences. I am sorry to say that we have not made much progress in regard to a settlement of the education question in England. We are on the path of reaction in England, and every sectarian school in England and Wales has its whole expenses paid out of the taxes and rates and remains as sectarian as before. If we have made any progress that is the way in which progress has been made. I desire to recognise the sympathy we have received from the Colonies, and also from America for those who have adopted the policy of Passive Resistance. Never in recent years has a Government been returned to power in so great a majority as in 1906, but the promises made at the General Election three years ago are still unfulfilled. Of course the answer is the House of Lords. I am prepared to join in that answer. But it is not the

House of Lords only, for the House of Commons is unsound on this question. If special deference to Roman Catholics is to be paid, and if we are to be told by a Cabinet Minister that Roman Catholics are to have special treatment and be placed in their schools in a position from which nothing will dislodge them, I defy England or any other country to reach a settlement along these lines. When we give these privileges to Roman Catholics we shall have reproduced in perpetuity a system against which we have been fighting for years. Let us adopt the Australian settlement where religious education is taught by the ministers at their own charges, and we can deal with the Catholics and Jews without any violation of educational neutrality.

Remarks by the Hon. J. E. Bradley, Randolph, Mass.

I have enjoyed the paper we have just had but on one point it seemed to express a dissatisfaction that need not be felt. In a school with which I am familiar—the Albany High School—objections were raised in respect to the form of education. It was urged that the education would train the boys and girls out of their natural sphere, and make them discontented with the work for which they were fitted and that it would do more harm than good. This was in 1866. There were then only twenty-two High Schools. There are now 670 in the State of New York, and the number of students has increased in hundred fold proportion. Those young men who had come into the schools of Albany were now the leaders in every department of affairs. They had been in the State Legislature, they had been in Congress, and in the President's Cabinet. Their education had not ruined them for permanent work, but it had done them good. Therefore I do not think there is danger in High School education.

A Delegate from Massachusetts: In many of our schools we have three courses of education, and find these most helpful to ordinary citizens. How can we meet except by Secondary schools our great problem of immigration? I could take you to a school in Boston, where not one of the children in their first year could speak English and yet by the second year are thoroughly American.

Remarks by Rev. J. G. Stevenson, Brighton

I think Mr. Shepheard's paper was a wonderful description of our educational system in England. I only rise to tell you one or two things. In the country districts our present system can be turned into an engine of persecution. I venture to give you one or two incidents. Mr. Stevenson then described the teaching of the catechism in a school in Hassocks, where it was expressly provided by the authorities that no catechism should be used. When taxed upon the subject the teacher admitted that she was teaching the catechism by the express desire of the vicar of the parish. What is the effect of the system upon the teacher? proceeded Mr. Stevenson. In our denominational schools the head teachership is kept for the denominations, whilst to the assistant teachership a Nonconformist might be appointed. Mr. Stevenson mentioned the case of such a school near Brighton, which advertised for an assistant teacher. Three girls applied for the post and had to appear before the managers. The vicar met them at the



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Tientsin, China.



REV. G. G. ATKINS, D.D.,
Detroit, Mich.

station, and said, "Oh, ladies, we did not ask you whether you were churchwomen!" They admitted that they were Nonconformists, and the vicar immediately said, "Let me pay your fare back to Brighton," and did so. They made complaint to the County Council, who had the vicar before them, but in the meantime the managers had appointed Anglican teachers.

Remarks by Rev. J. Charteris Johnston, Torquay

After pointing out the question of law involved in the cases cited by Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Johnston said: On the question of free scholarships, it rests with the authorities whether they should be used or not. In my own district we use our full permission and had appointed twenty-five per cent. of such scholarships.

The Chairman closed the meeting with the Benediction.

EVENING SESSION

TEMPERANCE DEMONSTRATION

Mr. R. Murray Hyslop, J.P., of Beckenham, chairman of the Temperance Committee of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, presided at the evening session, which took the form of a temperance demonstration.

After the opening hymn, "Forward! be our watchword," the Rev. C. H. Daniels, of Massachusetts, led the assembly in prayer, and a second hymn, "O Lord of Hosts, the Fight is Long" was sung.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting.

Address by the Chairman

The subject appointed for our consideration this evening occupies a prominent place in the sphere of social religion, for temperance is a Christian grace, and the spirit of the cross is throbbing in the heart of the Temperance Reformation. If the great business of the church is to destroy the works of the devil, and to spread the Kingdom of God throughout the world, then the relation of the Christian church to temperance reform is fundamental. There is no more serious obstacle in the path of the social reformer, or teachers of Christian ethics, than the drink traffic, for intemperance is a giant evil, crushing human hearts and homes as mercilessly as an avalanche crushes the flowers and trees in its awful descent. The boys of Florence were wont to whisper, as Dante passed down their streets, "There goes a man who has seen hell," and those who have studied the social woes of our great cities, are in common agreement that there are no "infernos" as black as those created by the omnipresent drink evil. The church, being founded for the purpose of saving human society from its sins, should use all her ransomed powers to combat the mischief ever, and everywhere, wrought by intemperance. She must arrest drunkenness, for a drink-besotted people cannot be aroused by the Gospel: their ears are narcotised, they are dull of hearing, and to ensure a Christian country we must have a sober country. The Temperance Reformation was born and cradled in the Christian church, and is buttressed by righteousness and established on Christian principles. Temperance teaching and enterprise have always been the legitimate and appropriate work of the church. To-day, as never before, the Christian conscience is alive to the momentous nature of the struggle now being waged for the mastery between the forces that make for national righteousness and the liquor

trade; while those who are ordinarily at variance on matters of creed or polity, are now happily united on a common platform of hostility to the chief cause of the abounding social and moral wreckage. A century ago the church considered its first business was to get men into heaven; to-day it realises the surest way of attaining this end is to get heaven into men. Then apathy regarding the condition of the drunken and the destitute reigned supreme, now the appalling growth of the drink evil has quickened the church to a new sense of responsibility. The present ejection of strong drink from religious, social and business circles is to a large extent due to the persistent teaching and practice of the church of Jesus Christ. In his article on "The Call of the New Century," Dr. John Clifford remarks that: "No changes of the century have been more radical than those effected by the Temperance Reformation. What methodism was to the heart and conscience of evangelicalism of the eighteenth century, and what Carey has been to the organising of missionary propagandism in this century, our temperance movement has been to the moral, social and political life of this age, a lamp shining in a dark place until the day dawn, leading in a completely sober world."

Speaking for English congregationalism I may say that it would be an anomaly if the denomination which includes amongst its adherents such reformers as Oliver Cromwell, John Milton, Sir Harry Vane and John Howe, or philanthropists such as John Howard, Andrew Reed, Samuel Morley and Samuel Plimsoll, had not been associated with the movement at its inception. As a matter of fact the first temperance society was organised in the year 1808, just a century ago in Moreau, New York, under the auspices of the minister of the first Congregational church there. It is further recorded by one of the historians of the Temperance Reformation that it was mainly originated by ministers and laymen of Congregational churches on both sides of the Atlantic, the leaders of the denomination becoming convinced and powerful temperance advocates. The Congregational Union of England and Wales was founded concurrently with the total abstinence movement in England seventy-five years ago, the latter cause being loyally supported by many of the founders of the Union, amongst whom may be mentioned William Jay of Bath, John Angell James of Birmingham, George Clayton of Walworth, and John Pye-Smith of Homerton. A large proportion of the missionary pioneers sent out by the churches in the early days of the movement were abstainers, including Robert Moffatt, David Livingstone, William Ellis, Richard Knill and John Williams. Distinguished laymen of the denomination also espoused the cause, such as Sir Edward Baines, Sir Francis Crossley, Sir Charles Reed and a host of others equally worthy. As a denomination we have a temperance ancestry worthy of esteem and emulation. Amid opposition, prejudice and apathy they fought a good fight, and kept the temperance faith, and to-day we are reapers upon the ground made sacred by the memory of their devotion to the movement.

Whilst some of the religious denominations took up a position of hostility towards the principle of total abstinence, on exegetical and other grounds, it can be claimed for the Congregational Union that although its platform admitted of the widest possible survey, it never committed itself to a syllable of opposition, or adverse criticism. In 1849 the Union commended the subject of total abstinence to the favourable consideration of the churches. Thirty-six years later the

Assembly declared in favour of a closer union of the churches with the movement, and in 1874, under the leadership of Dr. Alexander Raleigh and Dr. Alexander Hannay, the formation of the Congregational Total Abstinence Association became an accomplished fact, which organisation, after thirty-two years of independent working, became a department of the Union.

If proof were needed to show how the practice of abstinence has grown among the ministers, it is only necessary to point to the fact, that great is the army of our ministers who to-day proclaim the fundamental principle that "If alcohol makes my brother to stumble, I will drink no alcohol for evermore, that I make not my brother to stumble." Out of 2,039 ministers in the Congregational ministry twenty-eight years ago there were only 703 abstainers, while out of 3,000 to-day 2,600 are abstainers. Again, the sentiment of the church has been won over in favour of temperance teaching amongst the young, it being accepted that as no church is complete without its Sunday-school, neither is the Sunday-school fully equipped without its temperance auxiliary. The prophet Ezekiel in his day saw that the healing waters flowing through the land issued forth from under the door of God's holy house. To-day, as of old, the truth of the vision is exemplified, for in the United Kingdom there are upwards of three million children, pledged to the principle of total abstinence, the majority being associated with societies maintained by the churches. If the church is to discharge its obligations to childhood it must win, save, and protect the child, and in protecting the child from the subtlety of strong drink, it is speeding the final victory of temperance reform, for in the campaign against strong drink, the child is the key to the situation. There is also now a general consensus of opinion that the church should have total abstainers both in the pulpit and the pew, that she should exclude fermented wine from the Lord's table, and that the Temperance Reformation is a Christian enterprise, and must always be regarded as such, for apart from Christian sentiments it will fail, and deserve to fail. We can look with complacency and encouragement on the record of church temperance work. The marked change in public opinion regarding the use of strong drink is largely the result of the church's attitude in relation to the drink traffic. But there yet remaineth much land to be possessed, and the call to the churches to-day is that they should more fully recognise temperance work as of necessity a part of, and vital to the existence of the church. They must awake and realise that it is their duty to take this stone of stumbling out of the nation's pathway. They must vindicate to the nation their claim to be the true church founded by their Lord on earth, and to accomplish this they must seek to pluck fallen humanity as brands from the burning, or history would record them to have been a failure. All practical projects of social reform would not do half so much for improving the condition of the masses, as the progress of the temperance cause, which touches the moral, physical and religious welfare of the people as a whole. Either the church or the public-house will have to go. The success of the one means the defeat of the other. And if she does not exterminate the public-house, the public-house will exterminate the church. She cannot, therefore, afford to falter in her antagonism against the public-house which must go, if we are to have a sober people. She must also convince the legislature that the drink power is not the only power in the land, and that the sentiment of an

awakened Christian conscience is stronger than the sentiment of the public-house, and is one which will sooner or later have to be satisfied. What the church needs to-day is a revival of spiritual power in her temperance enterprise. She needs to uncover the old land-marks, and take anew her bearings. She must get back to first principles. Civil laws and their enforcement cannot accomplish all she seeks. The work of centuries cannot be crowded into a couple of generations. Neither can a world that has long in darkness lain be lifted into the light of temperance and self-denial by sudden state decrees. Seventy-five years ago our grandfathers planted the acorn of total abstinence, and to-day it has become a healthy sapling, but its roots are not yet deep enough. The work of the church is to water the roots, and to plant the habit deeper in the homes of the people. Then the work will triumph in spite of the cruellest trade the world has ever known. Let us, therefore, pursue our work without fear, trusting in God's sublime help, and working in harmony with his divine will. For the eternal vigilance of undying faith and love is the price of purity for church and state, as well as the individual soul. And to this vigilance, this faith and this love, the Spirit of God has called us to engage in the temperance crusade, for the Gospel of Christ is a Mission of Rescue as well as a School of Prevention.

The Rev. W. A. Bartlett, D.D., of Chicago, was the first speaker. He introduced the subject of "Temperance Legislation in America."

ADDRESS BY REV. W. A. BARTLETT, D.D.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN AMERICA

The writer, who in thirty-one verses gave us the creation story, had, in my judgment, an easy task compared to mine in attempting the history of temperance legislation in thirty minutes. We are led to believe the other writer was inspired, and that the creation incident was closed. I have received no revelation, and the temperance issue in America is not closed. In the past fifteen years we have added to prohibition territory one hundred and fifty acres for every sixty seconds of time. That, in the language of the Kansas farmer, who was moved from one county to another by a cyclone, is "going some." It would require more than my time to read the index of temperance legislation in America, and I will content myself with certain salient points.

THE MAGNA CHARTA

There were provisions in the Magna Charta regulating the size of measures for wine and ale. The historian states that these matters had to be carefully watched. The history of temperance legislation has largely consisted in watching for fraud and deceit in the whole liquor traffic, and never in vain. It is a theory of my own, not yet incorporated in any commentary, that the serpent in the Garden of Eden was the agent of a brewery, and to introduce his goods he began by suggesting cider. Possibly the reason why the clergy have been

so slow in removing the decanter from their sideboards has been that they hated to break with Noah who came over in his *Mayflower* to a new world and celebrated the occasion in a manner so true to life, that even the ultra higher critics have hesitated to attack the incident from either the myth or allegorical point of view.

ORIGIN OF REFORM

Loyalty to the truth compels me to state that our intemperate habits began over on this side. Our ancestors, in their unfettered pursuit of life, liberty and happiness did not altogether break away from allegiance to the flowing bowl. Yet it should be said in equal candour that reform also had its roots in English soil. The agitation, particularly in George the Second's time, bore fruit in America. Hawkers of liquor, in his day, failing to pay their fines, were whipped. And when the bill to license gin shops for the sake of revenue was before the House of Lords, Chesterfield made his famous speech opposing it, in which he used the argument of the prohibitionist to this day, that to license the sale of drink was to traffic in debauchery.

COLONIAL REGULATIONS

The records of Massachusetts' colony show, as far back as 1633, an order of the general court, that no person should sell wine or "strong water" without leave from the governor or his deputy, and that no one, except in ordinary course of trade, should sell or give liquor to the Indians. The latitude of that latter restriction would indicate that a liquor man must have had the framing of the law. In 1637 brewers were licensed in Massachusetts, and in 1643 retail dealers in Rhode Island and Connecticut. Virginia instituted the laws of England, and in the colonies generally there were restrictive laws regulating tippling in ordinaries, drinking of healths, drunkenness, selling to Indians, drinking by townspeople in the inns, concealing drunken persons, and the prohibition of youths, servants, apprentices and scholars from spending their time in ordinaries.

EARLY STATE PROVISIONS

The early state provisions were practically the same, varying with the states and townships themselves. There has been a striking parallelism in the United States between anti-saloon and anti-slavery progress. Soon after Benjamin Franklin became the first president of the first abolition society of America, the continental Congress passed a resolution, "that it be recommended to the several legislatures of the United States immediately to pass laws the most effective for putting an immediate stop to the pernicious practice of distilling grain, by which the most extensive evils are likely to be derived if not quickly prevented." I will state for the information of brethren on this side that the making of whiskey in America has not ceased to be an industry.

GEORGE WASHINGTON AND WHISKEY REBELLION

In 1794 there was in Pennsylvania what was known as the whiskey rebellion, when distillers, in a portion of that state, refused to pay tax on distilled spirits. The militia from bordering territory marched in, put down the rebellion, arresting the offenders. Thus did the father

of his country no sooner get one fight off his hands than he had another with a foe with which we have never come into fraternal relations. Washington addressed a message of congratulation to Congress, and said that although the country had been disgraced by this occurrence, the citizens, to quote him, "are now ready to maintain the authority of the laws against licentious invasions, as they were to defend their rights against usurpation." The time cannot be far distant when all governments claiming to be Christian, must root out the source and propagator of all anarchy—the saloon which defies all laws, human and divine.

INTERNAL REVENUE

The relation of our government to the liquor traffic has been largely mercenary. The first national revenue tax was instituted in 1791, to cease with the payment of the public debt. The wars of 1812 and 1861 called for renewal of revenue laws, which are still in vogue. The consumption of liquor in the United States has more than doubled since 1890, reaching, last year, the unthinkable total of 2,019,691,011 gallons, which cost the people in money, $2,275,070,857. The internal revenue on this was $209,904,720.

THE ECONOMIC PHASE

The economic phase of the liquor traffic has had a profound influence on legislation. At this time a vast combination is being formed in which the brewers and distillers are trying to enlist every industry in their cause. Three and-a-half billions of dollars are at stake, 3,632 distilleries and breweries, 17,111 wholesale houses, and 225,000 saloons. The total annual profits in the entire liquor business reaches the enormous total of $1,548,716,916. If they should spend but twenty-five per cent. of this sum in the fight against temperance forces they could put out more than a million dollars a day, or $387,179,229 a year, while the total expenses of our largest temperance organization are only half a million dollars a year. To put it another way: We spend each year on intoxicants what would pay the expenses of the United States government, $578,000,000; state, city and local governments: $1,087,000,000, with a balance of $534,000,000, or the value of three-fourths of all the coined gold in the United States. The liquor business is, then, a gold mine, which has for generations bought up legislatures, silenced the government, and stopped the mouths of citizens, and is now attempting to show that it is indispensable for the prosperity of any locality. It is placarding the country with false economic statements which have to be refuted a hundred times, such as the amount of grain used in the manufacture of intoxicants. The Secretary of Agriculture states that only two per cent. of the corn crop is used in distilleries, so that it would in no way affect the farmer if all sales to liquor interests were stopped. They have so desperately asserted that towns which went for prohibition would be unable to pay their bills without their revenue, that an otherwise shrewd and intelligent mayor of an Illinois city which last spring voted prohibition immediately resigned.

On the other hand it has been shown that in the case, say, of a town receiving $7,000 revenue, $150,000 was paid over the bars of the saloon. Even the editor of a Chicago real estate journal has been deceived into warning the citizens that prohibition would reduce our revenues.

$7,000,000, and, consequently, raise taxes. But at a conservative estimate Chicago is annually robbed at the rate of $69,000,000 by the saloons. Sixty-six per cent. of this goes to the brewers, the distillers, and transportation companies. The remainder stays largely in the channels of debauchery. In other words, we buy $69,000,000 worth of crime, misery, prostitution, poverty, divorce, ruptured homes, and individual ruin every year, which would not seem to be a paying investment.

The committee of fifty, Francis G. Peabody, secretary, issued an elaborate report on the liquor traffic in 1897, but since that time the whole situation in the United States has changed. The Massachusetts bureau of statistics of labour, after a careful investigation, showed that eighty-two per cent. of all the crime, forty-eight per cent. of the pauperism, and thirty-five per cent. of the insanity could be traced to liquor.

THE LICENSE SYSTEM IN 1838

The license system was unvaryingly in force in the United States till 1838. The fees and penalties were low. Ohio, Tennessee and Mississippi that year passed laws of partial prohibition. In Mississippi and Tennessee these laws were short-lived. In 1846 that fighting Quaker, the noble Neal Dow, began his agitation in the state of Maine, and that year the state prohibited the sale of liquor. But not until the year 1884 did prohibition of the sale and manufacture become a part of the state's constitution.

PROHIBITION IN MAINE

Thus was given to this state the honour of legislation so far in advance of the general restriction, that it was termed the "Maine law." Volumes could be written concerning the bitterness of that long fight and the age-long efforts to show that prohibition did not prohibit, but no better argument could be given than the very attacks by the liquor men against this citadel of temperance.

GENERAL CONDITIONS, NORTH AND SOUTH

In general it may be said that most of the Southern states have had for years a county local option law, and in the North there has been township local option. In Massachusetts, for instance, the towns vote annually on license or no license. It has been mostly license till recently, owing to the apathy of citizens, the influence of liquor on legislation and journalism, its intimidation of the people and corrupt license boards. This local option made the town all wet or all dry, according to the vote. County local option is preferable to township in giving a larger territory opportunity to control a single portion which otherwise might vote for the saloon.

INSPIRING HISTORY

There has been nothing in our national history more inspiring than the recent leaps and bounds of temperance sentiment and gain. While there have been a thousand influences working towards this wonderful growth, from the conflict in Maine to the race riots in the South, it is none the less true that local option has often led up to state prohibition.

LOCAL OPTION HAS PREPARED THE WAY FOR PROHIBITION

A small boy threw a brick through the window of a "white trash" rum hole in Atlanta. They chased a coloured man by mistake. But the trouble that ensued helped to make Georgia the first of the Southern prohibition states. O for a boy with a brick in every state! Local option had already shut out 135 of her 150 counties. Oklahoma was helped to prohibition by the Enabling Act of Congress prohibiting liquor for twenty-one years in the Indian Territory. When statehood came the people said, "We will make it all dry." So the first state of the new century, and Columbia's youngest daughter, was born with the bottle denied. Then Alabama put on prohibition. The legislature called together for railroad matters made the state go dry before it did a thing to the roads. The state of Mississippi had, up to a year ago, abolished the saloon from sixty-nine out of seventy-six counties. So the legislature, to get out of the way of the water wagon, gave constitutional prohibition. There have been eighteen states which had tried constitutional prohibition, but of that number only Maine, Kansas and North Dakota remained. Just as I was writing this sentence North Carolina went prohibition by 40,000 majority, making eight states which now have constitutional prohibition. Of the 36,000,000 people who live in dry territory, 10,000,000 have effected it through prohibition, and 26,000,000 through local option.

KENTUCKY AND ILLINOIS

Among the modern marvels of temperance legislation the state of Kentucky stands in front rank. The blue grass state has $160,000,000 invested in distilleries, yet she has only four counties wholly wet, with prohibition in seventy per cent. of the entire territory. Man after man who opposed temperance in that state has been put out of office. The jail-keepers of Kentucky recently petitioned the legislature for regular salaries because, they said, there were not prisoners enough in jail to furnish board money. South Carolina had for fourteen years a state dispensary system, devised by the fertile Ben Tillman. It was corrupt as bad politics, bribery, bought agents and unlimited whiskey could make it, and now the Carey-Cottingen bill has killed the dispensary and dissolved the partnership between the brewery and the state.

Illinois has undergone a transformation astonishing as it is good. For years we had been under the dram-shop law, which left the towns, villages and cities at the discretion of the presidents and trustees, mayors and councils. But the state was boiling. In Chicago the Sunday Closing League, Law and Order Leagues, the W. C. T. U.; and in the state the influence of these, through reports in the Chicago press, with the untiring efforts of the Anti-Saloon League, and the steady pressure of the prohibition party, culminated in 1907 with a unique and effective local option law. The present law permits the entire voting population of every township of the state, after petitions have been properly filed, to vote upon the question of saloon or no saloon. If the vote is favourable to prohibition, there can be no saloons for the space of two years or until such time as the vote may be reversed by petitions filed by liquor men. No sooner was this law passed by the legislature than a great wave of enthusiasm passed over the state. It was a second emancipation for Illinois. The state local option law passed the third reading in the House of Representatives on

the seventh day of May, 1907. On that occasion a champion of the liquor interests shouted out as the roll was being called, "We are ringing down the curtain on the last act of local option." On the seventh day of May, 1908, the anniversary of the reading, the curtain had been rung down on 1,725 saloons in the old sucker state. No wonder we of Illinois have come over to this damper climate to celebrate. It is said that if you put all of the saloons which have been closed in Illinois the past year end to end, they would make a row twenty miles long. But better yet, we have sent them a long way towards that place which was no myth in early Scotch preaching. And if they are not end to end, they are, thank God, at an end; and if not in a row, they are not in a position to make one, and, we hope, world without end.

So desperate were the liquor forces that they tested the validity of the local option law by filing suits and taking their contention to the Supreme Court of the state. Every one of their thirteen objections were overruled by the court, and the decision was handed down on the twenty-third of the month. So the whiskey men came up against all that may be suggested in thirteen and twenty-three.

OTHER STATES

More than two-thirds of Louisiana's territory is dry, and 65 per cent. of her population, making the 2,000 saloon keepers of New Orleans uneasy. Her Supreme Court has also decided for local option. Arkansas has her "inhabitants law," by which all women over eighteen years of age may force a saloon to move four miles from a church or schoolhouse. If there is no schoolhouse near a saloon they build one. Virginia, a liquor stronghold, refused licences to nearly fifty distilleries this year. A drastic law dooms the "Blind Tigers," or what are known down east as "speak easies." Two-thirds of Indiana are dry. Four miles of saloons are vacant through her local option and "remonstrance law." Half of Delaware shut out the saloon last November. The whiskey men poured out money like water, but it went, like the liquor, into the ground. Vermont has just closed 500 saloons, and has now only thirty out of 238 townships wet. Massachusetts has awakened, and has 76 per cent. prohibition territory. Out of forty legislators of that state supported by the Anti-Saloon League, thirty-eight were elected. Michigan, which had only one in eighty-five counties dry at the beginning of the year, has gained ten dry counties in the last ten months.

RAPID GROWTH AND GREAT PROHIBITION AREA

When I was notified of my appointment to write this paper, about one-half of the United States was prohibition territory. Since that time one-third has been added, and every time I lifted my pen I had to lay it down again as a new county was heard from. In eight months the saloon has been driven from an area as great as France. They say that on the first day of January, 1909, when the new laws go into effect, there will be a solid block of territory 320 miles North and South, by 720 miles East and West, in which a bird can fly from the Mississippi river to the Atlantic Ocean, and from the boundary of Tennessee to the Gulf of Mexico, without looking down upon a legalized saloon. Great Britain and Ireland could be set down in this dry territory without

covering it, leaving a border of ten thousand square miles untouched. Wouldn't you like to be set down there, brethren? Of the 20,000,000 people who live in the fourteen Southern States, 17,000,000 live under prohibitory law of some form. One marvel of the movement is that in 1900 there were 18,000,000 people under prohibition, and now there are nearly 36,000,000. And another marvel is, that we have been doubling our drink bill at the same time. The question is, Who has been working overtime?

SUNDAY CLOSING

The law requiring the saloons to be closed on Sunday has been practically universal: California, Montana, Nevada and Texas being the only four without such legislation. In the cities it has been largely ignored. The man who revived and made operative this law had the most difficult city in the country for his field of operations. The city is New York, and the man was Theodore Roosevelt. As chairman of the excise committee, after a drastic and spectacular fight with the politicians, the press, the brewers, and the police, he closed and kept closed every saloon in New York on Sunday.

The constitution of Missouri gives the governor police power, and Governor Folk of that state closed last year every Sunday saloon in the state. Crime in Kansas City and St. Louis was at once reduced 60 per cent., and the arguments about foreign population, etc., were seen to be of no weight. Mayor Jones of Minneapolis fearlessly closed the saloons of that city on the Lord's Day, with the support of churches and business. One of the most splendid triumphs of the country was the closing of the saloons of Kansas City, Kansas, through the shrewd and untiring efforts of Assistant State's Attorney Trickett. He had the backing of Governor Hoch, who is a determined enemy of liquor, and whose stinging epigrams are famous. He has said, "Not one good thing can be said of the saloon. It imposes more burdens of taxation upon the people than any other agency in existence. The devil never invented a bigger lie than that revenue from illegitimate sources is necessary to the financial success of any town or city. A poorhouse is a joke in Kansas." Governor Hanly of Indiana is a good running mate with this sturdy statesman. Illinois has on its revised statutes a law requiring saloons to be closed on Sundays. It has been constantly defied in the city of Chicago. In February of 1905 an agitation was begun in Chicago under the auspices of the First Congregational Church. This is the church which sent its pastor with a Chicago delegation to plead with Abraham Lincoln to issue the Emancipation Proclamation, and which Mr. Lincoln acknowledged had more influence with him than any other incident aside from his own conviction. A Sunday Closing League was formed from seventeen different denominations. This league filed petitions in different forms with the Supreme Court of the state, and the Superior and Appellate Courts successively. The courts in each case claimed no jurisdiction, yet in each case confirmed the law. The Sunday Closing League is now affiliated with the Chicago Law and Order League and twenty-four other local reform organizations. Incited by the continual agitation, the State's Attorney has lately prosecuted saloon keepers for violating this law. There have been ten jury trials in which the evidence was complete. One case was *nolle prosequi*; twice the verdict was acquittal, and seven juries disagreed and were discharged. In all the cases the charges to the jury by the judge left no doubt that he looked for a verdict of guilty.

In several cases the saloon keeper pleaded guilty, but was declared not guilty by the jury. The mayors of Chicago have almost invariably made ante-election pledges to the liquor element that they would not enforce the Sunday closing law. The present mayor claims that the law does not represent the will of the majority. He claims to be an interpreter of the law, whereas he should be an enforcer of the law. Another plea is that this law is a dead letter. The constitution of Illinois does not give the governor the same local control as in Missouri, his only resort being to use the militia to enforce the law, and if he undertook that, except in case of riot, he would undoubtedly be criticised for unwarranted interference with local authorities.

The Sunday Closing League is now carrying the case to the Supreme Court in another form, and the people are taking a deeper interest, particularly in view of the reign of official and jury anarchy. Chicago is a great and splendid city, of which we are all justly proud, but there is small hope of definite and permanent reform, while our officials pledge their word to the liquor element before election, that when elected they will break their oaths of office. We should have proceeded towards indictment long before this if there had been the slightest hope of securing such conviction as removed a Kansas City mayor. If a jury cannot be found to convict a guilty saloon keeper, none will move against a guilty mayor.

HOUSES OF ILL REPUTE

Our Grand Jury has just shown that over 2,000 houses of ill repute are selling liquor illegally. They are defying the state law and city ordinances. They pay a government tax, which should be denied them by the Government, and the mayor permits them to sell liquor without a license. These places are in themselves illegal, so the situation is utterly lawless from every point of view. I am reminded of President Roosevelt's words, in this connection of Sunday Closing, "The worst public official is the official who connives at disobedience of the law." The great city will be the last stand of the liquor interests. Chicago with its population of 2,150,000 with 76·6 per cent. foreign, with 500,000 Germans; and Poles, Bohemians and Hungarians in proportion will make desperate resistance to what they term infringement of personal liberty. The United Societies who are said to be none other than the brewers and their henchmen demand the defiance of all laws which interfere with their own desires. We, on the other hand, maintain that no people have any right to come to a country, whose very puritan principles have been the foundation of good government and prosperity, unless they will abide by our laws, and we shall never yield till the kingdom of this world becomes the Kingdom of our Lord, and of his Christ.

THE CHURCH AND CONGREGATIONALISTS

All temperance legislation and law enforcement has been preceded by the trumpet call of the church. As it was in anti-slavery times, so has it been in anti-saloon. We, as the Congregational Church, have had large share in this reform. Justin Edwards and Lyman Beecher, in the first half of the previous century, did more than all others with their agitation tracts and sermons which flooded the country. The leader and organizer of the greatest national movement

of the present time is Howard H. Russell, a Congregational clergyman, who began as a voice in Ohio in 1895, and has grown to an organization with branches in practically every state.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE

The Anti-Saloon League is non-political in not nominating candidates, but tremendously political in influencing legislation. It is not a party but a power. Its battle cry is local option with the ultimate purpose of saloon annihilation. Other tributes are puerile compared to that given it by a disgusted brewer. He roared, "My God, this Anti-Saloon League don't sleep. Their people work seven days in the week. It's like fighting a presidential campaign twice a year—no rest, no let up, just pound, pound on us twenty-four hours out of twenty-four. We've been dumb and blind and deaf. They've already wiped us off half the map—and we thought we knew politics. Now we've got to learn all over again, and what's more we've got to learn from them. This is none of your brotherly love-Willie-hold-the-baby-temperance-tea parties we're up against. This is hell. I don't know who he is and I don't care, but somewhere there is a man behind."

OTHER WORKERS

I can only name other influences and persons. The prohibition party has had a tremendous influence for fifty years. Patient, never discouraged, always willing to work for a principle if it could not elect its candidate. Father Matthew, John B. Gough and Frances Willard are great names with us as with you.

CONGRESS AND TEMPERANCE

While the city of Washington and the District of Columbia cannot be called dry territory, there is encouragement in the fact that out Federal aid has just been again refused any soldiers' homes where liquor is sold, a measure which was passed by the largest vote in history. Legislation greatly needed now is the passage of the Littlefield bill prohibiting railroads and other carriers from transporting liquor into prohibition territory. Senator Gallinger of New Hampshire has agitated a measure to prohibit the sale of liquor in houses of ill repute. This would put most of them out of existence.

INFLUENCE OF THE NEGRO QUESTION

It has been claimed that the South has gone largely prohibition because of fear of the coloured race, particularly in the rural districts. This has been stoutly denied by those who have studied the question. The intoxicated negro is undoubtedly a man to be feared and so is the white man. Both look black when they are drunk. In the comparatively short time statistics have been collected since Chicago has agitated the closing of the Sunday saloon, there have been fifty-seven murders in Sunday saloons of that city, and not by negroes either. Probably the main reason for this great change in the South is due to the growing sentiment, to county local option laws, the strong religious life and the fact that in the rural districts the evils of drink are more advertised to the community.

APATHY OF CHRISTIANS

While the church has taken the lead in temperance reform through certain of its aggressive members, it is a shameful fact that only until lately has there been any strong or definite effort to put down the saloon. The ministry has too largely contented itself with resolutions, and the laymen have too often been afraid to come out into the open, and the lethargy of the church has been in sad contrast with the bitter activity of the liquor power. Money is often the test of interest, and the temperance cause has gone begging.

THE SUPPORT OF THE WOMEN

It should be said to their lasting glory that the women of America have been unceasing, uncompromising foes of the liquor traffic, and the Anti-Saloon League has found the women and children its best supporters. In the tremendous campaign of last spring, the most inspiring spectacle was that of women and children marching, women holding prayer meetings, ringing church bells and preparing lunches for voters. History repeats itself, for not only were women last at the cross and first at the tomb, but Mary of Magdala would not leave the garden till the Great Gardener revealed himself, and the woman out of whom had gone seven devils not only became the Mary of the Resurrection Annunciation but was made the messenger to the Right Reverend Apostles who had gone home in unbelief. The woman who has suffered from the seven devils of rum will wait and weep and pray in the darkness of delayed day till the coming of her Lord shall bring the morn.

CONFESSION OF THE LIQUOR MEN.

If any one is under the impression that the language of the reformer is too strong and hysterical I can quote to him the language of the liquor dealers themselves. The general manager of the St. Louis Wholesale Liquor Association addressed a confidential letter to the liquor trade in April, 1907, in which he said, among other things, "The prohibitionists have captured a large part of the country and they will soon vote us out of the rest, if we do not make some very decided changes in the goods we sell and the way we buy them. 'The Reduction Rogues' have swindled us out of millions of dollars by substituting for good whiskey, for which we paid them, a compound that would kill a horse." "We have unwittingly sold this accursed poison to the youth and flower of our manhood, many of whom have been crazed, lost their manhood, their honour and their all because they drank it. Their mothers, their sisters, their fathers, their brothers and their friends are driving us retailers out of business."

Within forty days of this date the district of Columbia Court of Appeals has definitely decided a matter of long controversy between the government and the distillers. Attorney General Bonaparte and the president of the United States upon appeal to them from the department of agriculture had taken the view that only the pure article could be labelled and sold as whiskey. They have been upheld in this court which declares that undergrade whiskies, blends, and all adulterations cannot be labelled or sold as whiskey. This is a benefit of the new pure food law. It will cost saloon keepers thousands of dollars, and add to the burdens already descending on this traffic of outlawry.

Dr. T. D. Crothers has just made a startling statement at the National Medical Association with its gathering of 10,000 held last month in Chicago. The doctor, who is an expert in alcoholic pathology, said: "The moderate drinker, who is never intoxicated, is far more intemperate than the man who gets hilariously or violently drunk. The drunkard recovers but the moderate drinker never becomes sober. It is like the continuous tapping of a hammer on a bar of steel, which in time disintegrates the metal. These men die of the continuous concussion to their brains which comes in the shape of apoplexy, Bright's disease or kindred ailments,—disintegrated, that is all. Alcohol is a magnificent narcotic and anæsthetic and the most treacherous and dangerous influence we can use as a stimulant. As a drink it is a relic of barbarism. To-day we are drinking it and killing ourselves."

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE SOUTH

The gentlest, proudest memory of our American history is of a man whose lustre increases every year as we search and search again into his every word and deed. He towered head and shoulders above men in life, he does so still in his remembrance. As a young man he pleaded with Christians in Springfield, Illinois, to sign the pledge for the sake of the weak brother. He used Christ's humiliation in the atonement as an argument to move church members. From that wonderful speech he strangely enough gained the reputation of being a sceptic, he so incensed these mistaken followers of Christ. His act was all the more heroic as it was a time when ministers and deacons drank their liquor and kept it on their sideboards. When this Christ-like man was nominated for the presidency, the most noted men of the nation were sent as a committee to the humble home of the candidate. Someone sent him a case of wine that he might have no excuse in failing to offer the best in which to drink the healths of these patronizing men. His embarrassment was that of a man who had great principles but who was modest and shrinking in the matter of publicity or of intruding his personal beliefs on others. To use the wine would be in conformity to custom. To refuse it would be to take on a character of reformer and crank. The impression made that day was of national importance. What did he do? With the dignity of an uncrowned king he lifted a tumbler and said to the astonished guests who filled the little parlour, "Gentlemen, we must pledge our mutual healths in the most healthy beverage which God has given to men—it is the only beverage I have ever used or allowed in my family, and I cannot conscientiously depart from it on the present occasion—it is pure Adam's ale from the spring." Touching the glass to his lips he drank their healths, and they in silent respect imitated his example. It was he, who when president, said, "I think reasonable men have long since agreed that intemperance is one of the greatest, if not the greatest, evils of mankind." This man hoped and prayed up to the time of his death that he might be the means of bringing the North and South together in fraternal affection after the most terrific fratricidal conflict in the history of man. When the bullet struck him our Moses went to his Nebo just as we were about to set foot in the land of promise, and men have been weeping ever since that this godlike man of the ages should have been taken away when he was.

But methinks to-day, Mr. Chairman, we have more than the fondest

hopes of this martyr president fulfilled. The North and the South have long ago clasped hands over the death-bed of General Grant; they have marched shoulder to shoulder in the cause of Christian liberty and relief from oppression, in the Spanish war, and have looked hopefully into each other's eyes in the midst of mutual efforts for international peace, led on by the man whose reputation will stand both as a peacemaker and the man with the big stick. We have a new war cry from the South more potent than the rebel yell, and a new battle song sweeter than Dixie. It is the war cry of a South which is leading us all in the greatest emancipation of the ages; it is the new anthem of a land soon to be truly a land of the free and the home of the brave. I believe that the spirit of that great man who hated slavery whether of the shackle or the cup, looks down in his great-hearted love of his fellow-men and thanks God that as the North took the lead in the emancipation of the body, the South carries the banner in the conquest for the body and the soul; and again we clasp hands in a mighty struggle that shall not end till the country established by the Pilgrims and the nation for which Abraham Lincoln sacrificed and died shall stand before God in blood-washed garments lifting in thanksgiving to him clean and unfettered hands.

The Rev. John Fordyce, M.A., D.D., of Sydney, dealt with "Temperance Legislation in Australia and New Zealand."

ADDRESS BY REV. JOHN FORDYCE, M.A., D.D.

TEMPERANCE LEGISLATION IN AUSTRALASIA

My subject is a large one, and I can hardly assume either that my audience is enthusiastic about details, or that it will tolerate a great amount of statistical discussion. What you want to know is the main principles on which these new lands carry on the work of liquor legislation, or legislative restriction. The problems of sobriety are the same in nearly all parts of the world, but these problems are becoming simpler as our knowledge becomes truer, and as we are prepared to follow the guidance of scientific teaching and wide human experience. Always and everywhere we find that the public-house is the enemy of moral progress; as the noble worker, Miss Hopkins, long ago declared, it is the "open grave" of all our efforts for the good of the people. The real problem for states and communities is how to abolish the public-house, at least so far as the sale of alcoholic liquors is concerned. It used to be held that drinking was largely a matter of climate, that alcohol was necessary in some climates, or comparatively harmless in others; the experience of the Anglo-Saxon race has been that it is dangerous in all climates and necessary in none; and that public health, public morals, and public prosperity are always greatest where alcohol is least used. Canada is one of the soberest countries in the world, and yet it has one of the coldest of winters. Some parts of Australasia are warm enough, and the people have much excuse for drinking, and yet, as I shall show, these are more and more imitating Canada in abstaining from the use of alcohol. Let me endeavour to place before you a few of the more important facts about the relation of Australasia to the liquor traffic, and to the use of alcohol.

(1) First, I may truthfully affirm that *the young Australian, or Australasian, is not a hard drinker.*

No doubt he drinks far too much. The old inheritance and the old customs have been too strong for men and women, and the baneful practice of planting everywhere the public-house has been the ruin of many a promising life. In our great cities the saloon is too much in evidence, and in many a country town, or township, as our people call it, the public-house has been, and is still, the curse of many. Even our ministers of health themselves have far too frequently been the victims of bad teaching, bad legislation, and bad example. But where communities have reached the orderly stage, and where young Australians are in the majority, drinking is not nearly so bad as in the mother country. The young Australasian has to work and play in a thirsty land, with a summer *shade* temperature of from 75° to 120°, and yet he is comparatively sober. He believes in tea, cold and hot, in lemon squash, and similar drinks, and he does not believe in the virtues of alcohol as his ancestors believed. If you take the trouble to study the tables given by Rowntree and Sherwell, in their well-known work on alcohol, you will discover that I am telling you the truth. Take the drinking of the United Kingdom at, say, two gallons per head—man, woman, and child—of absolute alcohol; if you compare Australasian drinking with this you will understand what I mean. Tasmania, for example, where the old liquor system still holds its own far too ably, drinks only half a gallon, like Canada. Next to this comes New Zealand, which is under three-fourths of a gallon; and New South Wales, the mother state, and the most populous, drinks nine-tenths of a gallon. South Australia, if we ignore the northern territories, which are not yet in the normal state, drinks only six-tenths; and both Queensland and Victoria point the same moral. Victoria drinks a little over a gallon per head; but Queensland, where there are all sorts of climates, some of them exceedingly warm, is content with a gallon per head. West Australia is our great exception, and the reason is not far to seek. It is great in mining, and its people come from all parts of the world, and have hardly yet reached the normal stage. This, then, is my first point, viz. that the young Australasian does not drink alcohol as his ancestors did.

(2) *He believes in controlling the drink traffic by Acts of Parliament.* Above all, he believes in the *popular veto.* Like the rest of us, he has often been told that you cannot make men sober by Act of Parliament; like the rest of us he has often heard that if you attempt to repress here, the evil will break out yonder—Devil's maxims that have done much to hinder humane legislation and moral progress. The Australasian has begun to see through such fallacies. He has suffered much from false traditions and foolish Acts of Parliament, and he has come to understand that an Act of Parliament is simply a method of expressing and conserving popular judgments about social and public life. Suppose a wise Act of Parliament could have conserved what Father Matthew long ago gained in Ireland! Suppose Temperance reformers here had been willing, in Mr. Bruce's day, to accept certain limitations and restrictions, England might long ago have possessed greater control over the traffic. Be this as it may, the young Australian does believe in Acts of Parliament, and he does not believe in allowing bad legislation to go on filling his cities and towns with licensed temptations. His aim is to be master in his own house, and to allow the people themselves to

determine what is to be done with the traffic. Of course he has been told about vested interests; about the sacred rights of property; and he has often been reminded of the widows and children who are supposed to suffer so much from temperance reforms. He knows the meaning of this talk, and he has long ago ceased to pay it reverence. Now in New Zealand and in New South Wales, not merely restriction, but prohibition is possible. In these states the people may, by three-fifths majorities, close public-houses altogether, and this, too, without compensation. In New Zealand, as you know, there are already six prohibition areas, with great advantage to the morals, the health, and the general welfare of these communities. And last year, if prohibition could have been carried by simple majorities in the mother state, thirteen electorates would to-day have been under a prohibition law. As it was, much to the astonishment of the press, the magistrates, and that portion of the public which believes in alcohol, there was a majority of some 43,000 for reduction of public-houses. I give figures by way of encouragement to temperance workers. For continuance of present houses, 210,371; for reduction, 74,721; for prohibition, 178,600! The recent law in New South Wales wisely allows votes that may fail to carry prohibition to swell the number for reduction. I may say that the recent Act in New South Wales is fairly drastic. It gives effective Sunday closing; it closes houses on election days during polling hours. It allows no barmaids under twenty-one years of age; no one, indeed, under seventeen years of age is allowed within a bar. No wages may be paid in public-houses, and no dancing or music, unless by special permission of magistrates and an extra licence fee of £20. All hotels, all wine licences, and with a few exceptions all clubs, are under the sweep of this Act. New South Wales, New Zealand, and Victoria, also I may say South Australia, are in advance of the other states. But both in Queensland and in Western Australia our friends are actively working, and soon there will be more drastic legislation all over the Commonwealth.

(3) Young Australia is proving to all that *control is popular, and that even prohibition is possible.* It is difficult to create a strong popular opinion in these newer lands. Our people are, except in the large cities, apart from each other, and they have few opportunities of meeting in large numbers to discuss public questions. Then in early days most of us, I dare say, were strong individualists; and it is only within recent years that men have come under the influence of the new sense of collective responsibility. Then the Press is slow to advocate reforms like these, and the Temperance Press, however good, has only a limited circulation. In the great cities we are familiar with large public meetings, but in country districts this is largely unknown. But if public opinion is hard to move, when it is moved it acts quickly and effectively. And now opinion is more and more in favour of public control. The Press in New South Wales and in New Zealand would never dream now of placing vested interests before the interests and will of the people; as for the brewers, with their widows and children, they receive little favour. There are other widows and children that Australia wants to help, the widows and children made destitute by the action of this selfish, and cruel, and conscienceless traffic.

(4) Lastly, Australasia has demonstrated that *woman's vote is a powerful factor in temperance reform.* As you know, manhood and womanhood suffrage is the law in the Australian Commonwealth and in New Zealand; and one result, almost an immediate result, of the

admission of woman to the franchise, has been progress in temperance reform. This has been proved very clearly, both in New Zealand and in New South Wales. Some of you may recall a striking and suggestive incident in connection with the closing stage of Mrs. Josephine E. Butler's great crusade for national purity. The House of Commons was debating the Repeal of the Contagious Diseases Acts, and hundreds of women had met together to watch, and pray, and wait for the critical vote. Their meeting was deeply charged with emotion, and there were sobs and tears as well as earnest prayers. An aged American lady rose and said, "Yes, tears are good, and prayers are better, but we want votes as well as tears and prayers." She clearly saw that if the best work is to be done, women must be able to vote as well as to watch, and weep, and pray. Our women in Australasia have watched, and worked, and prayed for temperance reform. Like women everywhere, perhaps proportionally quite as much as women anywhere, they have suffered from the ravages of the drink traffic. When men have been busy here and there, when their hands have become slack and their hearts faint, the women have been faithful to the cause. In little groups they have gathered to take counsel, to pray, and to work for the better time; they have also refused to be silent, and they have, in season and out of season, stirred up the rest of us to work for reform. And now that they too are enfranchised, they are nobly voting for Temperance. There seems to me no room for doubt that both in New Zealand, and more recently in New South Wales, woman's vote went largely for prohibition. Who has suffered more from drink than woman? Who has toiled more than woman to save the victims of alcohol? Who knows better than woman what alcohol means in the home and in family life? And so when she has become a sharer with man in the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, it is natural that she should vote with heart, and soul, and might for deliverance from the public-house. If Australasia may venture to give advice to the temperance reformers of the Motherland, it would be this—do your utmost to secure the franchise for women, for they are your best helpers in this great crusade for home, and church, and country.

Is it necessary for me to say that restriction of the liquor traffic always means greater freedom for states and individuals? It is only when communities are truly sober that they can be free, and that they can expect the highest prosperity. New South Wales has long had, nominally, Sunday closing, but only in reality since our last reform. And now we find that whereas, in 1905, convictions for Sunday drunkenness numbered 1,380 in the city and suburbs of Sydney, last year, under real Sunday closing, they fell to 273, one-fifth the former number. In New Zealand, in prohibition towns, store-keepers know the difference between old and new. As Canon Boyce, to whom Australasia owes so much for his earnest work, well says: "for collecting the ready cash in a district, no man excels the publican." Now store-keepers find that they are collecting the ready cash, and so they too are becoming enthusiasts for temperance reforms. Wherever and whenever we vote down the public-house, we raise the tone, we improve the morals, and we also increase the trading power of a community. So far, then, from this standpoint, as the new world under the Southern Cross has any message to the old, it is surely this—that alcohol is the foe to man, and that good Acts of Parliament, Acts that really embody the judgment and will of the people, Acts that are honestly carried out without fear or favour, are able to promote sobriety, and comfort, and well-

being. I think that Australasia also says, and says emphatically, that woman's influence in political life is an influence making for sobriety and righteousness.

The Rev. George Gladstone, of Glasgow, spoke on "Temperance Legislation in Britain."

ADDRESS BY REV. GEORGE GLADSTONE

THE TEMPERANCE DEMAND IN GREAT BRITAIN

In some respects it is to be regretted that we should have to discuss the demand made, and the efforts put forth, to secure the prohibition of strong drink as a beverage. The time is long past when the traffic in strong drink should have been outlawed as our national vice and woe, and destroyed as the foe of our people and the dishonour of God. But the evil has been perpetuated, and so its results have remained to perplex and burden, to grieve our hearts, and mock our endeavours. These results force consideration upon us, and refuse to let us rest so long as we allow the evil to remain. In Christ's parable, the priest and the Levite passed by on the other side and left the Samaritan unheeded and unhelped. But that is denied to us. The victims of the liquor traffic are so many, the burdens imposed by it are so heavy, the cost incurred is so tremendous, the havoc wrought is so awful, that we cannot let the question alone. We cannot pass by if we would. The cry for help is always rising to God, the old work of destruction goes on unceasingly in destroying new victims, the evil smites old and young, rich and poor, and often the fairest and the best; and so, under the constraint of what is due to God and due to our fellows, we are forced ever and again to face the undeniable facts and seek to fulfil the duty God lays on us. I quote the familiar words of Luther in one of the crisis hours of his great struggle as explicative of our attitude and interest, our prayers and efforts in temperance reform—"Here I stand. I cannot do otherwise. So may God help me. Amen."

Temperance, at one time regarded as at once a kind of madness and a kind of sacrilege, has so won its way to favour that the term is now claimed by drinkers and drink sellers. They represent themselves as the true temperance men, shocked by drunkenness and solicitous only to add to the happiness of the world. Everybody is for temperance in these days, and hence there is need for definition that we may discriminate between things that differ.

Temperance we define as the moderate use of what is good, and abstinence from what is evil. We regard it as demonstrated by science, history and experience, that intoxicating liquors as beverages are evil—bad for the body and bad for the mind, bad for society and bad for the religious life. Hence in regard to them, temperance is abstinence. We do not allow that moderate use is always temperance. Occasional blasphemy is not an essential of temperate speech. He who steals trifles occasionally is as truly a thief as he who lives by theft, although not to the same extent. Always, moderate use is abuse if the things be evil. Hence the truly temperate man, up to the measure of his light, eschews the evil and chooses only the good.

The early temperance men contented themselves at first with pleading for total abstinence. That was wise, for they were passing through the experimental stage, and were seeking to prove all things that they might hold fast that which was good. And they did wonders—first in altering the thoughts of their fellows, and then their actions. Many stood in doubt, while others were actively, even bitterly hostile. One needed to have something of the hero in him, or her, to be an abstainer when intoxicating liquor was almost universally regarded as the good creature of God, an essential to health, a means of fellowship, and even the fit symbol of the life-giving sacrifice of our Lord. But the good cause prevailed, and won trophies among all classes. The change that has taken place in the sentiment of the country is acknowledged by all. From being looked on as a necessity, strong drink has come to be regarded as a peril to everyone, and instead of being hailed as food, and medicine, and much else in one, it is everywhere bewailed as our national shame and scourge.

Two considerations early forced themselves on the advocates of temperance. First it was seen that the rate of progress was all too slow. While they were saving a few, multitudes were being sacrificed. Temptations were everywhere proving themselves too strong, and many of the fairest and best were being destroyed. Second, it became clear that abstinence must be allied to prohibition. Hence there arose a demand for the lessening and the removal of temptations to drinking. This demand has grown as observation and knowledge have increased, and has assumed different forms as the circumstances of the time made expedient. The progress of the movement may have been slow. Still, advance has been made; and if proof of that were needed, it is supplied in the Government Licensing Bill for England and Wales now before Parliament, which provides, for the first time in any Government measure, that no new licence shall be issued against the expressed wishes of a majority of the ratepayers in the district for which the licence is asked. That is a very distinct step forward, but in Scotland we are ripe for vastly more drastic legislation.

As I have mentioned the Government Bill presently before the House of Commons, may I further say that the Government is showing itself worthy alike of trust and help by the courage it is displaying. Little more than a week ago the Premier sent this message to an immense demonstration at Manchester in favour of the bill:

"The Government are aware that they have been challenged, and they are prepared to fight. They have been challenged by the richest and best organised trade in the world, a trade which boasts to have made and unmade Governments—a trade which has vainly tried to corrupt a great church. On the result of this fight we have staked our political existence."

That, I venture to say, is the utterance of a strong man and of a strong Government. And that is the spirit which wins notable victories.

The temperance question is so large and many-sided that naturally there is diversity of opinion as to the best means to be used for its advance. There are those who confine themselves to moral suasion efforts—the inducing of others to abstain. Others give special heed to the enforcement of such restrictive legislation as we have. On the other hand, some think that hurt has been done through demands for restrictive legislation, and hence they demand the abolition at once of

the entire traffic in manufacture and sale. But, for good or ill, by far the greater number of temperance forces have concentrated in their demand for power to the ratepayers to suppress the common sale of strong drink in their respective localities. Differing somewhat as to measures, the agreement is universal among temperance men that the traffic is a curse and should be outlawed in the interests of the people.

Happily, as experience is increasing and light is growing, there is less and less disposition to regard prohibition as an alien unsuited to our country and likely to be productive of hurt. Some advocates of the traffic speak as if prohibition were an untested nostrum, or a perilous experiment of whose working we have no definite knowledge. That, of course, is ludicrously out of harmony with fact. In many places, even in this country, landowners exercise prohibition over their large estates. Then prohibition holds throughout against the great mass of our people, and holds effectively, it being only a relatively small number who are allowed to sell liquor to their fellows. Then prohibition rules even in regard to those licensed to sell, inasmuch as the ordinary publican can sell only within the hours of 8 a.m. and 10 p.m., and not at all on the Sunday. The hotel keepers may sell on Sunday, but only to what are known in law as *bona fide* travellers.

If the question be put as to why there should be either restriction or prohibition of liquor selling, the reply is that in the state the good of the people is the supreme law. Observation and experience have demonstrated that if all who wished were allowed to sell liquor the commonwealth would be hurt. In the same way it is seen that, if liquor were sold night and day, Sunday and week-day, society would suffer. And so the law steps in and says, for example in Scotland, that the licence to sell shall be confined to relatively few, and that they shall sell only within certain hours of the twenty-four, and on the Sunday not at all. Thus obviously, in asking for absolute prohibition, we are only asking that the few now unduly privileged shall be treated as all the rest of the people are, and that the prohibition which rules each night from 10 o'clock to 8 o'clock next morning throughout the six days of the week, and which is all inclusive on the Sundays, shall rule throughout the twenty-four hours of every day. And to our plea we can add that, save by a few who need not be considered, there is no demand for free trade in liquor. All see restriction to be imperative. And this, too, may be added, that did a candidate for Parliament in this country propose to open public-houses on Sundays and to extend the time for selling liquors on week-days, he would probably never get beyond being a candidate.

We need to be careful as to what is really covered by prohibition. It is common to hear the objection that no prohibitory law will ever put an end to drinking. We have prohibitory laws against many evils, but I do not know that any one of these is always, and to the utmost limit, successful. The evils legislated against still exist, but in a very much more restricted and weakened form than they would be if prohibition did not hold. Even Divine law is not absolutely and universally honoured. All the same, it is needful and beneficial. As Dr. William Crafts says, "If prohibition be a failure when it does not at once destroy the evils which it forbids, then the prohibitory law of Sinai is the masterpiece of failures." And very fitly does Dr. Crafts say, "Licence is a purchased truce, prohibition is a declaration of war. Licence is an edict of toleration—prohibition is a proclamation of outlawry. . . . The first requisite of law is justice. A law that

sanctions wrong is not law at all, but legislative crime. It is not public sentiment, but public conscience, out of which law should be quarried."

But the right to prohibit is challenged in the name of justice. The plea amounts to this—"You have liberty to refuse drink—let others have the right to take it if they wish." The plea has something of verisimilitude, but it lacks force. No doubt if the results of buying and selling liquor could be confined to those trafficking, there would be less room to interfere than there is. But obviously, such limitation of results is impossible. We are all involved, monetarily, socially, religiously. The sober are compelled to meet the poverty occasioned by drinking, the law-abiding have to bear the cost of crime engendered through the use of liquors. The good have to suffer manifold ills created and perpetuated through the traffic. Against, therefore, the claims to buy and sell, we set the right of protection from the effects of the traffic. But the results cannot by any possibility be confined to the traffickers, and hence the good of the people creates and warrants the right to prohibit. We recognise no right to hurt others, or even to be hurt by others; and hence we claim that a traffic which cannot be carried on, save with tremendous wrong and hurt to its victims, and less or more of peril, cost, and annoyance to all, has and can have no right to exist.

There is, too, a higher law which all here will readily recognize. It is beyond controversy that there are thousands and thousands who cannot be delivered so long as drink shops are licensed among us. The drink appetite has gained the mastery. It is easy to understand how the appetite comes. A great metaphysician of a past day, Professor Thomas Reid, said, "If a man be a glutton, he is so in spite of the food which tends to satisfy. But if a drunkard, he is so because of the tendency in drink to create an ever-increasing appetite. Under that ever-increasing appetite men get both weakened and debased." But that establishes for Christian men the right and obligation to do what is possible to secure opportunity of deliverance for them. The right of the liquor traffic to go on destroying we utterly deny, but the right to save the fallen and to prevent others from falling we acknowledge and honour. It is not the business of society, and still less is it the business of the Church of Christ, to stand inactive while our people are being done to death. To sanction a traffic whose unvarying and inevitable outcome is drunkenness, and all for which drunkenness stands, is to sanction the drunkenness itself. If we set causes in operation, we are responsible for the results. To issue a liquor license by the authority of the nation is for the nation to sanction the business done. It makes the nation a partner in the guilt. Prohibition stands for righteousness and welfare, just because it refuses all toleration, or sanction to wrong.

I pass to note, briefly, the objections brought against our demand, and by which its realisation has been hindered in this country.

(1) If this paper had been written in the earlier days of the temperance movement I should have had to deal with the objection that alcohol is the good creature of God, and that being provided by Him it should be gratefully used by us. It is only by the more ignorant that the objection is urged now. Alcohol beverages are not made by God but by human service, through the destruction and rotting of God's gifts. As a chemical agent alcohol may serve useful ends, but that is no reason why it should be used as a beverage when its necessary and

inevitable effect is to weaken and destroy. The objection reminds one of the definition of a lobster, submitted for his approval to the celebrated Cuvier, that it was a fish, that it was red, and that it walked backward. Cuvier replied that the definition would do with three corrections, "first that a lobster is not a fish, second that it is not red, and third that it does not walk backwards."

(2) It is objected that in this reform we are dealing departmentally with morals. It is urged that the proper way is to preach the gospel and let the desirable result be attained thereby. There is an element of truth in this, with a large admixture of misconception. We preach the gospel, and seek to have it obeyed of all. But we do not see why the crying evil of our time—the evil that of all others most hinders the gospel—should not be specially dealt with. God did not only claim of old that man should worship him. He also gave directions to destroy the altars of idolatry that had been established, and that tempted the people to unworthy thought and deed. There is such a thing as taking up the stones from the highway and so preparing the way of the Lord. That may be called departmental, but it is the department in which the work of the hour must be done if the gospel of Christ is not to be hindered, and our people robbed and spoiled.

(3) It is objected that we should make the liquor-traffic as safe as possible, and not attempt to end it altogether. Frankly we like not the terms of the objection—"as safe as possible." The words carry that peril would be left, but it is the peril we seek to end.

Those who urge this objection have confused ideas as to whence the evil that all acknowledge comes. It is not found in measures or men, towns or places. The evil is in the drink, and we cannot get quit of the effects until we destroy the cause. Hence we have little sympathy with proposals that have been recently and earnestly urged to call publicans by other names, substitute company for individual management of public-houses, make these houses more attractive as food, leisure and entertainment resorts, and to enshrine the traffic in a kind of modern garment of respectability by allocating a share of its evil proceeds to what are called benevolent purposes. All that is very largely a deceiving of ourselves, and an engaging in fruitless toil, instead of obeying the voice of God as He calls us to put away the evil from among us. When we put away the drink we shall get quit of the drunkenness, but so long as we perpetuate the drinking God will afflict us with the drunkenness.

(4) It is objected that prohibition involves the tyranny of the few against the rights of many. No one of course proposes that temperance men should be left to decide the question of prohibition. Often the true position has been travestied. A worthy judge of the Court of Session in this city, who passed away several years ago, did not like the prohibitory measure then advocated under the name of the Permissive Bill, and he facetiously described it as "a Bill to permit me, to prevent you." That might be clever, but at most it was clever caricature. For what is asked is that the people in whose professed interests the public-houses are licensed, and who know what these houses occasion in drunkenness and disturbance, peril and cost, and who have to bear the monetary and other burdens entailed by the traffic, shall have power to say that they do not wish them. If the houses are for the people, the people should be allowed to say that they object to them. Our appeal is not for power to a class, but for power to be transferred from a class to the mass, from what are known as

licensing magistrates to the people themselves. If it be said that no one is forced to patronize the houses that are licensed, the reply is obvious. Many are really too weak to resist the temptations thus thrust upon them. Often in very drunken districts we get the largest number of signatures against the continuance of these houses.

(5) It is objected that, spite of prohibitory law, drink could and would be got by those who wished it. That is the plea of those who are never weary of saying that prohibition must fail, and who are in mortal fear lest it should be tried. Very likely no prohibitory law is perfectly observed. The forces of appetite, of lust, of gain, and of habit, work less or more against it. It might therefore be the case that, were the traffic prohibited in this country, an illegal traffic would be attempted here and there. There are always those who, for selfish gratification or to gain wealth, will stoop to become law-breakers. But any possible illegal traffic would be infinitesimal, compared with the ubiquitous traffic that now tempts the weak and unwary in well nigh every street. Men would have to seek the illegal traffic—it would not, like the licensed traffic, seek them. And they would have to seek it in secret, in dishonour, and at risk of other penalty.

(6) Other objections failing, it is common for some to object that this country is not ready for prohibition. Let me confess that for long the attitude of the traffickers has been helpful—revealing duty as lying in an opposite direction for me. Their candidates for civic and parliamentary honours do not suit me. What they want I invariably do not want. What they devise I oppose. Now if the tree be known by its fruits, we know that the traffickers' plea that the country is not ready for prohibition is to say the least misleading. Their one aim is to prevent the power to prohibit being got by the people. Their fear of and hostility to everything that savours of prohibition is a proof that they believe that the power to prohibit once got would be everything but a dead letter. And so I take them on their own showing. What would be so disastrous to them that they fight against it as for bare life, is just the thing that is needed for the deliverance of the people.

No doubt all places may not be equally ready. That only indicates the need for a law that will operate where and as the people demand that it shall. Once the power is devolved on the people they will not be slow, we judge, to exercise it. And those in any backward district will be hastened into readiness for it by seeing the benefits secured by prohibition in other places. Hence, while hailing the various efforts in temperance work as economically, socially, and religiously helpful, and while bidding God speed to every agency, major or minor, that sets itself against the causes and practices of intemperance, we plead for a law that will give power to the people to deliver themselves by freeing our country districts and our towns and cities from the dread contamination, peril, and hurt of the liquor traffic. And that law we yet shall have. In a country like this, great movements advance slowly. There is a conservatism that is slow to admit of change. But even that is being overcome. We do not hide that much work may yet have to be done, and that great difficulties may have to be faced. There may be severity of conflict, but the victory is sure.

God works in all things; all obey

> His first propulsion from the night:
> Wake thou and watch! The world is gray,
> With morning light.

Thursday, July 9, 1908

MORNING SESSION

Judge Perry occupied the chair, and, after the hymn "All people that on earth do dwell" had been sung, the Rev. David Young, B.A., offered prayer.

The Rev. T. E. Slater, of Bangalore, India, spoke on "Modern Theology and Missionary Enterprise."

Address by Rev. T. E. Slater

MODERN THEOLOGY AND MISSIONARY ENTERPRISE

I

It will be noted that it is not the much abused misnomer "The *New* Theology" which is here related to "Missionary Enterprise," but "*Modern* Theology," an older acquaintance with which we are all more or less familiar. Some of us may not care to be labelled either "Old Theologians" or "New Theologians," or by any party name, while being in full sympathy with modern or progressive thought.

For by "Modern Theology" we understand not the views of any particular preacher or school, not any man's theology as he likes to make it, but that liberalising and humanising movement of religious thought and life, which, representing a method or temper rather than a complete system, has, under the breath of the time-spirit, been steadily advancing for the last two generations, not only in Britain and America, but on the Continent of Europe. It is thus the natural growth from that great deposit of devout belief which has come down to us through the historic ages of the Christian Church. The movement has not been confined to Protestant Churches—Free or Established—but has had its exponents in the Roman Catholic Modernism of France and Italy. Its pioneers and prophets—preachers, writers, poets, novelists—have been those who, bound together, not by creed, but by unity of outlook, have stood for spiritual and intellectual freedom, for an illumination of doctrine, a vitalising of the truth, for ethical awakening, and social progress, for a new victory of faith in the world.

II

As such, it must sustain a very vital relation to "missionary enterprise." Indeed, the crucial test of all theology is the missionary spirit it evokes, using the word in its widest sense. "By their fruits ye shall know them." And the question before us is—*How has Modern Theology affected Foreign Missions?* and the reverse—*How have Foreign Missions affected Modern Theology?* Not that we have to impose theology—modern or mediæval—any more than an

ecclesiastical system, on the races we seek to evangelise, but to present Christ. Or, as my friend, Mr. Lucas, says, in his able book, "The Empire of Christ" (p. 71): "That which sends us forth is not the strength of our views, but the depth of our life; not our formulated beliefs, but our faith; not any longing for converts, but our passion for souls." And if the religious life at home had only deepened and widened with the extension abroad, we should never have heard of flagging interest and failing funds.

For it may be doubted if it is theology that has chiefly affected the interest in missions; though the retention of much of the traditional thought by missionary bodies has without doubt placed a severe strain on the loyalty of many, and accounts for some, at least, of the lukewarmness toward missions. Still, if Christian people generally were really interested in religious thought, they would have a relish for missions—the salt of life—and the motive for service would appeal. Is it not rather the worldly spirit, the war spirit, the racial spirit, which have been dominating society in recent years, that have "cut the nerve of missions, and paralysed the Christian spirit for the work"? all of which are the very opposite of the missionary spirit, which represents the spiritual in human life, and expresses peace and brotherly love, and respect for the races of the world. And so our present need is not so much a new theology as a new spirit—a spirit of consecration and service—a quickened sense of individual responsibility. Perhaps the most valuable asset that our fathers possessed and that we seem to have forfeited, owing to our enlarged knowledge of the universe, was their calm, unquestioning confidence concerning God; and the paramount need of their successors is a great re-quickening of simple faith in the reality of the Living God and His saving grace.

III

Nevertheless, we cannot conceal the fact that we, the successors, are living in a new age, with new intellectual forces bearing in upon us, whether we like it or not—the new science, the new criticism, the new philosophy, and, may we not add, the new humanitarianism?—which are profoundly affecting every department of thought and action. We are living in a time of transition, which is always attended by unsettlement and unrest—the signs of life; and there are two foes to our peace of mind, as well as to our progress, that we have to guard against; the radical spirit of revolt from religious truth, on the one hand, and the conservative spirit of reaction on the other. We need the "golden mean." We have to face the facts. The ideas of the modern age have come to stay; and there is no denying that they have affected our theology and the missionary enterprise; and we are now having re-statements of both in the terms of the altered thought. For while religion may be left to take care of itself, and to adjust itself to fact, the churches have to adjust themselves to the new point of view and to the larger outlook; and though the supreme missionary motive—love to God and man—remains the same, we are called to justify missions in the light of the new knowledge. For, as Dr. W. Newton Clarke observes, in his most thoughtful "Study of Christian Missions," if missions "cannot live among the vital thoughts of the new age, and adjust themselves to them, they are doomed." (Pp. 204-209.)

IV

We shall all probably agree that though the romance of missions has by no means passed—to those on the field—it has yet given chief place in the present day to the problem of missions; and that, whereas romance appeals to the imagination, problems awaken and challenge thought. The too sanguine expectations cherished by our fathers when missions began have given place to a realisation of the magnitude of the enterprise and its overwhelming difficulties. Not only do we look out *from* an entirely new world of ideas and sentiments, but we look out *upon* an entirely new world, unknown to our fathers. From being remote and vague, the ends of the earth have become near and real: and, living as we are in a new mental and moral climate, we have come to regard the millions of our brothers in non-Christian lands with a new psychological and sociological mind, and in a more sympathetic spirit than was possible to our fathers; and hence it is that some of the older appeals for missions do not move as once they did.

Missions were begun, as we have often been reminded, when the religions of the world were practically unknown, and all labelled as false, and productive of nothing but harm; while the human race was conceived as homogeneous and totally depraved, and, apart from a knowledge of the one Revelation, passing to a hopeless doom. They have to be continued in an age when the old beliefs about man have lost their power; when, from the evolutionary point of view, he is seen, though still under sin, to be slowly ascending in different grades of civilisation, under a Divine training, to the highest possibilities; and when the faiths of the world, having been scientifically examined from the same point of view, are conceived by us in a wholly different light; not only as having done good in their day as well as harm, but also as destined to correction and completion, every evil and error being eradicated, by liberating the truths underlying them; and every thought and feeling in them that is vital being brought into loyal devotion to the eternal and universal Christ.

V

Here then we have the reflex influence that foreign missions are exerting upon thought at home. Each acts and reacts upon the other; "Give, and it shall be given unto you." Some of the hardest problems in the West to-day have arisen out of the progress of missions. The great movements that are brewing in the far East, the awakening and new outlook of Oriental nations, the rising spirit of nationalism and race patriotism and aspiration—full of immense possibilities—are very largely the result of the impact of Christian ideas; and God's challenge to us is revealed in this crisis in the East. Then, the very catholicity of foreign missions, with their universal tasks, makes it impossible to be narrow in our theological thought. It must broaden our outlook; and so do much to reconcile our conflicting schools. A limited covenant, a limited atonement, a limited salvation, have gone. The thought of the Church has been enlarged. Missionaries are bound to take the lead and be broader than most of their brethren at home. They can't help it. It is a case of environment. If God is in His world, then the whole world, which is a spiritual world, is the source of theology. And it is

the modern *study of comparative religion*, whose sphere of observation is the foreign field, which, though of itself it may never "make a missionary," has yet, perhaps more than anything else, had such an illuminating and widening influence on our thought, and given such a fresh relish for missions to the cultivated taste, while, at the same time, necessarily undermining the foundations on which the first missionary enterprise was built.

For, closely connected with this, has been the quickening of the historic sense, and the *application of the critical method to the Bible*, which, under the older view, was regarded as the sole and infallible revelation of God to man, fixed and final; and on the acceptance or rejection of whose dogmas depended the eternal weal or woe of millions of our fellow men; a view that intensified, if it did not create, the old missionary motive—the Church's sense of responsibility to give it with all haste to a perishing world.

And here it need hardly be said that the subject of the higher or historical criticism cannot and ought not to be kept out of the mission field, where a reactionary attitude means a day of trouble in store. It is, indeed, of the utmost importance that we do not teach antiquated doctrines in these new fields, but the ripest and truest results of modern scholarship; for, if we do the first, we are now confronted in the East with quotations from Mill, Spencer, Huxley and Hæckel, by men who have learned how to reflect and reply; and who do not want our outgrown garments.

And the historical method has already done excellent service in leading Oriental scholars to examine critically their own sacred books—and largely in the reflected light of the Bible—to discover how far they can be trusted, to throw over the theory of verbal inspiration—the very basis of their scriptures—to distinguish the letter from the spirit, and to sift out the grain from the chaff, a distinct gain to the missionary.

And it has been these precious "grains" in the Bibles of the East, discovered by Western savants as well as Eastern, that have been revolutionising our thought. For, though it is easy to take a too rosy view of other faiths, and to present an idealised but misleading picture, it is yet the Christian method to judge everything by its best. It is the highest form that gives the key to the explanation of the crudest beginnings. And so being bound to call truth "truth," wherever found, and virtues "virtues," and not "splendid vices," we are now realising with the Apostle that there has been a "Light which lighteth every man," that God has never "left Himself without witness," and that there is good in all religions because of the abiding presence of God in His world.

VI

Now it is this fuller recognition of the universal presence of the Divine Spirit, *of the immanence of God* in the universe and man—a truth so well understood in India—the beginning, if not the end, of all spiritual religion, and the avowed basis of modern theology, though probably quickened in the West through contact with the East; it is this great truth that gives an entirely *new justification of foreign missions*, because we are realising that the religion of Jesus, which is "spirit and life," appeals to the race on this very ground, that there is in mankind the Eternal Spirit—the saving element in every heart—

which responds to the appeal of Jesus, as soil to seed. Put the old seed and the new soil together, and something will come of it. The truth of God and the soul of man are adapted the one to the other; so that we are not offering to the men of India, or China, or Africa something that is strange to their nature; we are giving to them truth in which alone they can attain to their proper spiritual manhood.

And, conversely, *the presence of good in other faiths*—that every religion is an imperfect revelation of the Divine Spirit—instead of furnishing a reason, as some would urge, for letting the nations alone, *lends a new and powerful argument to faith in missions*, or it is itself a pathetic appeal to the greater good given in the religion of Jesus Christ. As Mr. Swan* has said: "Every non-Christian belief is an argument for a more fully developed belief, for the perfect religion of Jesus." It is the Pauline conception: "What, therefore, ye worship in ignorance, this set I forth unto you." Christianity, containing as it does the complete truth of religion, and being, therefore, not a religion among others, but the absolute faith, is the fulfiller and reconciler, not the destroyer, of other faiths. No great religion was ever based on falsehood; and it has been these underlying and indispensable truths in these ancient faiths, to which their spiritual leaders have witnessed, and which have been waiting their fulfilment, that have given them their persistence to the present day.

Can we find, then, a truer motive than this, can we discover a worthier reason for giving the world the Gospel? Human nature and the human heart, and the religions they articulate, were made for Christ; and Christ alone can ever explain them and satisfy them. In them, at their best, we see man seeking God; while in the Gospel we have God seeking, finding, saving man. And *in this contrast lies the great modern argument for missions*. Have we not here the inspiration of a radiant hope that our fathers never felt, and a truer missionary appeal, than that a heathen world is in utter darkness, and hastening to an outer gloom?

VII

That belief we venture to affirm has ceased to supply the strongest motive to missionary enterprise; and the vitality of missions does not depend on its retention. For one of the deepest influences that has affected modern belief is the altered conception of the character of God. The idea of the Fatherhood of God, and of the Divine sonship of man, by no means a modern discovery, is yet the distinctive and controlling feature of modern theological thought. And *this truer insight into the nature of God and into the nature and worth of man*, has profoundly affected, not only the social problem of need and aspiration, but the deeper problem of human destiny, and of the Divine education of the race. The nations are dear to God, who craves their fellowship and love, and is doing His very best for every man; and the knowledge and love of such a good and Holy Father, revealed in such a Son, will woo and win, at home and abroad, where fear has failed to persuade.

VIII

Our altered conception of God, as Father and therefore Saviour, has been accompanied by *the deepening and broadening of our idea of*

* Rev. F. R. Swan, author of "The Immanence of Christ in Modern Life."

salvation, which, again, *vastly strengthens the missionary motive*. As long as we regard salvation, from the individualistic standpoint, as deliverance from future penalty, and as therefore completed when our own individual advantage and personal safety are secured, we shall respond but feebly to the Divine call, to do for others what has been done for us, and bless the world with the same salvation. But when we come to realise that we cannot be saved alone ; when we regard our salvation as completed only when we are brought into the richer and fuller life of "moral fellowship with God," along the pathway of the Cross, and so "become in heart saviours" ourselves, then, as Dr. Newton Clarke says (pp. 24-26), "the holy desire to join with God and Christ in the best of works" will prove the strongest possible missionary motive, sufficient to make all true Christians missionaries.

IX

Further, with our enlarging ideas of the Divine purpose and its beneficence, and of a "common salvation," we have come to recognize, in the Providential guidance of the world, *an election or selection of races* as well as of individuals; and, under the influence of evolution, we behold a vast and age-long process behind us, and "one far-off Divine event to which the whole creation moves." Peoples with a hoary past, with 200 centuries behind them, have probably a significant future before them ; a long preparation in the past in view of a *rich contribution in the future to the religious thought and life of the world*. The idea that the Christian nations had anything to learn from the non-Christian world never entered the range of the older thought, and seems slow to enter the new. But the religious lights of Pagan lands not only point to Christ, as we have seen, but are surely destined to illumine and enrich our conception of His Faith. The youthful and insular West sees but one side of it, and possibly not the best. And who can doubt, now that Christ and His religion are beginning to fascinate the gaze of heathendom, that the great nations of the ancient East are destined, not only to stamp their own national features on an Eastern Church, but, by an illumination of the nobler forms of their national faiths, to give a new expansion to the historic Christian consciousness, and a new enrichment to the true Catholic Church; to contribute to the life and thought of Christendom, new forms of piety, new modes of Christian experience, new manifestations of spiritual power, new aspects of doctrine, new interpretations of the Christ? We need not imitate them, but let us give them the opportunity to come to their own. And is that not a consummation, little dreamt of, enough to re-galvanise the nerve of missions? "*The Witness of the Oriental Consciousness to Christ*" was the title of some noble lectures delivered in India not long ago by the late Dr. C. Cuthbert Hall, of New York, whose lamented death the East with the West deplores to-day.

And have we not here a still profounder thought that gives a most sacred setting to the missionary cause ; that lifts the whole enterprise to the highest level, and invests it with supreme importance? *Missions are necessary in order that the mystical Body of Christ may attain to its perfect form in the great temple of humanity*, the Church that is to be, as successive types are incorporated into that Body. Apart from that, the full significance of the Incarnation cannot be grasped, and the full glory and power of Christ as the Head of Humanity cannot be

realised. For the special qualities of each national type of thought and life are needed to elucidate the meaning of that perfectly representative Human Nature taken by the Son of God; and thence to estimate the bearing of the Incarnation upon the redemption of the universal man. But this "federation of the world" in the perfected Body of Christ, this satisfaction of the Redeemer's soul, cannot take place until the whole family of the redeemed has been brought up to the same high level; until the lowest and most backward races have come to their own, and discovered their own soul and Saviour; and the spirit of the great empires of the East has been so quickened as to exercise its influence on the future of the world.

This, indeed, is but dimly seen at present, and some seem almost jealous of it; but it is coming. The emergence of Japan as a great world-power, with its gift of scientific insight, the awakening of China with its economic genius, the national movement of India—the arbiter of Eastern destinies—with her deep religious instincts, are important factors in the sphere of politics; and what kind of nations they are to be is a question of absorbing interest and deepest moment. They are being brought more and more into contact with our material Western civilisation, and are catching our modern spirit, which by themselves may only increase enormously the forces of evil that any day may be used against us; and is the one thing they are not to know to be the best we have to offer—our religion? the truth by which they can alone enter into the richest and fullest life, the faith best calculated to make good men and citizens, the only solution of the problem of "the peril of the East," the quickening power in their development. The service that missions are rendering in pioneering new national careers, the part they play in guiding the Christward evolution of the world, and so effecting the unity and friendship of the race, and the perfecting of the Body for the Head, is a broad and powerful argument very feebly grasped. Such visions should be the inspiration of our work.

x

And once more. With the greater prominence given to races, and with the widening out of Modern Theology so as to include, not only the literature of dogmatics, Biblical criticism, and comparative religion, but sociology, the study of social conditions and ideals, is it surprising that there has come a correspondingly *enlarged conception of what evangelising the world means*, in distinction from mere proselytising? While we must still preach with no diminished passion the Gospel to the individual, as the power of God unto personal salvation—for the regenerate man is the living force in unregenerate society—the emphasis is being removed from the individual to the race, with the object of effecting something vastly more than the conversion of a few first hearers, the gathering out of a few saved souls. It is—to use Mr. Lucas's illustration—the aiming to bring "the ship into port with all on board, rather than the picking up of a few survivors from a hopeless wreck" (p. 106). And that means a bigger business, and a nobler evangelistic effort. It means that a salvation to be complete must include *both* the individual and *the redemption of the society* of which he is a member—the widest education, the training of character, the nurture of the home, correcting the social conscience, moulding public opinion, elevating national ideals, as well as the raising up of an indigenous Native Church, with a new type of convert, a convert with a

social vision. The force of the missionary appeal has been immensely strengthened of late on the humane and social side.

The rapid proclamation of the Gospel in any one generation, with no regard to racial differences, and mental histories, and adaptation to varying needs, thus gives place to wise planting and patient cultivation. We have to look ahead, and lay our foundations for the future, and deliberately plan on a larger and more statesmanly scale for a long campaign.

As opposed to the exclusive importance that has been attached to local forms of church organisation, Modern Theology, reflecting the spirit of a co-operative age, places the emphasis where our Lord Himself placed it, on *the coming of the kingdom of heaven upon earth*. We do not go forth to establish churches, which mean denominations—and for which the thoughtful disciple, in the East *e.g.*, cannot get up great enthusiasm, and yet which we expect him outwardly to join—but to win loyal subjects to the King; for entrance into Christ is entrance into His Church, which is His Body. The Western and ecclesiastical conception of the Church, with the miserable isolation of its broken sections—now happily disappearing on the mission field—must give way to the larger and more spiritual conception, that of the Church universal, the all-embracing fold of those in whom Christ dwells; the visible becoming subordinate to the invisible, the life of the spirit being exalted to its supreme place. There is all the difference between organised Christianity, which has not yet conquered any of the higher ethnic faiths, and never will, and the Christian conscience and ideal; and this is nowhere seen more clearly than in the East. And this common life and love of a united Christendom, the great reality of Apostolic times, and the coming glory of the mission field—"that they all may be one"—unity of Christ-life, will become in the future the most potent proof to the non-Christian world of the divinity of Christ and Christianity.

XI

To this end it follows that we should present the Christian message—"the common essence of Christianity"—the knowledge of the living God and of His Christ, which is "eternal life," in all its distinct glory and simplicity, and in all its width, and in such a manner as shall appeal to the trust of the human soul, and not offer other races a sectarian interpretation of Divine grace, not encumber the message with disputed matters of church doctrine or polity, and with a number of accidental and unessential details that do not touch "eternal life." The simple Evangel has a vitality of its own about it, from which the actual energy of God goes forth. And few causes have impeded its progress more—speaking from a long Indian experience—than those severe dogmatic statements—especially those bearing on human destiny—made in all good faith, but which cannot possibly come as "good news" to the nations; just as the fastening of Western dogma on the infant churches has impeded the progress of a true Eastern Church, in the same way that the bondage of Judaism impeded the early Gentile Church. Our modern undogmatic and more ethical presentation of the Gospel, our greater insistence on life values, has thus a very special missionary vocation.

XII

Thus we find we are living in a different world from that of our fathers, and we would fain believe, a better world. It is at any rate a larger world in every way, in dimension and in idea, on the map and in the mind. Is it a wonder that our theological thought should have grown larger, and the missionary enterprise larger too? And as long as there is no belittling of our Lord and Saviour, and of the fundamental facts of the Christian Gospel—the facts of sin, and of the Cross, and its reconciling sacrifice—then we may well be broader in a wider world; be believers in the ever-enlarging revelation of God, and have a Modern Theology in distinction from an antiquated one; a modern way of thinking of God and man, of the Divine immanence and Fatherhood, of salvation and human destiny, of the races and their religions and their evangelisation, of the Christian Church and the Christian Kingdom, and of the Gospel Message, all rich in the most inspiring and fruitful thoughts, and all of which, when taken together, have a cumulative and resistless force as a new missionary appeal. Here are many-sided motives, very roughly indicated, of which we have no need to be ashamed. If championed bravely and sanely by modern men, missions are well able to stand all tests, and challenge any criticism. Instead of hesitating, we ought to be enthusiasts for our new apologia for missions, which will not flag but flourish when once it has been grasped, and around the Cross of the Redeemer, rising in her spiritual might and moving with one holy impulse, the Church unites for the Christianisation of the world.

The Chairman invited the assembly to discuss Mr. Slater's address.

Discussion

Remarks by Rev. Principal Adeney, D.D., Manchester

The subject is so extremely important, and touches what we dealt with yesterday, that I should like to utter a word of reassurance, if it is not presumptuous, to those of our friends who are somehow alarmed lest newer ideas of the Bible should paralyse missionary enterprise, as some of them feared was likely to be the case in their Sunday-School work. In the first place I want to say that we must not mix up fear of consequences with the pursuit of truth. If truth should lead us into a Christless wilderness, into the Christless wilderness we must go. It has been said that "he who loves Christianity more than truth will go on to love his Church more than Christianity, and will end by loving himself more than either." When Robertson of Brighton had alarmed some good lady and she called upon him and spoke of the consequences of what he said, he answered, "I don't care." She said, "You know what happened to 'don't care'?" Robertson replied, "Yes, He was crucified on Calvary." And if we only go on the cautious line of dreading to follow truth lest it should injure our work, I say, Sir, that is the very way to paralyse our work. But I have no such fear that the pursuit of truth will open our eyes to the fact that we are living under a delusion. I have no such fear, though some of my friends

seem to have, that if we know enough about the Bible it will prevent us from preaching the Gospel. I believe that the more it will clear away lingering superstition. The more we enter, not with just some fantastic fancy or some hasty criticism, but the assured results of historical and scientific study, the grander will be our view of the great Christ, the more glorious will be our missionary gospel.

Remarks by Rev. Thomas Lloyd, Colwyn Bay

Certain theories have been advanced. I hardly think that those who take the opposite view should be charged with being afraid of truth. We are quite as anxious to follow the truth as any of our friends, but we are not quite prepared to take it that their fantastic way of putting it is the truth. I fully agree that the highest thing is the truth and that we must follow it, but it is quite another thing to accept everything that has been said here as the truth. I myself want, I hope, to follow the truth and nothing else, but I am not prepared to fall down and worship before some of the idols that have been put before us here. If my Bible were nothing more than is implied in some of the theories that have been put before us here, well, in common honesty to my own intellect, I could not believe in it and I could not worship under it. We ourselves want to follow the truth quite as well as others. But to have it hinted that if a man happens to be true to something different from the present-day idea, he is not honest, that he is afraid of the truth, that he knows nothing at all about scholarship, that he had better not speak but tell his people that he does not know—that is an insult to us. And to say, as it has been said here, that the motive for missionary work must be found in the recognition of a larger Salvation (such as modern theorists imagine they have discovered). Why, some of the finest missionaries on the field to-day, such as Dr. Griffith John (I know somethlng of his life) would not accept what has been taught here, and what has been taught here has not been their motive for missionary work; and are not most of those in the mission field to-day men who accept practically the old views of the Bible? Are we to say they are not doing the Lord's work? Certainly we want to follow truth, but let us not have it hinted that it is because we are afraid of the truth we shrink from following every fantastic view that has been put before us on this platform.

A Word of Explanation

Dr. Adeney: I am sorry if I introduced a note of discord. It was because I got up hastily.

The Chairman: I think the chair will have to suggest that each speaker will have to confine himself to one speech.

Dr. Adeney: I only wanted to explain.

The Chairman: Is it the sentiment of the house that each speaker be confined to one hearing?

Dr. Adeney: I only wanted to give a personal explanation.

The Rev. A. J. Grieve moved that an opportunity be given to Dr. Adeney to explain.

Mr. A. J. Shepheard seconded.

This was carried unanimously.

Dr. Adeney: I have no wish to imply, Sir, that my friend Mr. Lloyd—for whom I have the greatest respect and affection, for I know him and his good work—was not a loyal follower of the truth, or that those who share with him the same view are not. I was simply taking up an argument which had been put into this meeting contending that if certain views are held we could not preach the gospel, and therefore we must not hold those views because they would hinder the preaching of the gospel. It was that particular application of the position I was dealing with. I did not at all intend to arraign my friend Mr. Lloyd.

Remarks by Rev. W. L. Walker, M.A., Glasgow

I feel in great sympathy with the paper from our esteemed brother, Mr. Slater, but he made a remark concerning the immanence of God "which was so well understood in India." Now, so far as my study of the question goes, it is just the lack of a right understanding of that great subject, the immanence of God, which is the great source of error and evil.

Remarks by Dr. R. F. Horton, London

Will you allow me to say one word? because I should deplore above everything that our first discussion in the Council on a missionary topic should lead to an apparent division of opinion, and even a little theological controversy. It may not be exactly in line with the paper that has been read, but I would like to say that in my opinion the hindrance to missionary enthusiasm at the present day is not theological, nor is it, as has been hinted, the prevalent worldliness or love of pleasure. The hindrance to missionary enthusiasm is simply ignorance—an extraordinary and incredible ignorance on the part of our churches, our membership, of the facts of the missionary work; and that directly that ignorance is removed the enthusiasm grows; that if a little trouble is taken to instruct the people in the facts of missionary work, a little enthusiasm immediately follows; if great trouble is taken to instruct them, great enthusiasm follows; if the instruction is systematic, careful and deliberate and effectual, you get in any Church a predominant enthusiasm for missions, whether the pastor is orthodox like my friend there, or heterodox like myself. I am the most heterodox man in this Council, and nobody has ever suffered so much for his heterodoxy as I have, but while I am the most heterodox man and am regarded with suspicion by the great bulk of religious people, my Church—the Church of the most heterodox man in England—is enthusiastically missionary. My Church gives to the foreign field twice as much as it gives to its own minister, and I am very glad it does. My Church supplies missionaries, though unhappily many of the missionaries that we have sent have fallen victims to the cruelty of the climate to which they have been sent. But the one point I would leave upon the Council this morning is this—if you teach your people carefully, if you keep them informed of the state of the missionary work, if you give them news from the front, if you take every opportunity of preaching and enforcing the missionary motive, not as a missionary sermon, but as part of your regular teaching, if you give missionary facts and illustrations and use these illustrations systematically in your preaching, then your church becomes missionary. They

never ask what you are sending out the missionaries to teach, they never ask whether the people are going to be lost if the Gospel is not sent them, they never ask whether your doctrine of atonement is correct; they are simply fired with the thought of a world that wants that which you possess. You should see, for example, the way the people are moved by the records of our missionaries if you tell them about the missionaries of to-day. I try to make my people know and love the missionaries of to-day. It is difficult to do it, for they are not all lovable. A great many missionaries undo the work when they come to speak to the people, they are so flat, so uninteresting, they do not seem to feel the fire that we feel at home. I try to apologise for them. I try to show how the climate has reduced their enthusiasm, and how the systematic suffering from congested liver always takes away religious enthusiasm, and I try to make the people feel that even if the missionaries are not all we want them to be and even if the . . .

[At this point the bell rang, warning the speaker that his time had expired, and Dr. Horton at once resumed his seat.]

Remarks by Rev. Hubert C. Herring, D.D.

I desire to give expression to a query and a longing which I think may be in some other hearts beside my own. I hear a great many missionaries express sentiments such as we have heard this morning. They know about the subject, I for the most part do not. I defer to their judgment. I believe they are right and yet they leave me with a feeling of uncertainty and perplexity which nothing that I have ever read seems materially to relieve. It is this, that while they affirm in such ample terms the value of the ethnic religions, they do not seem in a detailed way to furnish to us the evidences of the power for good, the actual results of righteousness, which those ethnic religions have produced. I must confess that for my own reading in such matters I should suppose, for instance, that Brahminism had been a curse to India; I should have grave doubts whether the introduction of Buddhism into Japan was to Japan's advantage; I should suppose that Mohammedanism, though it has power to raise heathen people a slight degree up the scale, is on the whole one of the meanest things on the planet.

These would be my naïve suppositions in the matter. I am quite ready to have them removed. I presume they can be removed, and I am desiring this, that my mind might be directed to those books or utterances which should definitely and clearly enable me to understand what are the differences between the present condition of Pagan nations and the condition which would have existed presumably at this time had they been without these religions which are alleged to be so closely akin to our own.

The Chairman asked the assembly to "unite in the discussion of this subject," by singing two verses of the hymn "Who is on the Lord's side?"

He then called on the Rev. E. C. Moore, D.D., of Cambridge, Massachusetts, Professor in the Hartford Divinity School, to speak on "The Effect of the Comparative Study of Religions on Christian Theology."

Address by Prof. Edward Caldwell Moore,
Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

THE EFFECT OF THE COMPARATIVE STUDY OF RELIGIONS UPON THEOLOGY

From the place given to this topic in our programme, I infer that the discussion was designed to have a practical bearing. A theology, a reasoned interpretation of Christian experience, those men certainly had, who, a little more than a hundred years ago, inaugurated the great movement of modern missions. A theology, an ordered reflection upon this greatest of themes, which shall stand in vital relation to our reflection upon all other themes, we too must have, if we are worthily to carry forward the work which they began.

Theirs was a theology largely uninfluenced by the comparison of religions. The materials for that comparison hardly then existed. The view of revelation which those men held and their view of the relation of theology to revelation, did not put them upon such comparison. Our theology on the other hand must be affected by the vast increase in our knowledge of the other faiths of men. It must be influenced by our altered view of the nature of that revelation which God has vouchsafed to us indeed, but also to other men.

Despite flashes of insight on the part of men like Lessing and Herder, Christian thinkers of even much less than a hundred years ago were not accustomed to view their own cherished revelation in Bible and Christ as having relation to other communications of God to man. They did not apprehend their own spiritual experience as part of the general spiritual experience of humanity. They had never in a large way, at all events, asked themselves the question concerning the origin of many things which passed current as Christian. They had never sought to define the inheritance and establish the affinities of the Christian religion itself. With all of their sense of the historical element in Christianity and their emphasis upon certain historical facts as essential to faith, they seem never to have realized the necessary relativity of any thing which is historical.

But theology they had, those pioneers of the movement which in a single century has issued in the dissemination of Christianity in practically every considerable region of the world. A theology those others have had who, from the beginning of the movement to our own time, have gone among men of alien races and won these in such numbers to the faith of Jesus. By it they satisfied their own intellectual necessities. Through it they expressed themselves to nations which already had an ancient and august reflection of their own upon the problem of man's life and destiny. With it they have in amazing degree displaced in the minds of their converts the religious views of the universe which were germane to the ancestral faith of these converts.

Religion cannot rightly exist among thoughtful men without bringing forth as one of its inevitable products a theology, which is nothing more nor less than the reaction of the intellectual life upon the spiritual experience, the interpretation of that deepest of all experiences in the terms of our most vivid and responsible intellectual life. Least of all do men give themselves to heroic deeds except upon the basis of assured conviction.

Our own theology, as we said, cannot remain unaffected by the great modern movements of thought in the midst of which we are. No more can we expect converts in Christian communities which now, in some lands of the East, are in the third or even in the fourth generation of the Christian experience, to participate in all the educational, political, commercial and social movements of our time, to feel all those impulses which are coming in upon the Orient like a flood, and still to look upon Christianity in the same simple manner in which they too almost surely once did view it.

It is impossible for them, too, with the knowledge of the world which they now have, to view their Christianity as presenting an absolute contrast to the other faiths, all the light and good being on its side, only darkness and evil in the faiths from which the happy adherents of Christianity have been rescued and under which vast numbers of their kindred still live. To these men the other faiths—Buddhism, Shintoism, Confucianism, Taoism, Brahminism and the rest, are not abstractions. They are not theoretical magnitudes academically to be dealt with. They are concrete realities, ever open possibilities. They are faiths which still command the allegiance of millions and might conceivably command the allegiance of the convert again, were the grounds of an adherence to Christianity which often costs him pain and sacrifice, to come to seem inadequate. Those faiths can never by any possibility be expected to yield to Christianity except as Christianity shall really make good its claims, and, as an interpretation of the mystery of being, satisfy the mind and conscience of these men as the other faiths do not satisfy.

The intercourse of nations, one with another, being what it is to-day, it is impossible that the thoughtful among the Hindoos or the Japanese should not know to what conclusions the study of Hebrew antiquity, of Semitic history, of Christian origins, of the Hellenizing and again of the Romanizing and the Teutonizing, which Christianity has suffered, is leading scholars in our midst. It is impossible that the effect of Biblical criticism and of the study of the history of dogma upon the way in which we hold our faith, should not be known to them. It is impossible that the prevailing drift to monism in philosophy, to evolutionism in science, should not be felt by these men in the East greatly to have modified the conceptions which Christians here in the West now hold concerning the relation of God and man, of God and nature, of man and nature, the whole theory of creation, revelation, providence and prayer, of miracles, of the natural and supernatural, of the temporal and the eternal, of the immanent and the transcendent. It is impossible that these men should not know how widely the formulation of the Christian faith, and the philosophy of the universe which it implies, differs among us from that formulation which lay in the minds of the first earnest Christian missionaries, to whom their lands, one and all, owe so much. It is impossible for them not to see that the formulation which would now seem natural to the cultivated Christian man has more points of contact with the oriental faiths, or, at least, with some aspects of these, than had the pronounced occidental statements of Christian faith which the earlier missionaries inherited, and, all unconsciously, put forth as identical with Christianity.

Not only is it impossible that the oriental man should not know this. It is salutary that he should know it and bear reckoning with it, and compel us to bear reckoning with it. Or, to put it more nobly, it is infinitely significant, it is exalting to our missionary task, that we

should ourselves, without constraint and with enthusiasm, see the problem in this light. We must resolve that we will do our work in a manner that comports with the best intellectual impulses of our time and that will insure that the Christianity for which we labour shall, abroad as well as at home, have its place in the best life of our age.

Perhaps the greatest of all the changes which have come to us, in some measure at least through the comparative study of religions, is the change which has been consistently implied in all that I have said in the conception of theology itself. Time was when theology would have been defined as the science of revealed truth. It was the systematizing of that knowledge which came to men, not as other knowledge comes, through the observation of man and nature, but through the direct imparting of the thoughts of God. Revelation was a third source of knowledge, supplementary to those other two. Those other knowledges were built up, so to say, from earth. This came down from heaven. Naturally, therefore, it took precedence of those other knowledges of men. The views even of the phenomena of nature or of the history of man, the thoughts concerning God, thus certified in documents of revelation, were God's thoughts. Creeds were the ordered statements of those views. Theology was the system of reflection resting upon those views.

It was the new theory of knowledge regnant among us more and more since Kant, which first opened our eyes to the fact that revelation is not in this sense a third source of knowledge. Whatever God may have communicated to man was certainly taken up into that man within whose soul God spoke. It was given forth again by that man according to the natural laws of mind and spiritual life. It was of immense significance for theology when it was perceived that what God gave in revelation was not information, not even information about himself. What God gave *was himself*. That which we have even in Jesus is not opinion, not even opinion of Jesus concerning things divine. It is Jesus' experience of the divine. What we have is the Deity himself residing in that man, making himself known to and through the soul of that one greater man, in transcendent fulness, to be sure, but in the same manner in which God has made himself known in and through the souls of other men. What God was to Jesus, that Jesus spoke forth and acted out, that he incarnated in his life, incorporated in his suffering and death, as a true man of his own time and place, in his own setting in the world, in his own vocation to God's service, might.

And that which was true of Jesus was only the more true of the Apostles and Evangelists, the seers and saints to whom also in their measure God's revelation came, and through whom the fragments of biography, the letters, poems, histories, which constitute our documents of revelation arose. They convey God to us, as, in our own experience, we brood over Christ's experience, and the experience of Christ's men. But they do not convey to us doctrines concerning God in the oracular and authoritative sense and in the detached and isolating way, we once supposed. Their teachings are not to be separated from all the rest, as if these teachers furnished the pure materials, and the theologians, for better or for worse, have done the rest. The Scriptures themselves theologize. Christ himself uttered his sublime spiritual intuition in phrases which are composite of the pure religion in which his soul lived and of Messianic expectation and apocalyptic vision, current notions as to nature, man and history. Even Christ's own words—if we had them—would be found to be but an amalgam of the divine

consciousness with human elements, conditioned and conditioning, such as are never lacking from any thing which has real place in human history at all.

A generation ago, some among us were willing to sacrifice the creeds and famous systems—those of Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin and the rest. It was acknowledged that to dogmas no longer appertained the kind of outward authoritativeness which was once ascribed to them. Men took refuge in what they called Biblical theology. They heaped contumely upon the theologians. It had long been the fashion to do this among those who took little interest in religion. It became the fashion thus to do among those also who took great interest in religion. Was not one of the new leaders among theologians also crying anathema upon speculation and down with dogma? And did he not write a stout volume to prove that Christ and the Apostles were the first members of the Ritschlian school of theology? But Ritschl brought some confusion to his followers by turning out himself to be a speculative thinker and not a better one by reason of the fact that he spent so much of his time in anathematizing metaphysics, when he might have been better employed in scrutinizing the metaphysics in which he himself, like all other men, was inevitably involved. Meantime, in that still resistless way which the great principles of an age have of moving to a conclusion, it has been brought home to us that what was then meant by Biblical theology was the last stand of a lost cause. It was the last stand, namely, of the effort to find anywhere the outward and verbal authoritativeness of a revelation which had been no real part of human history, which had in some ways supervened upon humanity, but had never actually passed into and through our true humanity, which had never undergone a real incarnation with all of the limitation and alike with all the power and glory which that implies. It became evident that not only, as Baur and Hampden and Harnack had taught us, did the Fathers and the Scholastics and the Reformers domesticate, nationalize, naturalize the ethical and spiritual impulse which was Christianity, within the areas of life and thought to which they severally belonged, but the Apostles and Evangelists and Christ had done no less. The dividing line which men still thought to establish did not exist.

Out of the momentary sense of loss which possibly we had, when first we perceived this, there has come a great and clear sense of gain in the unity and coherence of the view of the nature and of the origin and progress of the Christian faith which has emerged.

If it be true that the Jesus to whom God vouchsafed such an imparting of himself, such vision of the meaning of man and life, such sense of duty, such joy in service and sacrifice, as never came to any other—if even he uttered the deep things in him as a true child of his time might, as a man of his own race must, in the antitheses which were actual and in the manner that the conditions, intellectual and other, of the life of his generation imposed—have we lost anything? Have we not rather made an immeasurable gain? If he thus interpretated his incomparable intuition in terms of the life of his own race and time, what have the thinkers and theologians, who drew their inspiration from him in all ages, what have these done more? And is there a greater task to which we can set ourselves in our own age, than again to take up the supreme endeavour which, in the nature of it, never can be finished, the endeavour to interpret the experience of God which Jesus had and which in our measure he commended to us, in

such terms as the men of our time also shall understand and profit by, to frame it into a theology which shall hold and move the life of our time as real theologies have never failed to hold and move the life of the age to which they belonged, but as all theologies, no matter how august, must fail to move the life of generations to which they have ceased to belong?

Perhaps the second great effect of the study of the history of religions in our time has been its effect upon the conception of the absoluteness of the Christian religion. For this idea, too, has had great significance for Christian theology. With the view of theology which I have given above, we shall come, I think, instinctively to view it as affording in its long course and wide variations numberless interesting and suggestive parallels to the theologies which thoughtful men have elaborated under other faiths than that which claims the allegiance of our souls.

When the last Master of Balliol wrote a book upon the Evolution of Theology in the Greek Philosophers he made indeed a contribution to our knowledge of the deepest aspect of the thinking of the men in whose hands the religion of the Hellenic race had been purged of its polytheism, purified of its immoralities, and lifted into a realm in which it offered no unworthy parallel to the religion of the Semites, as this also was, by the prophets, cleansed of its idolatry and particularism and made the forerunner of the worship in spirit and truth, which is shown us in Christ. But, because of the peculiar relation of Platonism to Christian thought, as this was later developed in the basin of the Mediterranean, he has furnished us also with unique material for the understanding of traditional Christianity as well.

No one can study the poetry of early Buddhism, or learn even a little of Chinese Buddhism as it is taught to-day, without realizing how many of the great problems of man's life are here thought out, from a new centre, indeed, and upon what seem to us strange assumptions, but in ways which show that there are after all only a few possible combinations of the great spiritual facts and intellectual principles. No one can study the history of sects and heresies among the Mohammedans without seeing how almost every great train of thought with which we are familiar in the history of the divisions of the Christian church, has led to some similar schism among the followers of the Prophet. The resemblances are often so striking that we seem to have met only under some new Arab name and in some out-of-the-way place in the Moslem world, the very same fact and force which has conditioned, in one way or another, our own theological inheritance in Europe and America to-day.

And when we remember how absolute the Mohammedan believes his own religion to be, how exclusive is the claim he makes for it, how all other faiths of men appear to him but vanity and falsehood compared with it, we are reminded of the way in which Christian men and women, too, have been accustomed to view their own faith as absolute and exclusive, as the one means of the communicating of God to man, the one way of the approach of man to God. Every great faith of men, especially in its creative period, has had this sublime consciousness of itself as absolute, has viewed its own truth as exclusively the truth, its own as the sole way. And it is sometimes cynically put as if these claims of absoluteness on the part of different religions were mutually destructive, as if the fact that all claim this quality proved that none possess it.

But if, as Troeltsch has shown, what is really at the basis of this claim of believers, each for the absoluteness of his own faith, is the true sense of the believer that through his faith he has hold on God, the absolute, and through it God, the absolute, has saving hold on him—then men have not been wrong in the spiritual content of this claim, but only in the form of it.

The ancient form of apologetic remained current until the end of the eighteenth century. Within the religious sphere, what was not Christian truth was viewed as human error. The Christian truth was certified by the miracle of its origin and by the miraculous manner of its working in the souls of men, to be divine and authoritative. The Christian facts and the Christian dogma seemed thus to stand in the midst of history, but not to have place in the continuity of history. But it is clear that we cannot concede that kind of isolation of Christianity from the rest of the course of human thought and action, and yet maintain any sense in which Christianity was historical at all.

So men came to lay emphasis, not upon the manner of the entrance of their religion into the world, but rather upon the matter of the religion. They sought to review the whole history of the religion of mankind and to gather up those fragments of truth which have anywhere been manifest, those forces for good which anywhere have made themselves felt. They regarded these as constituting in their progress and in their sum a revelation of the truth of God to man. But they viewed Christianity as completing and interpreting all these, as itself the final realization of the conception which had underlain them. While in all of these there inheres still much of imperfection, while in these is no finality, in Christ and Christianity, this soul of religion is fully and finally manifested to the world. It was Schleiermacher, I believe, who first wrought out this thought in its completeness. It has been widely current in one form or another in our day.

I have not time to show that this form of the contention for the absoluteness of Christianity is hardly more tenable than that other. Suffice it to say, that the inevitable inference from the claim of the infinite nature of the concept of religion and Christianity is that its absolute realization is to be found only in the whole series of manifestations. The historic realization of an infinite idea could be predicated only at the end of history. We must look only for its characteristic quality at the beginning of the history of Christianity. What we have in Christianity is not the quantitative realization of the aim of all religion, but the perfect indication of its spirit and of the direction in which that realization is to proceed.

When it is claimed that Christianity also is an individual manifestation within the general context of the religious experience of men, an individual example of the movement of the Spirit of God upon and among men, therewith is by no means precluded that these individual exemplifications, particularly the higher and more permanent ones, have a few great common elements in respect of which they can be brought into most searching comparison. And the great comparison of religions is the working judgment of the world. Most of all is this true in our modern world, where the barriers of races are so largely broken down, and the comparison of the ethical and spiritual effectiveness of religions is so much more easy and so much more sure.

Nothing in the conception of the relativity of all historical religions, including Christianity, for one moment suggests that the productivity of the future in revolutionary principles of religion is likely to be

startling. It is not a flattering reflection, but it is at least reassuring in the connection in which we are arguing, that ages like our own, most competent to criticize religions already made, seem not to be in the least danger of making new ones, which shall be above the level of flat, stale, bizarre and ludicrous combinations of principles which have been long operative among those who have had any idea what religion is. The great religious differentiations are but few and all of them have been long and deeply reflected upon. The actual majestic figures are not hard to single out, who in might of one or another of these few creative religious impulses have dominated races, moulded ages and divided among them the allegiance of overwhelming majorities of all those who ever rose above the level of mere savagery. Nor can the judgment among them always remain a suspended one. Nothing hinders us from believing that those common aims and purposes which are really essential are so drawn together into one religion, that that one, without being for a moment taken out of its relativity, may yet be the highest, the best, the purest, the most potent of the faiths current among men. There is nothing in such relativity as I have described to prevent our believing that it will be proved that Christ is thus the life and light of men.

As a man ponders upon what is unique and constitutive in Christianity, as he comes under the power of the personality of Jesus, he will feel that here is a revelation which in principle would seem to be for ever involved in any development which we can forecast for all the spiritual life of man. In this sense of a few fundamental principles of universal bearing and in the perfect combination and adjustment of these principles, there would seem to be a finality about the Christian religion such that, however the religion of the future may shape itself, what Jesus of Nazareth said and did and was will be the controlling force, the guiding light of that development.

Finally, let me return to the relation of our matter to Christian missions, which was the point from which we set out. Let me seek to forecast an effect of the other religions upon Christian theology which it seems to me we must anticipate.

I am convinced that the whole future of the Christian cause in those great lands of the East depends upon a naturalizing and nationalizing of Christianity in the minds and lives of the people of the Orient, the extent and thoroughness of which we are only just beginning to imagine. There must be an interpretation of Christianity in the light of the thinking of the Orient before Christianity can have that secured position and that conquering power in the Orient for which we pray. Christianity cannot continue to be the occidental thing that the Christianity which has mainly inspired modern missions has been, if it is to win and hold the oriental world. It must itself be orientalized again. For after all, Christianity is an oriental faith. It but comes to its own when it returns to the East again.

If ever we have doubts about the movement to which we seem to be committed, if ever we question the ability of Christianity to adapt itself to new and strange conditions, its capacity to transform nations and incidentally itself to undergo the most radical transformation, that must be because we have forgotten how great transformations Christianity has already undergone in its march from one region to another people. It must be because we are not aware how alien to its Jewish, to its Hellenic or its Roman self it has in time become in order that it may be to us Teutons and Saxons what

it is. We forget how recent are many forms of thought which we call ancient, and how much of what we perhaps esteem essentially Christian, is not Christian at all.

No aspect of church history is at the present moment claiming more attention of scholars than is this of the survivals in Christianity of forms of thought, feeling, action, from earlier faiths which in their fusion with Christianity have thus not wholly disappeared. No study is more interesting or instructive than that of the deposit in the types of Christianity successively current from the media in which it had to work.

Christianity was primarily a religious revival within Judaism. And did not the earlier disciples of Jesus, having received still as Jews from him, a Jew, the precious experience of truth and grace as these were in him—did they not, I say, assume that all others must receive that experience with the same appendages and in the same way? Was not that the meaning of the great struggle between them and Paul?

But are not we, being western men, are we not Christians, in the sense of our own real experience, because Paul and men like him insisted that the Gospel in going to the West should leave what was eastern and Semitic behind it, that it should become Greek to the Greeks, Roman in Rome, African to Carthaginians, Gallic to Gauls, Teutonic at last to our own ancestors, all things to all men if by all means it might save some? It has not merely been clothed with the garments of new times and places, but it has been fed with the food, vitalized with the rich blood of new races. It was domesticated, naturalized, nationalized, transmitted from father to son, as part of the mystery of the transmission of life. All futile, impertinent and unpardonable obstacles were to be left behind. The inward spirit of it was to be so merged with new traits as to be no longer identical with its old self in any sense save this, that that which blessed some men in Galilee under the terms inviolable, human and therefore divine, of real experience which Galileans naturally had, now blessed Spaniards, Frisians, Danes, Picts, Scots and Angles, under the terms upon which these, too, could have real experience of their own, and so be blessed.

Nothing is needed but that we should have the courage to read the lesson the other way about. We should have so great a faith as to realize that although we cannot set ourselves outside of our own skins any more than could Paul outside of his rabbinism, though we personally cannot shed our occidentalisms when we cross the Hellespont trending eastward any more than could Paul his orientalism when he crossed it facing west, yet we fully anticipate that the faith we bear will leave utterly behind it many of the forms, so dear to us, in which we bear it. It will not become a mere imitation, but the life of men who live. It will transform them, indeed, but exactly in that measure it will be itself transformed into a likeness past all our forecasting.

We cannot go to the Orient as other than the western men we are. We understand the Gospel as we do in the wake of an immemorial inheritance. It is ours to speak it as we understand. Not in one lifetime, nor in nine, if so many should be given us, should we surely see things as the Chinese man does, who not only has not our inheritance but who has one vivid and immemorial of his own. Least of all need we join the ranks of those who deem that nothing can be done until we arrive at a statement of the essence of Christianity.

You might as well tell me to transmit nothing but the pure spirit of learning to my pupil. I cannot do that. I can only with joy impart to him such fragments of learning as I have, and hope that he may catch something of the spirit of learning which will make him living and life-giving in the field of scholarship and cause his achievements to be better and greater than my own have been. You might as well tell me not to transmit my poor life to the boy of whom I am the father but just to transmit life. I can but transmit to him something of my life. But my faith is, that that which in the mystery of the transmission of life came from me sadly imperfect, will, by the power of God, be no longer mine but his, and that he will make out of the life what I have never made.

There is therefore something sublime in the faith of a missionary as he goes among men and takes in simple courage and good cheer the belief which he has, the character which he is, the spirit which Christ has enabled him to show, and yet trusts that God will make all but the true life of his religion to rot as the mere body of it, but will yet also make that life to prevail among his fellows over whom he yearns, and in them and in the world to have what body God shall please.

I have never been greatly impressed with the arguments which have thus far been offered to prove the debt of Christianity as current among us to Buddhism in time long past. But that the Christianity which in the future is to prevail in India or Japan will have been to some extent influenced by Buddhism I cannot doubt. I profess my entire inability to imagine a Chinese Christianity which will not have been profoundly influenced by Confucianism, much as the Christianity common among us was in its formative stages profoundly influenced by Plato, who was as much the teacher of the whole western world as Confucius has been of the Chinese.

Nor can I doubt that that interpretation of our faith become theirs, which these Eastern Christians will work out, will be of profound interest and significance for us in the West as well. If Christianity is for all men, no less are all men and all the treasures of mankind, particularly the treasures of their faith, for Christianity. The oriental world, even when it shall have become thoroughly permeated with Christianity will be still the oriental world. The Orient will never become Christian in the sense of the transfer of what we think and feel, precisely as we think and feel it, to the Orient. The quality of races which God has for ages been making for himself will surely assert itself. What of our Christian teaching is only superficial will be thrown off. What is made their own by these peoples will be made their own so truly upon their terms, that our faith will some day confront us in a different, and why should we not say in a better and more universal light? The statement of faith which shall be final will be one in which, on the basis of the truth of God in Christ, the whole world of men shall have had a share.

The Chairman invited discussion on the paper.

REMARKS BY REV. GEORGE H. GORDON, D.D., BOSTON

I should like to say, first of all, from the American point of view, how deeply and truly Professor Moore has represented our attitude toward the foreign missionary problem. I speak as the minister of one of the

greatest of our foreign missionary churches which considers that it has not done its duty unless it gives two or three thousand pounds every year to this cause. This is no academic question with us, the question of religion and theology. If one has been in one pulpit as I have been for nearly twenty-five years and finds it incumbent upon him to raise up a new generation of givers to this cause, that task has become impossible upon the ancient bases and with the ancient appeal. It has become so because there has been a re-flowing wave for the missionary endeavour out of the world-book of enlightenment spreading through the supporting churches condemning their ancient bases for this endeavour and calling upon them to have worthier motives and vaster conceptions, that the work may go on. The greatest theological impulse among us has come back from the foreign missionary field and has lifted our thinking to something nearly the level of the spirit, the motive, the scope, and the power of the foreign missionary enterprise. I should like to say in answer to my friend here who doubted the existence of good things in the religions of the world, that travellers in New York, in Boston, in London and in Edinburgh are told to lock their rooms when they are in their hotels. Travellers in Cairo do no such thing. Professor Corney of Hartford College, now represented by Professor Moore, travelling thirty-seven years ago in Egypt, was starting for the Nile, and his wife had a costly robe which she wound round her. When the heat of the day came she asked the dragoman what to do with it. "Roll it up and lay it in the sand and find it when we come back," was the reply. "But will it not be stolen?" she asked. "Oh, no, madam, there isn't a Christian within fifty miles." Any man who has walked up the pyramids and seen the Mohammedan in prayer has seen something greater than the pyramids and has felt like bowing his head with that same suppliant in acknowledgment of the one absolute sovereign God of the race.

Remarks by Mr. R. J. Bennett, LL.D., Chicago

As a layman I wish to say a few words on this subject. I have walked up the pyramids and over them for that matter, and have seen the Mohammedan at his prayers and I have seen, too, how the Mohammedan rules out of his prayers the female part of his humanity. And I have been in the Hawiian Islands, where the missionaries wrought so well, and there in a country with a rainfall more than you have in Scotland, with unlocked houses they can leave their umbrellas, their silk hats, their rain-coats on the verandah all night and nobody takes them, and there are thousands of Christians close by.

Remarks by Mr. Andrew Campbell, Detroit

It was worth while coming here, Sir, to hear that last paper. There is a penetrative insight into the real problem, expressed in the best of English. We have sometimes heard it said that the greatest intellect the world has ever seen was that of Aristotle. But I think that the German Hegel goes beyond that, because he had in his thought the essence of the Christian thought, which Aristotle never had. One great trouble with us human beings is that we try to conform the truth to the understanding. But the natural man knows not the things of the spirit, nor can he know them because they are spiritually discerned.

If a man has not got the spirit of discernment he never can reach these things by means of the understanding. Our great scientist, Huxley, along the line of scientific thought was honest enough to say that in that line he could not find God, and wrote himself down an agnostic. There is no nation that has ever had such a grip upon this earth as the English-speaking people. They have the truth of the understanding more perfect, perhaps, than any other class of people, but they do sadly lack in spiritual discernment. One of your brightest and best thinkers, the late Thomas Hill Green, in a sermon on faith which I should advise you all to read, after he had given the reason of the faith within him made this wonderful admission: "After all," he said, "those who deny need to have a stronger faith than we have," and we must admit it. And after you have gone to the highest reach of the Hegelian thought you come right out to the same point where the simplest believer can have the same faith.

Remarks by Rev. W. W. Ranney, Hartford

I hope the Council understands that this delightful paper is by one who is not only a scholar and a student but who is the chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, and who has himself spent many months in patient investigation and sympathetic investigation of the work of our missionaries on the field. He speaks to us not as a theorist but as one who has seen, and who has seen with love. It is my only claim for rising to speak here that I also have seen a little, so little that the first impression was exactly that which prompted Dr. Herring's question, so little that on the first view of other religions than Christianity the shock was to great as to make me feel that my previously held liberal theories of the ethnic religions were all ridiculous. The degradation, the shame, of so large a part of the non-Christian religions of the world is a terrible shock to one who sees them for the first time, in spite of our admiration of the sincerity of the Mohammedan and many other similar religions. But it was a most impressive thing to me to find that missionaries who had been longest on the field, in deep sympathy with these people and their faiths, to find them again and again the best interpreters of those faiths to the priests of those faiths, telling them what underlay the symbols and forms through which they were going, to tell them the spiritual meanings that were there, and calling them through those forgotten beliefs to the worship of the one true God. My admiration for the missionary increased as I saw him at his work. It increased and deepened manifold when I lived in his home by the week and saw how he lived among his people and loved them into Christ. One of them, who often for weeks at a time saw no one with a white face outside his own family, said to me when I expressed sympathy for him, "Ranney, I would not change places with any man living." We have no reason to make any apologies for our missionaries. Many of them are wondrously eloquent in their speech, everyone of them is more wondrously eloquent still in his life.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, London

I rise simply, as no English voice has yet been heard, to express our thanks to Professor Moore, and to express the great regret I have that more time is not available for discussing the two great papers we have

had this morning. The paper of my friend Mr. Slater, who for many years has been a worker among the educated Hindoos, and has made the whole question of the relation of Christianity to Hinduism a special study, was one that needed very careful talking about. The paper of Professor Moore touches the deep things of our Christian relation to the world. He has brought us to the highest point, I think, we have yet had in these meetings. We have been really all through discussing Christianity from the ethical point of view, its relation to ourselves. Our friend has lifted us up out of that into the world-wide aspects of Christianity and Christians' right to rule in the world, and has done it in a fashion which, I think, some of us will never forget. My desire is simply to thank him on behalf of those here who, like myself, will long be grateful.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Amory Bradford, Montclair, New Jersey

I have only a moment that I wish to occupy in thanking the speakers of this morning. But I wish to pay another debt. All of us who have had the privilege of reading the masterly address from the chair of the Congregational Union of Dr. Wardlaw Thompson, are under a very great debt of gratitude to him. That paper would have been revolutionary in the United States if it could have been given twenty-five years ago. I want in the next place to call your attention to two of the obstacles in the way of the missionary. The first obstacle, of course, is the globe-trotter, the man who goes round the world and stops at the hotels and never once visits the missionary or sees his work, and knows nothing about missions except what he is told in the hotels. The next thing is the very remarkable and suggestive fact that the missionaries from India and other parts of the East are having quite as many hearers among the intelligent classes in our country as our missionaries are having in their country. It is a very significant fact that in the vicinity of Harvard University there are, or there were, many Swamis constantly preaching their gospel. The result is that our churches are being undermined in their faith in missions. One other word—we are asked whether there is anything good in the ethnic religions. I see before me this morning some of those whom I had the privilege of visiting in Japan, and I remember well the story of a Christian experience which was given to me by a Buddhist, a most beautiful experience, and I would have changed only just two words, and instead of the phrase Amana Buddha I would have substituted Jesus Christ. One thing I had forgotten. We have as a member of this Council the Rev. D. Ebina, of Japan. He has given us a very admirable address. The last time I was permitted to call on Mr. Ebina was at his home in Japan. I found him seated on the floor in Japanese fashion with a great pile of books round him, and close by his side was Dorner's great work on "The Person of Christ," in the original. I said to him, "Mr. Ebina, do you read this?" and his reply was, "I have read it through four times, and am beginning to read it again." I wonder how many of us could say the same.

The Chairman then gave out the hymn "Take my life, and let it be consecrated, Lord, to thee," and then after it had been sung, called on the Rev. Justin E. Abbott, D.D., of Bombay, to speak on "The Attitude of the Missionary to Native Beliefs and Customs."

Address by Rev. Justin E. Abbott, D.D.

THE ATTITUDE OF THE MISSIONARY TO NATIVE BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS

"*I am not come to destroy but to fulfil.*"—Matt. 5 : 17.

The attitude of a missionary towards native beliefs and customs is determined by the value he places on his *own* beliefs and customs, as well as the value he places on those of the people among whom he lives.

There have been, and doubtless still are, those who see in every human being who has not accepted Christ, as they accept and interpret him, a lost soul, doomed to everlasting punishment, and outside the love of God. To save souls from this awful doom is their motive, and their attitude to native beliefs and customs is necessarily determined by this point of view. To such, the condemnation of their philosophies, their worship, their customs, seems the righteous attitude. Sympathy with them seems an unholy compromise with evil.

At the opposite pole is the missionary who sees in the non-Christian, not a lost soul, but one already a son of God, with possibilities however of a far fuller realization of that sonship, and all that the idea of sonship involves. He includes him in God's love, as he includes himself. He can see no one outside of that love. His conception of his errand is that of making known to the non-Christian world the best and noblest ideals he may be possessed of, that these *ideals*, which are a part of his spiritual heritage, may enter as elements into their spiritual heritage, thus bringing it to a higher and nobler level.

Such a missionary looks with a feeling of reverence on all the religious beliefs and customs of the non-Christian world, even though these beliefs and customs may be associated with serious errors, since they are the Providential preparation for the still higher ideals which he believes he possesses, and which he feels impelled to pass on.

Of these two extreme types of missionary and missionary motive the first prevailed at the beginning of the modern era of missionary activity. The style of preaching was polemic. The early missionary literature for the people of the East was framed in a spirit of destructive criticism, directed against their philosophic and religious beliefs, their ancient sacred literature, and their cherished traditional customs.

The polemic type of missionary still exists, but the type sympathetic towards their spiritual heritage,—because it *is* their spiritual heritage,—is undoubtedly the growing type, and the style of his preaching and the tone of the literature he produces, partakes more and more of this sympathetic spirit.

Two great principles should, I believe, guide the missionary in his general attitude towards native beliefs and customs.

The *first* is that of sympathy in the spirit of Christian courtesy and love.

The *second* is that whatever those beliefs and customs are, they are to be regarded as their Providential heritage.

Let us consider for a moment this first principle of sympathy.

In the process of divine revelation of truth to *ourselves*, we have come to see that differences of religious beliefs and customs need not, and should not, produce in us any other attitude than that of sympathy

towards what by inheritance the non-Christian world cherishes as sacred, and as its God-given revelation of truth. They may seem to us false in part, they may contain elements that are superstitious, they may shock us by features that seem to our minds immoral, but even so the only right attitude to those who hold them in *sincerity*, and,—in virtue of that sincerity,—the only right attitude to the beliefs and customs themselves is the sympathetic one, for we are dealing not with *abstract* truths or errors, but with *concrete* beliefs and customs, as their Providential, spiritual heritage, sacred and dear to their hearts. It is not the value *we* place on those beliefs and customs that should determine our attitude, but the value *they* place upon them.

This last point I would especially emphasize. When dealing with that which touches the sensibilities of others, the only attitude consistent with Christian courtesy and Christian love, is respect for those sensibilities. To wound religious feelings by a manner that shows contempt for their religious inheritance, or which offensively emphasizes our own superior knowledge, is to proclaim our unfitness to be messengers of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

But if the missionary remembers his own Master's principle, that he came not to destroy but to fulfil, he will not find it so difficult to adapt the method of his message to its great purpose, so as not to give offence. That purpose, as we have seen, is to bring all men to a clearer realization of the great Father's love, and their sonship; to lay before them the highest ideals of that sonship, and if possible by kindly, sympathetic personal contact lead them in the path worthy of a son.

His special sphere is not that of teacher of Philosophy, nor that of Social Reformer. His sphere is the *heart*, to teach it how to come into tune with the great heart of God.

His errand is thus a threefold one, to be a *revealer* of the Father's love, a teacher of the ideals of sonship, and an inspirer to a life in which a son of God should walk. The missionary who seeks to fulfil this errand will instinctively discover the path that brings men nearer himself and his message, and he will shrink from those methods of speech or pen that antagonize, and close the heart to his effort to impress them with higher ideals.

We come now to the second great principle, namely, that whatever men's religious beliefs and customs may be, they are to be regarded as their spiritual heritage. These religious beliefs and customs represent the religious development through which they have passed under the guidance of the same Spirit of God as ourselves. If we have arrived at a greater light, that is no reason for despising the lesser light, rather should a higher achievement make us gentler and more sympathetic with those who have to contend with a greater darkness.

We must not imagine that the Christian world has had a monopoly of God's love, nor the monopoly of his guidance in history, and in the development of religious thought and life. Equally are we all under the same Spirit of God and the same spiritual laws.

We have not to go very far back in time when we, as Anglo-Saxons, were far behind in spiritual knowledge some of those nations to whom we now send missionaries to teach a higher faith, There may come a time when we shall be far behind them again in spiritual light. These differences in spiritual light do not mark differences in God's love, nor in the laws by which spiritual enlightenment is attained. The difference lies in the varying degree of man's reception of light, given alike to

all men by the loving Father of all, through the same Spirit who guides into truth.

Before proceeding further with our subject it is but fair to recognize the difficulties that even the most sympathetic missionary must feel when dealing practically with what seems to him false and harmful to the moral and spiritual life. Errors seem so evident that he is puzzled between a sense of loyalty to truth, calling on him to denounce error, and his better judgment to let the ideals of his message be the power to drive away the wrong.

There are forms of philosophic thought, and religious and social customs, that while they do not teach or directly sanction what is immoral, yet naturally lead to wrong points of view, to superstition and the degradation of life. Others there are that have a religious sanction, but are on their very face grossly immoral. The missionary feels impelled to declare the "whole counsel of God" as he understands it, to correct their philosophic thought as well as their forms of worship and social life. He may feel he is unfaithful to his office if he does not sound the trumpet of warning, even at the risk of arousing their antagonism. These are very real perplexities, and it may always be difficult to know where to draw the line between a right and a wrong denunciation of error. But when the right view is taken of God and his relation to mankind, it should not be so difficult for us to find a way by which one can be both loyal to truth, and consistent with the finest instincts of Christian courtesy and love.

A right view of God leads to a right view of man; a wrong view of God leads to a wrong view of man. So long as the Hebrew thought of Jehovah as his national god, so long he saw little good in the Gentile world. The Christian world also, with strange narrowness, has thought of itself as under God's special light and love. As though God has cared more for a white skin than a black. How by our ignorance and pride we have vailed his great heart of love, when we have thought ourselves his chosen people, and the heathen abandoned by him to the realms of darkness. Looking back on our own history, so deeply convinced have we been at times, that God has especially revealed his truth to us, that we have not hesitated to persecute one another and to burn one another at the stake. We have driven godly men out of the ministry because they differed from us in doctrine. We have thought that to hunt a heretic was a noble service to God. To maintain the truths of doctrines we have in the course of our history violated all the laws of love and human sympathy, forgetting that by so doing we have more surely denied Christ than by any other form of denial. The thought that God has revealed his truths to us only, as a chosen people, and that all who are outside the Christian Church are outside God's special care and love, and without any revelation of himself, is one of those fundamental errors that has been a curse to the Christian church.

Happily, we are now coming to a clearer view of what God's love means. Not one nation, but all mankind is his chosen people. The Father's heart beats as truly for the black savage as for the white man in the most favoured land of light and learning. He whom we have in the past scorned as a heathen, we now know to be a child of God, loved by the Father, taught by his Spirit, an for whom the doors of heaven are as wide open as for him who goes to him to acquaint him with his divine sonship. His sacred books, his traditions of religious thought and worship, his ideas of God, his conceptions of morality, all

these are the revelation to which he has attained, under the same guidance of the same Spirit of God as ourselves. Is the revelation of God to which the non-Christian world has attained yet dim and incomplete? So is ours. How far short we yet are from knowing the full glory of God!

As, therefore, we handle our revelation with reverence, so are we learning to think with the same reverence of the light of revelation to which they have attained. We are lead to search for, and rejoice over every truth which they cherish as theirs. We have now no thought of destroying their spiritual inheritance, but taking it as it is, and seeking, by combination with ideals revealed to us, to lead to a higher development on the basis of the old. We have learned to say with Christ, "We have not come to destroy, but to fulfil."

The above considerations prepare us now to consider in a more practical form the attitude of a missionary to *particular* beliefs and customs that are cherished as sacred, and thus deeply touch their sensibilities. It is evident that the missionary is on an entirely wrong path when he spends his energies in denouncing or ridiculing the *philosophies* on which the people base their religious life. To do so may be a method of revealing the missionary's wisdom (or ignorance), but not the method of revealing God's love, or the beauty and holiness of his character. To deal thus with their sacred inheritance is to arouse, and justly so, a spirit of antagonism. A missionary has wasted his opportunity when he has stirred their minds to anger, instead of drawn them by words in which they read love and sympathy. I have heard missionaries condemn Hinduism in the wholesale as false, and praise Christianity as the only true religion. Is there any wonder that when their spiritual heritage is thus indiscriminately attacked, their minds rise in righteous indignation against the unrighteous assault. Think what this sweeping charge of falsity conveys to their minds. It means to them not only that all they have received from their fathers is false, but all the dictates of conscience and reason, their most sacred feelings, their deepest emotions. That their feelings leap into indignation when thus attacked is to their credit. They are defending the image of God in their hearts, placed there by the Spirit of God.

The principle, then, that the missionary, like his Master, goes not to destroy but to fulfil, provides a sufficient guide to his attitude toward the religious philosophies of those among whom he lives and works.

Let me illustrate. The Pantheism of India in its special form of Vedantism, for example, begins its fundamental concept of truth with the impersonal Brahm, defined as existence, intelligence and bliss. As an evolution from this impersonal substance is the personal God, to whom the qualities of power and goodness are attributed. Now it is evident that the essential for our religious life is not knowledge as to *how* the personal God came into being, nor as to the fact whether he came into being at *all*. Thegreat essential knowledge is that he now *is*, and that he is the *rewarder* of those who love and obey him. The personal God of Hindu philosophy is the very same as he of Christian philosophy. It is therefore perfectly clear that a Hindu heart can have communion with God, even though by his traditional philosophy he is led to believe that God was evolved out of an impersonal substance. And this being so, it is inexcusable in a missionary to arouse antagonism by an attack on Vedantism, by which he hardens their hearts against his great errand, that of revealing to them a better conception of the love and holiness of their and his personal God. Vedantism, whatever

may be its truth or falseness in the abstract, is a sufficient foundation, as it stands, on which to build in their hearts a clearer knowledge of God, his power, his beauty, his holiness, his love. It is not by emphasizing the errors of a system of belief that the truth in it becomes manifest. When a diamond is seen in a heap of rubbish, it is a waste of energy to first cart away the rubbish before touching the diamond. Better to pick up the diamond at once, wash it, and polish it, and hold it up to the gaze and appreciation of men. Not by attacking errors, but by emphasizing truth, will the truth seem precious, and do its elevating work.

Let me take another illustration, again from India—the doctrine of former births and of rebirths. I have heard missionaries denounce this doctrine as false, and emphatically assert, as if it were an essential of belief, that the soul never existed before this life, and that an eternal existence in heaven or hell was the only possible alternative after death. In this denunciation of their philosophic solution of the problem of our human existence, they aroused the defensive spirit, and closed their ears to the message of the essentials of the life which we now live. After all the great essential knowledge is not *how* we came into existence, whether by sudden creation of God, or whether millions of forgotten births have preceded this present birth. Nor are the details of the conditions of life after death essential. The importance is on the *now*, in our present relation to God. And in their essential truth Hindus and Christians perfectly agree, that according as we sow so shall we reap. Whether their solution of the problems of existence be true or no, their doctrine as it stands is a sufficient foundation on which to build the essential spiritual truth of the *present* necessity of seeking to know, to love, and obey God. A man can love and obey God just as much whether he believes his soul was suddenly created, or passed through many forgotten births. He can love and obey God whether he thinks his heaven is a city of golden streets and pearly gates or a succession of happy births on this beautiful earth, whose loveliness fills our souls, and witnesses to the goodness and beauty of God.

I do not maintain that their philosophic solutions of existence should never be touched upon in criticism, but I claim the reverential and sympathic handling of this their sacred heritage, the result of their thought on the great mysteries of life under the guidance of God's Spirit.

We do not deny to ourselves the guidance of God's Spirit in the past, because we have to-day arrived at a higher and clearer knowledge of divine truth. By what law shall we deny to them the same guidance of God's Spirit because they have not reached as probable a solution of the perplexing problems of human existence, here and hereafter, as ourselves?

A still more practical form of the missionary's errand is that of supplying higher ideals of spiritual communion with God and higher ideals of holy living. The missionary accepts the truth that with all their error of understanding or sin of heart, there is still communion with God, and a conscience approving or disapproving according to their light.

It is difficult, however, for some to see how communion with God can be possible along with a belief in polytheism and idolatry, and hence one often hears denunciation and ridicule of idolatry, and the denial to them of communion with God so long as they worship him

through symbols of wood or stone. But in this the missionary contradicts the experience of the heathen heart, which *knows* that it has communion with God and is conscious of an approving and disapproving conscience. Here it is the missionary that is wrong and the heathen who is right. The missionary may well sit at the heathen's feet, and be taught that ignorance of God is no bar to communion with him. The missionary has erred through a false theory, the heathen has taught him out of his deepest experience.

To us the phenomena of nature are best accounted for on the theory of one God; but to a large part of the world, in the past and present, the theory of many gods is a better explanation of nature, of human life and history. Does God close his heart of love to those who in ignorance of facts see evidence of many supernatural beings deserving of reverence and fear? Do we know God so little as to think that? If such is our ignorance of God it is not that of the heathen, for by experience they know that their hearts are lifted upwards, and that there is a response to their cry.

In the light of the above how wrong the wholesale denunciation and ridicule of idolatry appears, as if necessarily shutting them out of love and communion with God, thus contradicting their spiritual experience and arousing in them an antagonism to the missionary's real errand of leading to higher communion with God, and a holier life.

I shall never forget how in the early days of my own missionary life I denied to an ignorant village woman the existence of her God as represented by the painted stone near her door, and the righteous indignation which she poured upon me for what seemed to her blasphemy against the being who held her destiny in his hands. She taught me a lesson I have never forgotten.

Turning now to a further errand of the missionary, that of giving them clearer ideas of holy living consequent on being sons of God, there is, speaking from practical experience, little fear that any just antagonism will be aroused in condemning sin of any kind, provided that institutions and customs that have to them religious sanction are not indiscriminately included in the catalogue of sins.

The conscience of a non-Christian is no different in essence from that of the Christian, though in the case of the latter it may approve or disapprove with clearer discrimination because of clearer light. To their conscience a missionary can appeal with all earnestness, denouncing wrong doing and glorifying the good, the pure, the high, and the noble.

It is different, however, when he includes in his list of sins that which to them has religious obligations implying the duty of obedience. To include such in the sins he denounces, does violence to their conscience, and rightly arouses an antagonism which does them credit, and discredits the missionary's zeal without knowledge. Let me illustrate by reference to idolatry and the caste system, so intimately woven into the religious and social life of India.

A great and a cruel wrong has been done to the non-Christian world by denouncing idolatry as a sin. It is a sin if God is so worshipped in hypocrisy, if he is so worshipped when a man knows that an idol is nothing, and yet for *unworthy* motives bows before wood or stone. It is the same sin when a Christian bows in a Christian church in pretence of prayer. But idolatry, sincere and heartfelt, that honours the god that is believed to be the Lord of life and death, of happiness and misery is *no sin*, and to call it sin is a *wicked injustice*.

Come with me to India to a little village where light and learning have not even cast a ray. A poor woman sobs with broken heart over the dying child in her arms. Suddenly she rises, tenderly lays down her child; a passionate cry to her god breaks the silence of the hut, then, with determined look and desperate hope, she goes to the god under the sacred tree. There with solemn vows she pleads with the god to save her only child; her tears wet the offerings as she lays them before the painted stone. No doubt fills her mind of the god's existence, no doubt of his ability to save, and her whole soul is poured out in its anguish.

Is that idolatry a sin? God forgive the Christian world if it has ever mocked at man or woman, who in ignorance, but in sincerity and earnestness, has bowed down to gods of wood or stone. It is not sin, but the holy, sacred lifting up of the heart to the best conception of God which it possesses.

What, then, should be the missionary's attitude towards idolatry? Not denunciation as sin, but a feeling sympathetic to its central idea, and on that foundation emphasizing the omnipresence of the God of love, lead them gently from the lower forms of worship to the higher. We must have faith to believe that the ideals of worship tenderly impressed will be more effective in removing idolatry than the denunciations that contradict their sacred experiences and rightly arouse the anger of a lacerated heart. We must have firmer belief in the power of ideals, than in the power of denunciation of errors.

The above principle applies equally to social customs with religious sanction. Taking as an illustration the caste system of India, will the missionary have greater influence in bringing about its disappearance by wholesale denunciation, or by his constant emphasis on the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man? Preaching the ideals of human society, or by arousing anger by classing as a sin a system that, so far as they know, was given by God? We have to remember that to the Hindu conscience the observance of caste is not a sin, rather does its violation seem a sin. The *evil effects* of caste can, however, be attacked with the approval of their consciences. The duty of love of man for man can be enforced, and praised. The sin of unkindness, of indifference, of pride, indeed of any evil element in caste can be denounced, and in doing so carry with one the Hindu conscience.

The caste system of India has not been an altogether evil institution. It served a social purpose in the evolution of the Indian people. If the time for its disappearance has arrived, how much better that the preaching of noble ideals of human society should break it down by their own power, than to depend on the polemic method that merely hardens the heart against the message of human equality.

There are, of course, customs that seem to us absolutely immoral, but which to those who take part in them, have a religious sanction. There are in India, for example, followers of the Tantric rites, the Zeft Way, as it is called, who in secret carry on an abominable worship—a worship that exists only because it hides in secrecy. It has religious sanction in sacred books and long tradition. There is among some classes the dedication of girls to idols, with the knowledge that they will lead an evil life, but an evil life under religious sanction. Among some tribes there are terrible cruelties inflicted on animals in the course of a worship to some bloodthirsty goddess, who blesses only when thus propitiated. Even the terrible *Sati* had its religious sanction. A long list of such monstrosities of worship and customs might be

given, in dealing with which nothing but downright, absolute denunciation, in the language of Israel's ancient prophets seems appropriate. And in doing so one may be sure of carrying with one the conscience of the great body of men; for such monstrosities are generally local, and disapproved by those to whom they do not intimately belong. In dealing, however, with those who are addicted to them, in the sincerity of belief, the rough and ready way of wholesale denunciation may be a relief to the conscience of the missionary, but it is a question whether that method is even here the right one, or one that will bring about in the quickest way a change in the beliefs of their devotees. Difficult as the problem may be, the principle that the preaching of ideals is better than the denunciations that close the heart, is applicable here also. Underlying all these monstrosities, there are, if sought for, elements of truth, which account for their existence, and which lie deep in the religious instinct. The truth that underlies these monstrosities can be appealed to, and the power of the higher ideals can be trusted to drive away the darkest errors.

The further errand of the missionary is to be that of an inspirer to those whom he is desirous of leading to the truth—an inspirer to them to do the things that befit a child of God. This would seem an easy thing to do—in words—but when the thought is advanced that the missionary should join hands with his non-Christian brethren, and labour with them in works of humanity, the way is blocked by a hesitating attitude. To give money to some Hindu institution, for example an orphanage, a widows' home, a blind asylum, or a school for the depressed classes, in which idolatry may be permitted or even encouraged, in which Christ is not given a place—though the work itself is Christlike—or to join with them on their Committee of Management, being one of them, inspiring them to greater effort, because such work is pleasing to God—"Because ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren ye have done it unto me"—such close fellowship in Christlike work, so easy with those who believe as we do, seems impossible to some, because it looks like being a traitor to Christian truths, like denying Christ, like fellowship with Belial.

But has not a great opportunity been missed by such a hesitating attitude? It is one thing to teach and practice what we do not believe, or what we abhor. It is another thing to trust another's conscience, and join with him in those deeds that befit those actuated by the higher ideals. We are glad enough to have them think rightly, and so we gladly assume the roll of teacher. Why should we not be even more rejoiced to see them doing deeds that in themselves are Christlike, and so gladly be one with them in their services to mankind. In India philanthropic movements and institutions are rapidly increasing, whose initiative and support belong to non-Christians. In these services to mankind the missionary's attitude must not be the distant one of general sympathy, but the close one of union with them, regarding these services as being *their* expression of the spiritual life to which they have attained.

In conclusion, the attitude of a missionary to native beliefs and customs must be conditioned, *first* by that blessed truth that all men are the children of God, whether they realize this or no.

Secondly, the religious knowledge to which an individual or a nation has attained is the revelation of God, which they have reached by gradual evolution. The intellectual errors, and the moral failures, must

not blind us to the fact of the guidance of the Spirit of God. The truths, therefore, in their beliefs and customs are to be carefully sought out, and emphasized, and built upon, recognizing them to be their sacred heritage, as divinely given them as our heritage to us.

Hence in the practical attitude towards these beliefs and customs, notwithstanding our conviction of elements in them of error, a feeling of reverence and respect should guide our words and deeds. Wholesale denunciations, ridicule, or any other form of speech or pen that offends their minds and consciences, and arouses a spirit of antagonism is absolutely out of place.

The missionary's true errand is to build on the revelation of truth to which they have attained, those higher ideals of which he himself has become an inheritor, thus becoming to them God's messengers for a clearer revelation of himself, their sonship, and all that that sonship implies.

He must trust to the power of the high ideals of truth, to combine with the truths they already possess, to dissipate the mists of error that surround them. The missionary must say as his Master said, "I am not come to destroy but to fulfil."

Discussion

Remarks by Rev. Danjo Ebina, Tokyo

Concerning the attitude of the missionary to native belief, we have very good teachers in the Christian Church. They are the Church fathers of the second and third centuries. They brought the gospel to the Gentiles and so preached, that they would be understood. The Greeks understood them, and so did the Romans. The truth-seekers described by Farrar and several other historians were brought by them to truth. The Japanese, Chinese, and Hindoos are the Greeks and Romans of the present time. There are many truth-seekers. I may say, I was one of them; and I have now many such among my Church members. Now what attitude did our Church fathers take? The great doctrine of Logos helped them. They never said, "We pity you; your fathers were dead in trespasses and sins, agonizing in hell." Never! Your sages and philosophers were Christians before Christ. They are in heaven, like Abraham and the prophets. The Logos, the Son of God, has been speaking through them, just as through the prophets of Israel. And Christianity is the fulfilment of prophecy as well as philosophy. Christ did not come to destroy the prophets and philosophers, but to fulfil. But how have our ancestors become? They asked, just as the Japanese and Chinese now ask, What did the preachers and missionaries of the ancients say? Christ went unto the spirits in prison, or more plainly, he descended into Hades to deliver some of them, or even they taught universal salvation. These preachers were of themselves not Gentiles, but the sons of Gentiles. If there be truth in the jealous Jehovah and destroying angels and the mischievous Satan, why not in the mythology and legends of the heathen? If the jingoism of the Jews and narrow-minded spirit of some of the Psalms be allowed in the Holy Scriptures, why is there not some truth in the superstitions of the Gentiles? Among them are good Samaritans, faithful centurions, and Syrophenician women. The attitude should be like that of Jesus to

sinners, publicans, Gentiles, and true Israel. The Logos doctrine may be out of date now, but it has a grand principle, sublime idea, and comprehensive truth in it, and we may apply it to the preaching of the gospel. We have now comparative theology and doctrine of evolution, we may use them freely. I cannot count how many were led to Christ by this way of the presentation of the truth. I will tell you now of one case. Even a woman seventy years of age was led to Christ ten years ago; she is still living, and one of my Church members. She had heard of Christianity for twenty years, and zealous Christians tried again and again to bring her to Christ, by prayers and the reading of the Bible, but she did not dare. But when she once heard the Gospel through my way of presentation she at once became a Christian, and is now one of the finest figures of my Church.

Once more, I do not wish to distinguish heathens from Christians in my preaching. I always feel I am preaching the truth of Christ to men. Whether they be Christian or heathen they ought to hear the truth, and we, the ministers of Christ, ought to preach the Gospel to men and women, whether they be Christian or heathen. Such is my inspiration. If you have enthusiasm to preach in the Christian church, why not in the Buddhist temples? We ought to be like the great apostle Paul, who preached with the same enthusiasm in the Jewish synagogue, heathen schools, Christian churches, and on the Mars hill.

Remarks by Rev. Otis Cary, Kyoto

While differing, perhaps, as regards some of the details of the excellent papers to which we have just listened, they express the thoughts which are held by the majority with whom I am acquainted. We may sometimes make mistakes in the way we apply those principles, but we do hold that in regard to those systems which have taught people something of the Divine Being whom they worship, something of their duties towards him and towards their fellow-men, if we are to lead men, we must find something that we have in common with them. And the more that we find we have in common with them, the more must we rejoice. If in trying to teach men we found that they had no knowledge, no belief in a power higher than themselves to whom they owed allegiance, our task would be impossible. If we find in them a consciousness of sin and the need of help from beyond themselves, we rejoice in it because there is the feeling of something which we can tell them. And if here and there we find in their literature gleams that tell of a loving father, a God over all, in all that also we greatly rejoice because the more we have in common with them, the easier it is to lead them to that which we so deeply believe. I have heard hundreds of sermons preached by missionaries, but in very few of them were there any denunciations of the non-Christian belief of men. They follow along the line of the first great missionary to the Gentiles in his sermon at Athens. There are, of course, dangers in this sympathetic view of other religions than Christianity; there is the danger of the church becoming a weak and sentimental eclecticism, but I feel that if we are spiritually earnest, I think we need not fear that there will be a yielding on the great truth. It is the weak and simple eclecticism that seeks to escape from the great religious imperatives of Christianity that we may have cause to fear.

Remarks of Rev. Dr. Barton, Massachusetts

It would be easy for us to criticise some of the things that have been said here this morning. It would be, perhaps, natural for some who have never been in the foreign field or seen the missionary in his work or got into close sympathy with him, to criticise. But I wish to say this morning that what Dr. Moore has said so eloquently, and what Dr. Abbott has given us in the last paper, represent, without any doubt in my mind, the attitude of the American Board as a whole. I remember within the last fifteen years hearing a Chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, a man who had served that committee for many years, say in a great public gathering in Boston, that "the non-Christian religions are of their father the devil in hell, and sent to the world for the condemnation of mankind." That is within fifteen years, and the speaker was at the time chairman of the Prudential Committee of the American Board, the same position which Professor Moore, who spoke to us this morning, now occupies. I do not think that the officers of the American Board, or that the Prudential Committee as a whole, would have agreed with that utterance of their chairman which I have quoted, but there have been many changes in America within the last fifteen years in their attitude to these ancient religions. And that change has come about through a fuller knowledge of these religions. If anyone is inclined to criticise the attitude taken by Professor Moore, representing the officers and the committee of the American Board, or by Dr. Abbott, representing the missionaries on the field, I beg of you not to express your criticism until you know the subject which you are criticising, for thereby you will reveal your own ignorance of this great theme, the redemption of the world to Christ. We have no right in these days to criticise the attitude of the missionaries towards these Eastern religions, or criticise the religions themselves until we go among the people and see them in their worship, and converse with them and catch the spirit of their thoughts. Just one other thing. I am sorry Dr. Horton has withdrawn. I was surprised and sorry to hear about the necessity for apologising for the missionaries who go into his pulpit. I am sure that is quite a different attitude from that of our people in America. When we wish to stir our churches to interest in missionary effort we say, "Send us a missionary from the field"; knowing that he can speak as no one else can, and that he comes with his heart full, and his head full of the great facts of the field. Under the doctrines laid down by Dr. Moore and Dr. Abbott, the interest in foreign missions in America has never stood so high as it does to-day. These doctrines and these principles are catching the spirit of our laymen, and our pastors and the churches are rising to the great theme and opening up further activity.

Remarks by Rev. Dr. Herring, New York

Having already presented myself as an enquirer after truth this morning you will allow me just to define a little more closely the aim of my enquiry. I will not presume to discuss the question. Possibly during my necessary absence from the room there may have been delegates who have thrown light upon the point. The light which was thrown before my departure did not quite seem to cover the scope of

my desire. With what has been said this morning with reference to the respect we ought to feel for the moving of aspiration and desire and pathetic longing on the part of the ethnic peoples, one cannot help having sympathy, if there has been produced some careful statement which shall show what has been accomplished ethically—which is the only final test—by these ethnic religions, so that we may have a solid moral basis for respecting them, in addition to this basis of respect to which I have alluded. I do not care to take the time of the Council for information to my ignorance upon this point in public, but if missionaries will draw near to me sympathetically as they draw near to the ethnic audience, after the session is adjourned, and impart this information, I shall be genuinely grateful. My request is sincere, and is not offered as a covert mode of expressing other views than those which have been expressed here.

Remarks by Dr. R. F. Horton, London

I happened to come in just at the moment when I was criticised for the sentence which, you may remember, I left unfinished. If you strike that bell and make a man sit down when he has stated the processes but not the hypothesis of his proposition, it is very probable that he will be misunderstood. But I thank my friend there for criticising me, in order to give an opportunity of removing the impression which may have been produced upon the Council. God forbid that I should leave a word behind that would reflect on our missionaries. No one in England—at least no one in Congregational England—would ever think I said or meant that because our missionaries know that whatever my faults may be, I love them one and all, and I welcome them with joy whenever they come to my church. All I meant was that sometimes a missionary coming to a church does not quite carry out the enthusiasm that has been created in the church, and I have sometimes found it necessary to explain the reasons why the missionary address is not quite in harmony with what has been said by other people. That was what I meant. It is no reflection upon the missionary. I know that the missionary comes home frequently worn out, and he is sent round as a deputation when often he is ill and weary and discouraged. He is not in the habit of speaking to a congregation in English, and he is not able to meet the exact expectations. That is all I meant. I want to conclude by saying what I was attempting to say, that when you teach people at home about missionary work the enthusiasm rises. During this past month we have had in London a great missionary exhibition, and part of the preparation for the exhibition was to train ten thousand stewards to serve in the exhibition. In my church I had to train about three hundred stewards. We had classes of fifty or sixty, my own class was about eighty—carried on week by week during the spring. The result of that simple instruction no one can imagine. Young men and young women, and old people, too, have become missionary enthusiasts, simply by six weeks of careful training.

Remarks by Mr. R. J. Bennett, LL.D., Chicago

I would like to say a word, not as a member of any missionary society—for I never was, and not as one to represent and laud the



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London.



REV. AMBROSE SHEPHERD, D.D.
Glasgow.



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London.

work of the missionaries in their field—for I never have been approached on that line; but as I have been about the world and sought the missionary on the field, and endeavoured to know something of the work he is doing, I find that the first paper that was read before us is one of the fairest pen-portraitures of the missionaries I have ever seen or heard. Their earnestness, their faithfulness, their sympathy, their desire to reach the hearts and understandings of the people to whom they go, and, in addition to that, the results which they are achieving all testify to this simple statement.

Remarks by Mrs. De Selincourt, London

I speak as a delegate of the London Missionary Society, and if you will pardon me for saying so, I was very grieved on reading over the proceedings of the Council as sketched in the book to find that only one day was given to consider the subject that is nearest to the heart of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. At this late hour I only wanted to plead for a moment with you, dear friends, who are ministers to realise your great responsibility, that the future of foreign missionary work is really in your hands; and if you will only lead the people they will gladly follow you. One has thanked God for all the wonderful gifts that have been manifested in this Assembly, but do you know, perhaps, you are in danger of forgetting what is the greatest gift that God has given to any of you and which you all possess? That is the power of your personal influence. And in your humility you have no idea how great that is among your own people, just in the sphere where God has put you. I belong to a church that has the largest membership in England of the Watchers' Band—the prayer union of the London Missionary Society—and where we have always had a very large number of missionaries in the foreign field, at one time twelve, not quite so many now, owing to death and illness. We have six members of our church who are in training for the foreign field, and who will soon go out. If you ask me why that is, I say nothing about money, because that is only a relative thing, and if people give their prayers and give their children, do they not always give their money? That goes without saying. But if you ask me why this state of things is, it is because our minister is always burning with missionary fervour, always bringing the missionary question where Jesus Christ puts it—first, and the fire that is kindled burns stronger and stronger. And it will be the same in every church where the minister puts the cause of foreign missions, puts the desire of the heart of Christ that every one should hear of his love, puts that first. And I want to plead with you to think of it, and to remember that it is indeed true, as true now as ever, that if Christ is lifted up he will draw all men unto him.

The Chairman pronounced the Benediction, and the Council rose at 1.35.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Judge Perry again occupied the chair at the afternoon session. The opening devotions were conducted by the Rev. J. C. Bennett.

The Rev. Hubert C. Herring, D.D., of New York, was the first speaker. His subject was "Changed Methods of Mission Work : Home—Institutions."

Address by Rev. Hubert C. Herring, D.D.

HOME MISSIONS AND THE SOCIAL AWAKENING

I shall depart from the letter of my topic in order more perfectly to retain its spirit. My theme will be "Home Missions and the Social Awakening." Whatever changes are passing over methods of home mission effort—and they are many—the most conspicuous agent of change could not be other than that new social sense which is altering the face of all modern life. Nor do I know any realm where it was more needed. For Home Missions (I must, of course, be understood throughout, as speaking of the United States with whose conditions alone I am familiar) has been in many of its aspects of a strangely unsocial character. To justify my statement I must premise that the name has had with us a specific and rather technical sense, being used to describe the work of planting churches in new communities, or maintaining them in older communities where they are weakened by that shifting of population to which the new world is so subject. Along these lines home missions has consisted to a painful degree in the pressing of sectarian interests with only secondary care for the interests of the Kingdom of Christ. Church planting in new regions has often been pushed in the spirit of the real estate boomer. The maintenance of churches when planted has been frequently without better reason than the reluctance to abandon a position once taken. All over America are communities where no church nor all the churches have any considerable influence because sectarian division has shorn them of power. Their buildings are small and shabby, their ministers are ill-supported and transient, their existence is a scramble, their worship has no upward sweep, their witness to eternal things falls on careless ears. They have committed spiritual suicide with the poison of sectarian zeal. It goes without saying that some denominations are sinnners above the rest in this matter. Though we have no established church in America, we have communions which in arrogant indifference to the existence of others, in cool contempt for the amenities which are observed among gentlemen, in amusing identification of Christianity with their own isms seem to have learned their lesson from Anglican or Roman and to have made striking and

original additions. Our own fellowship of churches has a clean history here. We have our sins and follies to confess, but sectarian bigotry is not among them. There was never a time when we were not anxious to meet any body of Christ's disciples more than half way in proposals of conference and co-operation.

But over nearly all denominations to-day there moves the breath of a new spirit. They are restless under the consciousness of fault. Dimly they see that while each has tended its own garden the great field has grown up to weeds. Timidly they are making advances one to the other. The home mission societies of the larger denominations within six months past have formed an organisation for conference and the unifying of effort. If you wish to realise the strange condition of past years, please remember that this movement for concerted action among organisations existing for precisely the same ends in the same territory has only come after sixty years of separate and unrelated life. In Philadelphia, in December next, the Federation of Churches, organised a few years ago, will meet in its first great national convention. A hundred signs suggest that the winter of sectarianism is past and that the spring is coming. Do you ask its name? Let us call it Christianity.

I am bound to say that this seems to me the first fruits of the new social spirit. If the theological age out of which we are passing had been prolonged we should still be building division walls. But the social age has come and has so far progressed that only Mormons and Christian Scientists and Holy Rollers and a few sects with a longer history, still conceive themselves exclusive possessors of indispensable truth or of peculiar grace in such degree that by the law of compassion they are bound to enter every possible community, no matter what or how many other professedly Christian bodies may be already there. This decrease of sectarian pretension is only the expression of the sense of brotherhood. It is that drawing together of like-minded men which in the name of consistency and decency was bound to accompany the effort to draw together men of unlike minds.

But I cannot spare myself time to dwell on this. I am chiefly concerned to point out to you that the new social spirit has operated powerfully to diversify home mission effort. I ask you to see how inevitable this was. Imagine a group of people intent on home mission work and full of the social spirit, sitting down together to plan how they may reach that portion of the United States which is untouched by the saving power of Jesus Christ. In swift panorama its bewildering needs pass before their minds. They see the Sabbath breaking, the profanity, the Mammon worship, the drunkenness and the adultery which cover the land. They note the corruption of the public service, the debauching of the public conscience. They see the orderly rich, whose wealth has often been won with a hard hand, and is tight held in the same iron grasp. They see the disorderly rich, living in concubinage within and without the forms of law, shirking every responsibility, public and private, ruled by the lusts of the world. They see the industrial realm torn by internal strife and where the joy of useful work should dwell, much bitterness and hate. Up to their ears comes the cry of tens of thousands of child toilers and tens of thousands more whose chance of wholesome life was lost before they were born. A grim procession of paupers and imbeciles and suicides and abandoned women and maniacs and criminals sweeps by. They see the trinity of crime makers—the saloon, the brothel, the gambling room—plotting

with cold hearts and keen eyes how to fill up hell. And on higher levels they read the story of manifold sorrow and pain and the countless lives which drift on in carnal content, missing all chief things due to a son of God. What will they decide to do? Can you imagine them as agreeing to do all the same thing? Can you imagine yourself approving them if they should so decide? The rather, prompt from their and your quick sympathies a thousand plans of help arise. Hear the proposals as they throng to heart and lips. "I will found a Church where all may hear of the redeeming love of God." "I will build a school where these neglected children may be taught." "I will form a league for the defence of the family." "I will begin a settlement amid the dwellings of the poor." "I will go into public life and fight for laws to protect the weak." "I will gather homeless children and find them shelter." "I will found a hospital to minister to the sick." "I will ponder some plan to stop this carnival of competitive strife." "I will be the prisoner's friend within the walls and after." "I will establish a home for the sad sisterhood of the lost." "I will open a rescue mission for the driftwood of humanity." "I will teach men the laws of health and sanitary homes." "I will organise a civic league to purify our public life." The list seems long, but I have named only a few out of possibilities made infinite by the infinity of need. And the glorious thing is that this imagined picture has been made actual in many a place. I hold in my hand the title page of a book, torn out just before I left home. It reads as follows:—

NEW YORK CHARITIES DIRECTORY

AN AUTHORITATIVE CLASSIFIED AND DESCRIPTIVE
DIRECTORY
TO THE
PHILANTHROPIC, EDUCATIONAL
AND
RELIGIOUS RESOURCES
OF THE
CITY OF NEW YORK

The entries in this book are brief—just a few lines to give the nature of the work of each organisation. But the book contains 807 pages. All imaginable and some unimaginable forms of effort for human welfare are there. All creeds, tongues, nations, types, methods are represented. With some, my personal sympathy may be slight. Not a few, it is likely, are unwittingly doing more harm than good. I can easily believe that there is some duplication, much bungling. It is not impossible that another sort of effort might destroy the causes of the ills whose cure is sought. I am not greatly troubled by these reflections. The book is a sacred book. As I reverently turn its leaves they are fragrant with perfume—the perfume of the alabaster box—broken for Him. I may select from out the list a particular sort of work and call it home missions. It is well to do so. But I refuse—I resentfully refuse—to deny identity between such sort and every other which is unselfishly endeavouring to help mankind. The God who piled the mountains and paints the sunset sky cares for deeds not

names. This mass and variety of brotherly endeavour in New York would be duplicated in not a few cities of the old world and the new. It is a reminder perhaps not unneeded and surely welcome that the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew has not been entirely forgotten.

I have thus given some indication of the ways in which the social spirit has diversified effort for the saving of a nation. But there are other indications within the bounds of organisations bearing home mission names. Missions in cities are taking on increasingly an institutional character. While the institutional church in its more radical development has not justified itself in American experience, the tendency of which it is a symptom is taking shape in a hundred quiet ways. It is impossible for mission workers warm with the social spirit to be content to touch the life of needy communities at but a single point. On a national scale the same movement is seen. One great home mission society has for years maintained a department of Church and Labour, its superintendent giving his whole time to the endeavour to bring about a closer relation between the church and organized labour. Another has just established a department of Industrial Relations having a cognate aim. Great organisations have grown up among us, born of pity for our child people, the negroes. These organisations are engaged, not so much in evangelising the negro—he is the most extensively evangelised race on earth already—but in educating him, physically, morally, mentally, temperamentally, industrially—every way.

This impulse communicates itself to the men at work in pioneer regions. In many a western city, the young home missionary is a civic leader. Educational and charitable enterprises wait for his initiative. It is no infrequent thing to find him engaged in hand to hand conflict with public evils. In North Dakota last year, a home missionary led the attack upon a vicious candidate for governor and defeated him. Our Superintendent of Missions in Oklahoma rallied our Congregational missionaries in the campaign for prohibition. I daresay others did the same. The campaign was successful. We expect these things. So far as the Society to which I belong is concerned its representatives need fear no rebuke at this point from the home office. For we believe that since home missions is the aggressive arm of the Church set to conquer the realms of life where Satan rules, it should make its forms of attack as various as are his entrenchments. We welcome all the aids which sanctified ingenuity can create—the Gospel railway car, the Salvation Army, the covered wagon of the peripatetic evangelist, the tract distributor, every agency for ethical and mental and civil and industrial training—anything by which brotherhood is expressed and the structure of character built. It is no time for finicky controversy about types of work. Let each man labour as he may, holding high in love's regard every other labourer who has the indispensable quality of sincerity. It is this goal of unity in diversity to which the new social spirit is leading us in home missions. May it lead swiftly on until we are able to forget the old days of petty criticism, of narrow horizon, of divisive theory, of crass bigotry, of a devotion to divinity which was blind to no small part of the needs of humanity.

The social spirit has had the further effect of bringing into clear relief what one has recently called "the home principle in missions." It is not uncharitable to say that the Church of Christ has often been concerned for the salvation of men in inverse ratio to their proximity.

Dr. H. Paul Douglass has recently described this absurd tendency in these terse phrases:—"Once the heathen was a perishing soul, hard to get at—and we loved him. Later he became a consuming body, part of a world market, worshipping idols made in Connecticut—and we tolerated him. Finally he became a participating fellow in common civilisation, a neighbour, and we hated him. Recently he has taken an active hand in affairs, and we propose to put him out." Courtesy forbids me to ask whether any examples of such spirit are found in Great Britain. But I can testify that they are numerous in America. We have there representatives of all the nations to whom with much solicitude and supplication to God we have for a century been sending missionaries. But their presence has been largely unnoticed by our churches, and in no small degree they have been objects of contempt and of injustice in our communities. We have a whole vocabulary of derisive slang by which to designate the different portions of our polyglot population. Under a quickened sense of brotherhood this thing will be impossible. It is becoming so. We shall be ashamed to plant missions in China except as we show ourselves neighbours to the Chinese within our gates. We shall cease our criticism of Russia unless we show a more generous care for the Slavic races who mine our coal and dig our sewers. The new social conscience compels us to say, "If I love not my brother in a neighbouring street, how can I profess to love my brother across the sea." Thus does it offer battle against two ancient and subtle foes of Christ—race prejudice with its long history of shameful deeds and class prejudice, head servitor of the carnal mind. The battle will not cease until not only in Christ Jesus, but in the church of Christ Jesus there shall be neither "Jew nor Greek, barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ shall be all and in all." Then will cease the type of pottering philanthropy which but serves to quiet a restless conscience. Then will pass the missionary zeal which spends all its force in delegated service to distant lands. Then will end the twopenny aristocracies, the snobbish plutocracies, the arrogant raceocracies and all the dismal brood of pagan shams which churches claiming the Christian name have done so much to perpetuate. Then will come in the democracy of Christ which will look with equal horror upon a millionaire and pauper, with equal interest upon a negro and a Caucasian and which will at last and for the first time in history bear credible witness for him "both in Jerusalem and in all Judæa and Samaria and unto the uttermost parts of the earth." Let me tell you the story of a certain church in an American city. It has a stately building, a membership of 1,000, a pastor rich in native endowment and in the training of the schools. Of the community round about, three-fourths are children of foreigners, artisans and labourers. They speak many tongues, hold many faiths. But, blessed to know and tell, in all that motley throng there is not one who would hesitate to go to this pastor with any story of trouble or of need. He is bishop of the whole city. Under the hospitable roof of this church, six different groups of foreign speech hold regular meetings. Not a few of them are in its membership. Their children throng its Sunday-school. Within its fellowship the middle walls of partition are breaking down. This is the "home principle in missions." If it were fully operative in the church named, which, of course, it is not, and if that church could be duplicated all over the land, we should not only be far on the way to the achievement of the home mission task, but ready at last for a whole-hearted crusade out into the distant

pitiful lands where our Christ is not known, where the tears of sorrow flow uncomforted and where evil reigns unchecked.

I have one more word to say which it would grieve me much to leave unsaid. The new social spirit is drawing all Christian bodies together. I thank God for it. It is diversifying home mission effort. I would set no bounds to it. It is compelling us to work each other over against his own house—there lie no perils there. But in the whole situation there does lie one peril, imminent and threatening. It is that in the variety of effort, sense of proportion may be lost, that we shall mistake the secondary for the fundamental, effect for cause. And then it may easily come to pass that the church as an institution shall be displaced from the primacy it has long held and must hold if human society is ever to be saved. On every side we feel the drift toward such a result. Subsidiary organisations of vast dimensions and international scope often throw in shadow the church which gave them birth. Agencies of reform secure support once given to the church. The hospital, the college and the library command princely donations denied to mission boards. Not a few ardent lovers of humanity are impatient with the church and inclined to ignore her existence. Many a socialist in his passionate appeal for justice condemns the church which seems to him the organ of the privileged. In multiplying numbers in all our communities are those who live as though the church were not. It is no relief to say that the church has brought this fate upon herself. Even if it be true we are still left facing the fact that the world needs the church and needs a church of power. It needs this institute of reverence, this organ of worship, this agency for teaching divine truth. The church is the root from which spring the growths of Christian character, the fountain from which flow the streams of Christian deeds. By as much as the root is more than the branch, by as much as the fountain is more than the stream, by so much is the church more than all the results which spring out of her corporate life. The branches will wither if the root die, the stream will cease if the fountain go dry. It is therefore with solemn sense of responsibility that some of us while looking with eyes of warmest sympathy upon all the varied forms in which the social spirit finds expression yet give ourselves with undivided mind to the founding of churches and nursing them to strength. We know that we are labouring against that coming time when reforms and philanthropies now so full of vitality will perish from the earth save as the church recreates them from her own unwasting life.

We desire to plant far and wide churches which will be rallying points for the oft-repulsed forces of the truth. We want a church so pure and strong, that by obvious right and patent necessity it shall command the leadership of humanity's advance.

But we are realizing, with growing clearness, that if this is to be, the church must be given widest, largest relationship. She dare never abandon the endeavour to bring the individual to repentance and to fit him for the future society of the redeemed. But she must augment her endeavour to control world forces and to mould social institutions so that they, too, shall reflect the spirit of Jesus Christ. Whatever the perils of the social awakening they are as nothing to the perils of social slumber. Peril or no peril there are some of us who are unable longer to rejoice in any church save the socialized church. We look out upon the world and see the three great Protestant nations, Germany, England, and the United States

increasing year by year their already swollen armaments when at any moment by a Christian agreement they could make an end of the possibility of war among themselves, and in union of their existing force laugh at every power which might threaten. We see them perpetuating great legalized evils, fostering vast monopolies, heaping honours on the honoured, riches on the rich. Meanwhile age long miseries continue age long mummeries, civil and religious, persist. And underneath all is the fact—the incredible fact—that this is made possible by lack of the united opposition of those who profess to be redeemed by Him to whom all these things are known to be as hateful as the machinations of the father of lies. We cannot escape the belief that to improve the quality of the church is quite as necessary as to enlarge its numbers.

It is bad enough that Jesus Christ shall be crucified by his enemies. He need not be betrayed in the house of his friends.

And so the voice of the hour, which is the voice of the ages, calls for home mission effort which shall seek to build the church upon the unchanging rock, but to relate that church to all the wide range of God's eternal law.

Mr. C. J. Davenport, F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., of Shanghai, China, spoke on "Changed Methods of Mission Work: Foreign, (a) Medical."

ADDRESS BY MR. C. J. DAVENPORT, F.R.C.S., L.R.C.P.

CHANGED METHODS OF MEDICAL MISSIONARY WORK

The subject which this paper is to introduce deals with a feature of missionary work in the foreign field, which has become increasingly important during the past few decades.

It appears on the programme under the title "Changed methods of foreign medical mission work."

Coming from the China field I naturally present it to you as it strikes us in that land. Doubtless workers from other parts of the world view it from aspects peculiar to their own special environments. No finer field for medical mission work exists than is to be found amongst the teeming inhabitants of the cities of China. For this reason, let me say, I value very highly the privilege of representing the medical missionary cause before this wide reaching and influential assembly.

Meeting as we do in this ancient and honourable city representatives from both sides of the Atlantic, it is well to recall the fact that in 1841, after seven years' service in China, Dr. Peter Parker, the first medical missionary to that land, and of whom it was said that "he opened China to the Gospel at the point of the lancet," visited Edinburgh "and gathered together several Christian physicians and others, making known to them the need for, and value of, medical missions."

He succeeded in founding the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society, which society has aided and trained some hundreds of medical missionaries, and done more for the cause than any other agency in the world.

Our earnest prayer is that a blessing, proportionate and suited to

present day needs, may be ours to-day, stirring up our churches to feel a greater responsibility and privilege in developing this which is, perhaps, the highest branch of their work both at home and abroad.

To consider changed methods of medical missionary work, we need first pause for a moment and look at the methods which have been employed in the past.

At home there has been no definite organisation by some missionary societies to develop this special branch of missionary work. Suitable men having been found, they have been sent out, in most cases without any extra training, to fit them to meet the conditions peculiar to tropical life and work.

On the field medical missionaries in their endeavour to do as the Master did, and carry out his commands, have opened dispensaries to which the sick and suffering have come for relief. They have established hospitals in which the sick and suffering have been accommodated for treatment. They have provided, here and there, homes for the care of lepers, the insane, and the blind. They have paid visits to the homes of those unable to come for treatment to the hospital or dispensary.

They have also made itinerations into the surrounding districts, treating patients in the towns and villages through which they passed.

They, or their clerical colleagues, and native assistants, have used these opportunities, and occasions, to teach and preach and bring the Gospel, by spoken or written words, before the many patients with whom they have come in contact. That the work has been blest, and abundantly fruitful to the saving of both bodies and souls, we devoutly thank God for.

The mission hospitals, receiving local support to the extent of tens of thousands of pounds sterling every year, and treating annually millions of patients, stand as a living witness to the appreciation in which they are held by the natives of all classes.

It is well at times to call a halt in order to reconsider our methods and motives, and resurvey the field and its conditions both at home and abroad.

I take it that such is the object of this paper being brought forward to-day. Questions such as these naturally enter into our minds.

Are past methods archaic and worked out?

Have conditions at home and abroad so changed that new methods are called for?

If so, what changed methods are needed?

To the question "Are past methods archaic and worked out?" we would emphatically answer "no they are not." Suffering humanity still requires such forms of Christian work both at home and abroad. Circumstances, however, *have* so changed that developed methods are urgently needed to meet the new demands and new situations.

While never losing sight of the very important part personal character and ability, and spiritual power and Christlikeness play in the work, and that without him we can do nothing, yet we believe that by developed methods we can bring the old influence to bear upon the people in a new, more powerful and more wide-reaching manner.

Let us consider, firstly, what developments are advisable and possible at the home end.

(1) The home churches should realize that medical missions are an *essential part* of the church's work, and that the medical missionary is as much a missionary as his ordained brothers. To emphasise this

point let me commend to you the note struck at the recent conference in Shanghai.

The first resolution passed, bearing on medical mission work, was :—

"That this conference recognises medical missions as not merely an adjunct to, but as an integral and co-ordinate part of the missionary work of the Christian church."

Just as we cannot imagine the Saviour ignoring the sick and suffering around him, so we should feel that missions in heathen lands ought and must stretch out a helping and healing hand to the afflicted and diseased in their ignorance and helplessness.

And further "Medical missionaries should receive their commissions from the home churches and societies in a public and unmistakable way and be solemnly set apart as missionaries of the church."

This does not mean that they should, of necessity, receive ordination; but by a public seal being thus set upon the medical missionary's self dedication, and through such an official consecration to God's service, the medical missionary is strengthened in his highest purposes, helped in the spiritual tone of his work and at the same time given a standing before the native church." The London Missionary Society has ever been a leader and example with regard to those points.

(2) The second point we would advocate is that every Missionary Society should have, as apart of its home organisation, a medical missionary auxiliary. This auxiliary, largely if not entirely composed of medical men, having an organisation of its own, but being a part of the parent society and working wholly in its interests, should aim at the following objects :—

(1) To create and organise a prayerful and intelligent interest in the medical mission work of the society amongst its churches and supporters.

(2) To strive to interest medical men, medical students, and nurses, with a view to leading some to offer themselves for foreign service.

(3) To raise funds to support the medical missionary work of the society—possibly interesting philanthropists and others who would not otherwise subscribe to missionary work. To attain these objects the auxiliary would collect all reports issued by the various mission hospitals and by means of its own publication bring details of the work, statistics and needs, before the churches.

(4) To assist the medical missionaries on the field in the purchase of their drugs and instruments ; and to collect and send out supplies of the various requirements which mission hospitals so value and appreciate.

(5) Lastly, and I think this is a most important point, the medical missionary auxiliary should be the department which looks after the health of the outgoing and home-coming missionaries, dealing with their physical fitness or unfitness, and supplying literature and other information helpful to them along the lines of health and hygiene. In this connection it is interesting to note that the medical missionary auxiliary of the Church Missionary Society organises support for endowing 1,500 cots or beds in its mission hospitals, and in 1906-7 collected £30,000 for the support of its seventy-six doctors and fifty-two nurses.

The sum raised by the Baptist Missionary Society's Auxiliary increased from £432 to £9,522 in five and a-half years for the support of its twenty-one medical missionaries and six nurses. This society also organises support for 183 endowed cots or beds.

The London Missionary Society has thirty-eight doctors and seven

nurses in the foreign field and should be raising at least £15,000 through an auxiliary of this kind, besides the support of some hundreds of endowed cots or beds, which to-day only number about fifty.

A third point from the home side we would mention in order to emphasise its importance, viz. the need in the mission field for men of high standard—men thoroughly missionary at heart, and well fitted to meet all emergencies in their professional work.

Our societies have always realized this need, but the wonderful advances and discoveries in science during the past ten years have made it imperative that, for every doctor going abroad, a course at a tropical school of medicine should be taken out. By this means a good grounding in the fundamentals of tropical hygiene and etiology of tropical diseases is obtained.

As a result we believe many a break-down amongst the foreign workers would be avoided, and possibly many lives would be saved. It is a special branch of study, and needs special facility to carry it out.

We may now turn to consider what developments are possible and advisable in the foreign field, and in this I will confine myself to the China field to begin with, I think we may say, speaking broadly, that in all the large centres the initial stage of our work is done.

We should aim now rather at development than at extension. This is the key note of the situation.

We from the West cannot hope to overtake the work ourselves.

Extension will come through our trained native helpers. We should now aim at multiplying ourselves through them.

Further, the shrewd intellect of the East soon differentiates good from indifferent work. Already we feel to some extent competition from Japan.

We have never admitted that "anything is good enough for the natives," but have always felt that we ought to give them our best.

Now, however, apart from this, owing to the above two causes, we feel there is a strong obligation resting upon us to develope—raising our standard of work, increasing its efficiency, improving our hospital equipment, and educating men and women who will be the future doctors and nurses of the nation, all this being done in the Christian atmosphere of mission work. Such is the task which changed conditions demand from our Missionary Societies to-day—for we feel strongly that the supply to meet the ever-increasing demand should largely come to the nation through Christian channels. We would therefore advocate that every hospital should be staffed by at least two medical men. This policy will admit of

(1) More efficiency being attained in every branch of the institutions' work. Instead of one man having to be, or to do everything, both to the injury of his spiritual and physical well-being, as well as to the neglect of not a little, the heavy burden of the work would be shared; reading and study could be kept up; and the doctors could specialise in medicine and surgery, with most beneficial results both to their patients and themselves.

(2) It would permit of more evangelistic work being done by the doctor, both to his own good and to the good of his patients. The doctor should ever be the strongest spiritual force in the hospital work.

(3) It would admit of continuity in the work, both during summer holidays, and when furlough times come round. A most serious

defect, of necessity, exists here in our system to-day, producing disastrous results and costly outlays.

(4) It would also enable the doctors to do more in the matter of training students and nurses.

Such training has been done, and is being done, to some extent, but the ever increasing rush and burden of work have rendered it well-nigh impossible.

In this connection we would go further and say that, in a few of the largest cities, the hospitals should be first-class ones, either union or denominational, staffed with three or four foreign doctors, with one or more foreign nurses and good native assistants.

The work of these institutions should well compare with that of home hospitals; where laboratory and research work may be carried on; where post graduate courses may be taken out, or where new doctors could study tropical diseases instead of at home; and where a good training school exists.

The American Episcopal Mission has such a work in Shanghai and its wide influence for good is year by year extending.

To attain this ideal we would advocate the establishment of Union hospitals. Or missions should agree to divide the field. For instance, instead of two Societies having two under-staffed hospitals in the same two cities, they should arrange that each one has one well equipped work in one of the cities.

In this connection we would mention the fact that both Yale and Pennsylvania Universities have led the way in planting Missions in China, to reproduce, under Christian auspices, their home work, and home standards. This is a most hopeful and promising step. Why should not Edinburgh do the same? And Oxford, and Cambridge and Harvard and other Universities both in America and in Great Britain and her dominions. This university movement, either by sending out and maintaining one or more representatives, or by founding a college, might exert a most powerful and beneficial influence in the vast intellectual centres of the East.

We would advocate trained nurses being appointed, as missionary nurses, to take charge of work in connection with all the larger and more important mission hospitals.

Ten years ago this would have been thought impossible in China. Now several hospitals already have such missionary nurses and the result has been highly beneficial.

We sadly feel the lack of the organising power; the devoted, loving, service; the tender womanly touch which minister with such blessed results in our home hospitals. I believe if this side of our Mission staff was largely increased, not only would the medical and surgical work of the hospital be more efficient, but the spiritual force and atmosphere of the institution would be largely increased for good.

On the C.M.S. staff there are 52 nurses.
On the B.M.S. ,, ,, ,, 6 ,,
On the L.M.S. ,, ,, ,, 7 ,,

The number of special hospitals and homes should be largely multiplied—leper homes, homes for incurables, homes for the insane, children's hospitals, hospitals for consumption and so on.

These would probably receive a large amount of local self-support. It is through compassionate and self-denying work such as this, done amongst the chronically afflicted and incurably diseased, that perhaps

the teaching and example of Christ exerts its most saving influence. Every hospital should have, as part of its work, an object lesson such as one of these institutions ever proves to be.

The greatest need of our medical mission work is the need of properly trained native assistants and nurses.

As already stated attempts have been made to meet this want, but the pressure of the work has rendered it well-nigh impossible.

On the grounds of *feasibility*, *economy* and *efficiency*, we would therefore advocate Missions joining hands and establishing Union Medical Schools.

We heartily rejoice in the Union School already established in Peking but feel that at least four more are required—one each for South, East, West and Central China, each being about 800 miles from the other. Teaching work and good hospitals already exist in these centres, but men and means are necessary to develop the schools.

One or more of these centres should embrace a school for women, and the school in Shanghai would be taught in the English language. We strongly advocate and commend this important aspect of the work to the churches and urge all societies to unite in furthering the establishment of such schools.

Union Committees are at work in Great Britain to stir up interest and gather funds in support of the Peking school. Similar help should be given to Hankow immediately.

This training work is inter-denominational, beneficial alike to all Missions, and also to the people of the whole empire. Here surely is an opportunity for the Lord's stewards! Past experience has proved that if we take the initiative, and establish a good work, the local authorities and better class people subscribe liberally to its support.

As an instance, we have recently heard that the Central government and Customs service in Peking have intimated their desire to give about £1,500 a year for the support of the Union School in Peking.

Western lands could give no greater blessing to their Eastern brethren than a devoted well-trained body of Christian doctors and nurses. The present moment is unique, for the Christian churches have a position of vantage.

In fifteen years' time it will probably be far different, for the present open doors may then be closed for ever.

Following on the need for medical education is the need for medical books, translated into the vernacular.

These are indispensable in the matter of teaching and enlightenment.

Years ago Dr. Hobson translated an Anatomy into Chinese. Since those days many other medical missionaries have attempted to supply this want. For five or more years a terminology committee has been at work to unify terms, and find characters in Chinese for the terrible medical and surgical names coined in the scientific centres of the West.

Recently the English Presbyterian Mission has lent for two years the services of Dr. Cousland, who, with twenty-five years' experience behind him, is devoting his whole time to this special work. We much appreciate the liberal and kind assistance given by this Society.

Already works on anatomy, physiology, nursing, chemistry, obstetrics, skin diseases, eye diseases, and others, are in circulation, something about 600 copies of each work being sold every year.

This publication work is being undertaken by a committee appointed by the Medical Missionary Association of China. The work is being

done for the benefit of the Chinese people and the publications are handed over to the association, their sales going to its support.

At present Dr. Cousland is bringing out an Anglo-Chinese Lexicon of medical and surgical terms, which will be the basis of all future terms and terminology. We gratefully acknowledge grants of money to meet the expenses of this work from several of the Missionary Societies. The medical missionaries and their friends have tried to find the rest.

We hope after a few years of this initial expense and work, that the sales of the books will meet future publishing expenses.

The Medical Missionary Association of China has now been established for more than twenty years. By means of its organisation, its conference, its bi-monthly journal, it has been invaluable in stimulating the medical missionaries of China in their professional work, encouraging them in their missionary work and in general advancing the medical missionary cause. We would advocate wherever it may be possible that medical missionaries on the field should thus join together and form an association.

Finally, the effort to secure self-support from the natives should be more and more encouraged.

In China the last returns from eighty hospitals show that to meet the sum of £24,000 required for working expenses £20,000 was raised on the field. This is as it should be. The people realize the good done, are awake to the benefits bestowed, and liberally donate to its support, often with hearts full of gratitude. We would therefore advocate that such self-support should be more and more encouraged.

In conclusion, the question may be raised by some as to whether it is the duty and call of the Christian church to assist and educate a nation such as the Chinese as herein advocated. To this we would reply, certainly not, if it were merely a matter of education. All we have advocated here is in order to bring a Christian force to bear upon the nation, to give widened opportunity for preaching the Gospel, and to supply a Christian body of doctors and nurses who will carry on our work in the midst of the nation. Under God's blessing the past century's efforts have opened the flood gates of the Empire. The bane, or blessing, which the momentum of her movement will work upon the future of the world, will largely be determined by the action of the Christian churches during the next few years. The land stands open before us for possession.

We plead, for the sake of China, for your own sake, for the honour and glory of the Master, that the churches may not withhold those blessings with which they are so richly entrusted, and which they are so well able to bestow, and which will do so much to influence China and other Eastern nations and make for their salvation.

"Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel. And into whatsoever city ye enter, heal the sick that are therein, and say unto them, the Kingdom of God is come nigh unto you."

The above I venture to suggest are some changed, or developed methods, by which in the future we can the better carry out our Master's commands.

The Chairman remarked that the Assembly would realise the authority with which this message came when they observed that Mr. Davenport was a Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons

and a Licentiate of the Royal College of Physicians. He then called upon Dr. S. Lavington Hart to speak on "Changed Methods of Mission Work: Foreign, (b) Educational."

Address by Dr. Lavington Hart

CHANGED METHODS OF FOREIGN MISSION WORK—EDUCATIONAL

Mr. Moderator, and Members of this Council,—One of the most promising and suggestive signs that strikes the notice of a visitor to this country is the immense change that has taken place in public opinion as to the importance of things Chinese. It is not so much that the thinking men read everything that has been written about China, but it is rather that the man in the street seems to be perfectly aware that that great China of whom Napoleon spoke has indeed awakened and is showing great youthful activity. Every one that one meets seems to know the relative importance of the great events which have led to this awakening. The influence of the war between China and Japan, the Boxer movement and its failure, the war between Russia and Japan, even, perhaps, the edicts that have been issued by the throne at different times, putting an end to the old order and bringing in a new, these things are familiar to most people in this country and I do not need to discuss them to-day. There is one matter, however, with which people do not seem to be quite so familiar, and that is the great changes that have taken place in China through mission work during the last century.

We—that is, if I may speak for other missionaries—we went to China and found her behind high walls, with closed doors. We have prayed these doors open and the walls are fast coming down. Not only are the doors open for the passage from West to East, but they are swinging outwards as well as inwards, and we must be prepared for this, that the Chinese themselves will be passing out as fast as we are passing in. We found a people very largely uneducated. We brought education. We ourselves, I believe, more than any other class of people have led to the public opinion which has enabled these great changes in the history of the nation to influence China so vastly. We may say we have changed China. China has reached a crisis, and it is the Church of Christ that is very largely responsible for that crisis. I want to say here to-day that it is the duty of the Church to help China through her crisis. It is the duty of the Church to assist her in this brave struggle after a fuller and a nobler life. And it is because I think that we have in the Christian education of China a means which is both welcome and efficient, not only of fulfilling these obligations of the church, but also of paying back certain other debts, that I want to claim your attention to this great subject.

For there are other debts. Behind those swinging doors there is chalked many a score against us foreigners. There are many accounts left unsettled that some day or other will require settlement. It is for us to fit ourselves not only to fulfil our own obligations but to repay these debts which the nation has brought upon itself. Let us seize the golden opportunity.

In discussing the broad subject of the Christian education of China

with which we are brought face to face to-day, there are certain features on which I do not want to speak. There is the education of the children of our own converts; that is the duty of the Church to its own members in China. I do not want to speak of that. Then there is the training of our own workers. We have already been hearing of that from the medical side. There is the training of men for work in our colleges and as evangelists. I have not a mind to speak on that. But I want to-day to speak of the share the church can have in the education of the greatest number of students that the world has ever known, the share that the Church may have in forming the men who before very long are going to form China and who indeed at this very present time are beginning to form the China that is to be.

Much has been said about this education of the Chinese and there are many methods that have been suggested. Perhaps all that has been said and written about this subject can be brought under three heads.

(*a*) One method that has been suggested is this, that there should be sent out men who would start a great University in China, staffed with the very best teachers. As soon as possible this great institution by its very worth would be recognised as the chief of all educational establishments in China. There is something to be saidfor this. It means, of course, first of all finding a millionaire. I do not know whether the millionaire happens to be here. If he does I in common with many others would like to propose a scheme to him, and to discuss the question. The funds that are needed are of course very great indeed. We should have to consider whether that would be the very best method. It might be in one centre of China, but China is a very large empire that can scarcely be touched from one single centre. It might also lead to jealousy on the part of the Chinese Government that an institution so much better and vaster than its own should be set up by foreigners.

(*b*) A second plan has been suggested and very largely advocated by those who have known a great deal of China, and it is that University men should be sent to the Government Colleges to take their place upon the staff of these government institutions. This is a scheme that appeals at once to our sense of generosity, and since I have come home to this country I have met with many who seem to feel that this ought to be the solution we should aim at. I want, however, to say here one or two words upon this subject. Before men go out to take their place upon the staff of these government colleges they should very carefully face certain facts. In the first place they are foreigners,—everyone who has been out in China will realise what this means. There are many foreigners on the staff of colleges at the present time doing valuable work. Just now China needs foreigners, but her own sons are being trained abroad for this work, and one by one they are coming back; and I believe that in the near future foreigners will not be needed any more in China than they are in Japan.

Another point. Unless the University man going out to China makes his position absolutely clear to the authorities it may be a question whether it is perfectly honest for him to go out as a Christian teacher to use his influence as a teacher to proselytise in an institution which is entirely supported by Government funds—a Confucian institution. I think if a man can reconcile it with his conscience to do so, he must be prepared to go, but he should certainly first of all let his intentions be known. I believe there are many who wish to be not only teachers but Christian teachers in that country who would not be prepared to go out

and have their tongues tied, and not be able to do their utmost to lead men to Christ.

The third point which we should face very clearly before embarking on such a course, is the fact that China is going to become more strongly Confucian in the years that are to come. Confucianism has been her national code for many years. Buddhism and Taoism appeal not at all to the intellectual and educated classes. Confucianism is the only system which they regard as national.

(*c*) The only alternative, then, that the Christian Church has, is to develop those institutions which have already passed the experimental stage, institutions which are in some strategic point in China, where Christian education has been carried on, and I want to make clear what are the advantages of institutions of this kind.

Such institutions are welcomed, they are economical, and they are effective. They are welcomed by the Chinese. Not only the sons of the poor but the sons of the wealthy are sent to these institutions. The sons of Confucians are sent to Christian institutions because they recognise more clearly perhaps than we do in this country that there is a great difference after all between the Confucian College and the Christian institution, and the Confucian fathers like to have their sons brought up under the influence of such a Christian institution. They are welcomed, they are economical. There is no reason why these things should drain the resources of our churches at home. I could tell of an institution where the staff of four foreign—that is to say English—teachers and five Chinese teachers is maintained entirely by the fees of the scholars. No money has been required from home and no money has been required locally. These institutions may be made economical if only the plant is given, if only the capital is laid down; and this brings in a greater interest than any other investment that I have ever known. Thirdly, these institutions are very effective. I do not want to test the efficiency of a college of this kind merely by the standard of learning that is adopted. This, of course, will determine the future of the college. If it is not in this sense effective, the college itself will at once suffer. But I do want to test its efficiency by the possibility which such an institution possesses for pressing home the claims of Christianity. This is the great work of the church in China. We want to see that this is our great opportunity for bringing men to Christ, and it is in an institution of this kind that we have the greatest of all opportunities. It is not necessary to make worship at the Christian service compulsory. It is not necessary to insist that all students who come to such a college should pass through a certain course whether they wish to learn about Christianity or not. On the other hand, a great deal depends on the tone of the college. A great deal depends upon the way in which from first to last these students are brought under the influence of the teacher. If I may be forgiven for mentioning one fact which has come under my own personal notice. I remember that when I first began the work at Tientsin it was told me that it would be impossible to get students of this kind to come and take part in the prayer-meeting. But at last, after going on for fifteen months with just a small band of teachers, three students dropped in. You can judge what joy filled my heart when I began to realise that here were three young Chinese students coming to join in the prayer-meeting. But when I began to speak to them I soon found that I had been mistaken. They had come just to consult me on some other work, and so we had to begin again. We went on month by month,

month by month, and the last week that I was in Tientsin, in the room in which this prayer-meeting is held there were a hundred students, non-Christians almost to a man, ready to come and take part with us in the praise of God.

It is an opportunity which very few possess. I cannot speak for India, I cannot speak for Japan, because I do not know these countries, but I feel sure it is an opportunity very few possess out of China. The men are eager to learn, and they receive the teacher as one whose teaching they have learned to respect. I question whether any other teacher has such a field. When one speaks to them, for instance, about the truth of God and the beauty of Jesus Christ, they listen in the same way as when one speaks about the facts of physics or the wonders of chemistry. They take it in from the same teacher, and are prepared to give it the same credence. It is an opportunity that must appeal to us at the present time.

This morning I was listening to one of the speakers when the two bells rang and he had to sit down. We have already heard that first bell in China. The bell has sounded, the opportunity has come for work to be done, and if the church does not seize the opportunity to-day the second bell will sound before long, and the opportunity will be gone. I am glad that Dr. Davenport pressed this point home with regard to medical missions. If I could, I would say even more strongly that this is an opportunity which must be seized now or never. China has reached the state at which it is beginning to crystallize, and the forces of Christian work can be brought to bear upon China at the present time; the form in which it is made to crystallize and in which it will remain for years to come has to be given in the next ten years.

Brethren, I appeal to you as you return to your work—speak to the men whom you know, speak to the university men who are amongst you, and tell them about the openings that exist at the present time in China, tell them that men are ready to be taught, tell them that men are ready to give up the old—they are giving it up in China. I have never said a word against Buddhism or against Taoism. As a matter of fact, judging from what the students themselves believe, these things—I want to say it very deliberately—from the standpoint of the Chinese student are dead, we do not need to kill them. But Confucianism still lives. That is the thing we have to face, and as Christians we must go out and conquer in the name of Jesus Christ, our Master and Lord.

The Chairman invited the Assembly to discuss the subjects which had been treated in these papers, each speaker confining his remarks to ten minutes.

Discussion

Remarks by Rev. Dr. George, of Kansas

I wish to speak about the first paper by Dr. Herring. When I went to Kansas, in 1872, I met men who had been there from the very beginning of home missionary work. From the first they had a committee on the state of the country. We took care of the whole field. We were not simply preaching the gospel in the old sense of preaching the gospel, in the sense in which it is preached to-day. We

hear a good deal about new methods—we knew them in Kansas long ago. I have been in the midst of home missionary work for nearly the whole of my ministerial life. I have seen that territory grow from 150,000 to 1,800,000, and have seen that state take its place in the very forefront in temperance work in the world. There is not anywhere in the world a population of 1,800,000 in which there are so few persons who know what drunkenness means as in the State of Kansas. And other states are following. The work is going on. Whatever we have done as Congregational members, we have preached Jesus Christ; not a doctrine of Jesus Christ, but Jesus Christ himself. We have not founded any atmosphere. People do not see him very much in business life or in political life, but we have studied these gospels and have brought out the story, and that is our business still to-day. Truth, only truth will win. The largest truth is in Jesus Christ himself. No truth is of any worth that does not accord with him. He is the one great teacher, and Christ we hold up—the Christ of the New Testament. We do not believe that scholarship will hurt us—we have not enough to hurt us. But we attain all we can. We build colleges and we instruct our students according to the best methods. But Jesus Christ himself, the living Christ, is the only ideal for the life of men as individuals or in communities, and our home missionary work in Kansas has been simply holding up Jesus Christ as the one who is the teacher, the guide of the spiritual life, and so the Saviour of individuals and communities.

Remarks by Rev. R. J. Evans, M.A., London

I hesitate to say anything to so august a body as this, but I feel one ought to express thanks to the Committee for bringing together the three papers we have had this afternoon. We had first a paper on home missions and then two excellent papers upon foreign missions. I believe we are coming to recognise that home work and foreign work are not divided as they used to be, but are really one. We in England are beginning to realise that in order to do the foreign work well we must be more efficient at home than we have ever been, especially in the direction of Church extension. In London, for example, we are missing numerous opportunities of gathering churches together which would be a strength to Christian enterprise; and unless we do that work, it seems to me the support of foreign work must be very much weakened in days to come. In connection with "The Orient in London," our home work has been represented, and there we are able to illustrate the close connection between home and foreign work. Last year four churches that were recently established by the enthusiasm of home workers contributed a thousand pounds between them to foreign missionary enterprise. So our church extension expenditure has been a direct investment for foreign missionary work. Over a period of about twenty years we have spent £32,000 on home work. Those same churches have contributed £37,000 to foreign missionary enterprise. If we can realise that the work at home and abroad is one and can catch the spirit of missionary enthusiasm at home and abroad. We shall be benefitted at home by that which comes back to us from the foreign field, and shall be able to do very much more than ever before in the way of sending out men and money to these new fields. I had a unique experience in a church which was

built up in a working class neighbourhood and from people that were formerly antagonistic to foreign missions. From them have come forty or fifty stewards to work at the "Orient" and that work in that working-class neighbourhood would not have been done but for the home-missionary enthusiasm of the London Congregational Union.

Remarks by Rev. T. O. Douglas, D.D., Grinnell, Iowa

For the last twenty-five years I have been secretary of the Home Missionary Society of Iowa, a little state lying west of the Mississippi River. While all those things which the secretary has brought before us are true, still I believe it to be a fact that the work of home missions as it was in the beginning, is now and ever shall be the work of planting and fostering churches. Dr. Noble's paper on "The History of Congregationalism in the United States," to my great disappointment, passed over that chapter in our history which relates to the work of home missions. In 1620

> A band of exiles moored their bark
> On the wild New England shore,

but these pilgrims did not come to seek an asylum for themselves, they came to plant the kingdom of God in the new land. They early formed societies for performing this work of planting churches, not being willing that it should be left to go on haphazard. They sometimes appealed to State legislatures for money to plant a church in a new community and did not plead in vain. Massachusetts set aside money to plant a church in the new community. As time went on the great American Home Missionary Society was formed to cover the whole land with churches however remote the boundary lines of the country might be. I could give you the history all through. I could tell you especially the history of the planting of churches and the founding of Christian institutions west of the Mississippi River. In the twenty years of my superintendence I have seen 150 churches organized in that little state. The strategic points have all been taken. The point I want to make is that we are just in the midst of that work, and the great work of home missions, as I have said, will for ever more be the work of planting and fostering these churches.

Remarks by Rev. A. J. Griffith, M.A., Brisbane

I am sure we are infinitely grateful to the gentlemen who have brought before us this afternoon the claims of medical and educational missions. We in Australia are the more proud because one of them came from an Australian, Dr. Davenport. We are doing our part to send men from our churches to the mission field. I want to advance a like proposition that I think runs counter to my friend Mr. Evans. I do not think he is perfectly justified in setting against the amount contributed from the churches for foreign missions the amount that is raised for home missions. I always look upon it in the light that the gross total that is given by the churches of the Lord Jesus Christ for the upkeep of their churches in their own land must be set against the infinitesimally small amount that is contributed from their pockets to go to the help of missions. I sincerely trust that the papers of Dr. Davenport and Dr. Lavington Hart will produce a great impression not

only in England and in Scotland but also in America, and that we shall all study very deeply indeed these very important aspects of medical and educational missionary work which have been put before us this afternoon.

Remarks by Mr. E. T. Anderson, R.M., Beaufort West, South Africa

South Africa has hitherto been very silent in these meetings, but I can assure you we have listened very profitably to all that has been said. I think something ought to be said about South Africa. Four great denominations there—Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists and Wesleyans—have held a conference lately with the object of union to this extent most particularly, for the purpose of establishing churches in the villages of the colour, for the purpose of home missions. In many large towns and villages there are only the Episcopal Church and the Dutch Reformed Church, and people from the home country and the working classes who do not attend these churches have no one to care for their souls. This conference is to hold another meeting next year to report whether such union is feasible or not. With reference to a remark of Dr. Herring about the feeling against natives, I am sorry that there are many people who pay their contributions for mission work and yet who still treat any native who comes into their midst with a certain amount of contempt. He is generally called a "nigger," whatever his nationality may be, and very often gets more kicks than half-pence. Even in my own district—I am a magistrate—my reputation always precedes me, and it is not a favourable reputation, because I have not the national prejudice against the natives. Such a thing in a Christian land should not exist. But I am glad to say that the Dutch Reformed Church, children of persons who formerly reckoned that the Hottentot had no soul, now do a very large amount of work for the natives. Some of the daughters of the best families are not only doing work amongst natives, but also going out as missionaries in foreign lands. It is a very healthy sign, and I feel sure that the Dutch Reformed Church is being vitalised thereby. We in South Africa are very much indebted to America for some of our best teachers. I refer especially to the teachers, chiefly Congregationalists, who are labouring in Wellington seminary. There are trained teachers who have gone out as missionaries who are now wives of Dutch Reformed Ministers. And they have trained a very large number of teachers who are engaged in education in South Africa.

Remarks by Rev. J. E. Flower, M.A., London

I should like to add a word or two, especially on the point of Home Missions and the great duty of the church, which was referred to by our brother here, to start new churches and to carry into every possible ramification of society the work of the church. We have had this week a rich treat. We have had the ripest fruit of scholarship, we have had great stimulus, immense help from many points of view. We have been reminded, if I may venture to say so, we have been reminded quite enough, of the necessity to slough off a great deal that our grandfathers held, and I think we have got rid of a vast amount of it which needed to be got rid of. I have been reading lately some letters of my own grandfather to his brother and to his son, my father, who were missionaries of the London Missionary Society in India, and the

theology there is simply intolerable at times. We have got rid of a lot of that stuff, but we have not got rid of this, and it is at our peril that we ever get rid of it, the absolute necessity not merely of training a ministry and a very capable ministry, giving the utmost possible training to that ministry properly so-called, but we have another thing to do, and it is for that purpose alone that I rise. We have surely to charge our churches all over the land, in every land, with this great idea, that the command of our Lord, "Go ye . . . and preach the gospel to every creature," was not spoken to the apostles as such, but to the church. It is for the church to preach, for the church to expand itself. And my point is this, that while preaching is a function of the church it can never be carried out by the minister alone. We have to draw and we have to stimulate lay preaching on the part of those who have not heard the call to become regular ministers, but who, while engaged in the common work of life, will go forth and preach the gospel in cottage meetings, in little places in the country as well as in the towns, in mission rooms and in asylums, and in hospitals; not merely the men folk but the women folk of our churches, for they, too, may be charged with this great duty from Jesus Christ Himself, to speak the gospel. In this way we shall find that not merely will the church extend itself and carry its great message and so indirectly add to the support of foreign missionary work, not only that, but there will come to all those who are thus set to work fresh influence, fresh life, fresh afflatus from Jesus Christ Himself, being possessed with the spirit of those who themselves have received in order that they may give. It is lay preaching that we want to see, not merely in England, but in all the lands of the earth. I speak with some little knowledge, having been twice over to Canada and the United States, and I found in both great lands an almost total lack of the cult of lay preaching in the churches of Jesus Christ. When I mentioned this on several occasions in public speech I was told that this means—which has been the great means for the promotion of the work among our Primitive Methodist and Wesleyan Methodist friends—would have the effect of solving many of the great difficulties, especially in those lonely and out-of-the-way districts where little churches are established but have no means of carrying on evangelistic work in their neighbourhood because of the lack of lay preaching.

Remarks by Rev. Frank Dyer, Chicago

I rise to second this thought from the American point of view. I think that those who are here from America will agree that we have been feeling very deeply of late the necessity of reviving the activities of our laymen. We have been so engaged in re-constructing our thought as theologians, and our business men have been so absorbed in constructing their business, that the great majority of our laymen have become negative in the work of the church. I do not say that hastily. Judge Clelland, of Chicago, has carefully considered the male membership of the churches in our state, and he has discovered that only seven per cent. of the male residents of Chicago are members of our churches, and that seventy-seven per cent. of those who are in the membership of our churches do absolutely nothing in an active way for the church. Now in view of this fact and because this is generally recognised throughout America, all the great denominations have

formed brotherhoods to promote the activity of laymen. It began in the Episcopal church of America. The brotherhood of St. Andrew was formed with two rules, a Rule of Prayer and a Rule of Service. The men promise to pray daily for their fellow-men, and to make some effort each week to bring their fellow-men under the gospel of Christ. During the last three years all the great Christian denominations have formed national brotherhoods on similar lines. It was only two months ago that the Congregational Brotherhood of America was formed in Detroit. We had a conference of officers in Chicago a few days before I left, and we considered what the great objective of this brotherhood should be. We have been bombarded with letters since the organisation of our National Brotherhood asking us to state to the churches a definite objective in our work, and when we met we set forth three things, first, to make the male membership of our churches equal in number to that of the women. Our Year Book shows the exact proportion of our membership, and we have 218,000 fewer men and boys in the Congregational churches than women and girls. The proportion is two-thirds female and one-third male. I am sure our brethren in great Britain will pity us, but I think you will have to save some of your pity for yourselves. You cannot, I understand, by your Year Book, find the exact proportion, but those who have thought about the matter assert that you are in no better condition. Now we believe that represents, or rather misrepresents Christianity. We believe there is nothing peculiarly feminine in the Christian religion, but that it is just as much masculine as feminine, that it takes just as much manhood as womanhood to live the Christian life. The influence of women is intensive, it is in the home circle, in the friendly circle. We believe that the influence of men is extensive, that if this gospel is to go out into the world it must go out through our men in their profession, in their business relations and in their politics. The second thing that we have proposed is to get the men to do their full share of the devotional work, their full share of the educational work, their full share of the missionary work, their full share of the parish work, and even their full share of the financial work. In so many of our American churches the women have to raise the funds in order to run our institutions, and we propose that the men shall do their full share of the work of the church. In the third place we propose that the men shall become a force for righteousness in the community, in the city, in the country. We have been talking in this Council about the new interpretation of Christianity, and about the conditions that prevail in human society. Now the question is: How are we to get this new gospel to meet the needs of these new conditions? We must have some agency, and the men of the churches particularly need to be enlisted, need to be recruited, need to be mobilised and sent out into the world to take this gospel, which we believe we understand more fully to-day than ever before.

The Chairman mentioned that Mr. Dyer is secretary of the Congregational Brotherhood of the United States, which has been approved by the National Council. He then asked the Assembly to join in singing the hymn "Forward! be our watchword," and at 4.35 closed the session by pronouncing the Benediction.

EVENING SESSION

The closing session of the Assembly was presided over by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw Thompson, D.D., Chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society. After the singing of the hymn "O for a thousand tongues to sing my great Redeemer's praise!" the Rev. E. P. Powell, M.A., of Wellingborough, led the Assembly in prayer.

The Chairman then addressed the meeting.

Address by the Chairman

Before I say anything on the subject of this evening I have to make an exceedingly agreeable announcement. A layman, one of our English delegates, who desires to be anonymous, was so deeply impressed by that noble address we had from Professor Moore this afternoon, that he has offered to have a special edition of it printed, without waiting until the Book of Proceedings is complete, in order that a copy may be sent to every Congregational minister in the British Islands, and to the missionaries who are at home on furlough. I need scarcely say that when my friend made that offer to me, asking what I thought of it, I accepted it most promptly and most gratefully. I only hope some American friend will do the same for America.

Now, my dear friends, we have come to the last of the deeply interesting meetings in which we have been occupied during the past ten days. The contests of scholarship, of thought, of speech, have been stimulating in a high degree. We have discussed great questions relating to the very foundations of our faith, and have done so freely and fearlessly. We have compared notes about the great practical problems of Christian life and holy service, and have helped each other not a little by the suggestions and counsels that have been given. We have tried to consider and to stir each other up with reference to our duty towards some of the most pressing difficulties and the most serious responsibilities which face our churches in all parts at the present time. Strange to say, through it all, there has not been a whisper of denominational statistics or a hint of the size of our community or its position in the world. When the representatives of the great Methodist communion met in Œcumenical conference some time since, every one was speedily impressed with the vast numbers who served under that flag, the many ramifications, the world-wide and varied ministries, and the remarkable success of that most energetic, enthusiastic, and earnest body of Christians. The Pan-Presbyterian Assembly made the impression of a great and solid phalanx of sound scholarship, of ordered and trained thought, of disciplined and

harmonious action and of great resources. The recent Pan-Anglican Congress must have created in all who have taken the trouble to read the reports of the meetings, a profound sense of the dignity and wisdom and breadth of view and earnestness of purpose of that great historic church moving in its strength.

What of ourselves? If the truth must be told, we are, relatively to those great organisations, a small community without the cohesiveness of denominational spirit, or the closeness of formation which is due to ecclesiastical bonds. We represent the Congregationalism of the whole world in the gathering of a company of delegates and, I suppose, also a gathering of our enthusiastic friends, and we cannot fill the hall which is used for the meetings of one great denomination of Presbyterians in Scotland. What of ourselves? Well, we are a small body as compared with others in Scotland, admittedly small, in the midst of a great host; in England we are far behind the Episcopal and the Wesleyan churches in the number of our members. In the United States we are one of the smaller denominations, in the Colonies we are very weak in numbers.

Those who count heads as an evidence of strength, think of us as a small company and of little power. Are they right or are they wrong? In these days there is a movement towards union. Why should a small body continue to stand alone, testifying? Would it not be better for the church at large, as well as for itself, if it united with some other and stronger organisation? I remember when I came through Canada last summer I asked about the proposed union between various sections of the church in that country at that time, and I am afraid I expressed rather hotly to one of our Presbyterian leaders there my fear lest the Congregationalists should lose more than they would gain, and that ultimately the Church of Christ would lose in their loss if they were absorbed into the United Church. He turned on me quite resentfully and reminded me that we were a very small body in Canada, and that they had been very generous in their treatment of us.

Well, what have we to say for ourselves as to our position in the world, our right to live, our claim to be listened to? I hope we shall get an answer this evening, an answer full, complete, and inspiring. I am not going to anticipate that answer, but I take it there are two distinct lines of thought connected with the use of the term Congregationalism. On the one line is the Congregational church polity as a defined and more or less organised form of ecclesiastical upbuilding; on the other hand are the great spiritual principles which are the vital force and root of Congregationalism.

Now, in regard to Congregational church polity, I am the son of a Congregational minister who left the Church of England in early life to become a Congregationalist; and the grandson, on my mother's side, of another minister who left Presbyterianism to become a leader of Congregationalism. Therefore, it is in my blood. In my youth I was trained to believe that Congregationalism was the church order of the first days of Christianity. It was a very useful training, and I am still a convinced Congregationalist. But I confess I am not quite so clear as I once was that all the early churches were Congregational in their government, and I am quite sure that they were not Congregational in our modern sense of the word, or our modern working out of the polity. I go further. If they were all Congregational I no longer feel that we are bound by that fact to accept Congregationalism as the necessarily correct and ideal order of church life. It may be an ideal

system for ideal men, but it often becomes anything but ideal in practical contact with human nature as it is. For a good many years past I have had to be in pretty close contact with the development of church life outside Christendom, and have had to consider the great question of how those who were gathered from heathenism were to be united together—under what system, under what order, under what flag? The fact is, that in the London Missionary Society we have a church polity which has been worked out by the conditions and exigences of missionary service which I sometimes call by the very euphonious name of Episcopresbygationalism. The churches in India, and in our other fields of labour, are moving towards the ideal of Congregationalism in our modern sense, but, only very partially. The missionary is bishop. The native church leaders, as they grow up into intelligence and ability to work become very much a Presbytery, and little by little the place of the laity in the church is recognised, and they begin to have a right to speak and act and vote and thus a sort of composite church order is formed. I am bound to confess as I look round the world and see men of very different races, very different ideas of social order and of municipal government, that I find them naturally tending to differ from each other in the development of ecclesiastical order as well as on political and social lines, and it seems to me that the wisest plan in the early stages is to let the local order of things, which is the easiest understood by them, shape very largely the polity of the church life. And so Congregationalism sometimes becomes rather faint from the point of view of church polity.

But there is another line of thought. The question of Congregational Church polity is one, the question of Congregationalism as a spiritual principle is another. There is a great spiritual principle on which Congregationalism is founded, which is its life, and which is, I think, of such supreme value that I should be bound to maintain my position as a Congregationalist, come what might. Our fathers suffered for it and they suffered in a great cause. We have to maintain it, and the more earnestly and truly we maintain it the better work we shall do in the world. And I flatter myself that while we are not able to gather large communities or become leaders in the ecclesiastical life of the world, we have, in the maintenance and vindication of the great spiritual principle which is at the root of Congregationalism, been steadily and constantly lifting up the whole church life of the world to a new idea which, if it is not Congregationalism, is something wonderfully like it.

Now I want for a moment to call your attention to a wonderful and most delightful evidence of the development of this great spiritual principle which I think we all understand. You have all read of the great missionary conference which was held at Shanghai a year ago, the most remarkable gathering it has ever been my privilege to attend, in which we had men of all denominations, and no denomination, united together in considering the interest of the Church of Christ in China. I came away from that series of meetings with a profound sense of pride and thankfulness in the manifestation of the Spirit of Christ in men, who must have found it very hard to give up their particular "ism" in favour of a common unity and who did it graciously and nobly. There were bishops of the Episcopal Church of England and bishops of the Episcopal Church of America, Presbyterians, Methodists, Congregationalists, and others. One of the first questions

they had to discuss was the foundation of unity, and I venture to read one of the resolutions adopted by the conference because it seems to me to illustrate in the most marked fashion the way in which the great spiritual truth at the root of Congregationalism is leavening not only the churches in America and in this land, but also the whole wide Christian world. This resolution reads:—

"Whereas it is frequently asserted that Protestant Missions present a divided front to those outside and create confusion by a large variety of inconsistent teaching, and whereas the minds both of Christian and non-Christian Chinese are in danger of being thus misled into an exaggerated estimate of our differences, this Centenary Conference, representing all Protestant Missions at present working in China, unanimously and cordially declares,—That this Conference unanimously holds the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as the supreme standard of faith and practice, and holds firmly the primitive Apostolic faith. Further, while acknowledging the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed as substantially expressing the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, the Conference does not adopt any creed as a basis of Church Unity, and leaves confessional questions for further consideration; yet, in view of our knowledge of each other's doctrinal symbols, history, work and character, we gladly recognise ourselves as already one body in Christ, touching one way of eternal life, and calling men into one holy fellowship; and as one in regard to the great body of doctrine of the Christian faith; one in our teaching as to the love of God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost; in our testimony as to sin and salvation, and our homage to the Divine and Holy Redeemer of men; one in our call to the purity of the Christian life, and in our witness to the splendours of the Christian hope.

"We frankly recognise that we differ as to methods of administration and Church government. But we unite in holding that these differences do not invalidate the assertion of our real unity in our common witness to the gospel of the grace of God."

This is the principle for which our fathers lived and strove and suffered, and for which some of them died—the principle of the spiritual unity and spiritual freedom of the Church. The Church of Christ is a company of men and women who are regenerate by the power of the divine Christ and are confessing themselves on the side of Christ. Out of that spiritual beginning rose the further great and precious claim that, led by the Spirit of God, they would be continually going forward into ever fuller light and ever richer knowledge of the truth, and that no human bond of creed or order could compel the Church or keep it in swaddling-bands. The Church of Christ, free in its faith, in its consecration to its Master, is moving perpetually forward to an ever larger liberty and to ever fuller and completer union with its head. That principle we shall hear about, I suppose, in the three speeches which are now to be given us.

The Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, D.D., of Detroit, Michigan, was the next speaker. His topic was "The Mission of Congregationalism in America."

Address by Rev. G. Glenn Atkins, D.D.

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN AMERICA

Mr. Chairman, Fathers and Brethren,—I speak, I am sure, not only for myself but for those associated with me to-night, when I say that in asking us to forecast the future of the Congregational churches in the English-speaking world, in the last broken hours of this great Council, you have laid upon us a heavy burden. In going a way so unfenced the personal equation must of necessity play a large part. If the mission which is here anticipated does not commend itself wholly to your judgment, I ask you by the power of your own constructive vision to make compensation for my sins of omission and commission.

May I say further, that I shall attempt to deal only with principles, and that in the broadest and most inclusive fashion.

To begin then, the mission of Congregationalism in America is first of all the mission of the Holy Church throughout the world; To preach the Gospel to the poor, to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captive, the giving of sight to the blind, to set free them that are bound, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord, to constitute the mystical body of Christ, to declare his salvation, and to do his work.

The mission of our American church is moreover the mission of the Congregational churches generally. We are to declare by the dual Ministry of life and word the present tenses of the spirit of God, and the permanent and unchangeable sanctity of all the operations of that spirit. We believe, and shall testify, that the mind of God for the church is co-terminous only with the ceaseless tides of time. That his purposes for his church did not find an adequate and complete expression either in the monarchical episcopate of the sixth century or the imperial church of the thirteenth century, or the reform churches of the sixteenth century, or indeed with what we conceive to have been the Congregational churches of the first and second century. We believe and shall testify that all reverent seekers after truth are led of the same spirit of truth which has guided the saints, the scholars and the seekers of all ages, and that all thought touched of the spirit of God is informed with the same essential and unvarying holiness. We believe that the council of Edinburgh has the same sanctity as the council of Nicea, and that our deliberations are also part of the council of God. It will be our testimony moveover that this ever present and continuously operating spirit may be known and approached and shared by all eager and humble souls. We do, indeed, believe that God has his ministers and his priests to whom he has spoken with a full intimacy denied to the generality of men. These we shall always gladly follow, no matter to what communion they belong, we shall acknowledge them as the guides and masters of the human spirit, but we know that their mediation is vital and not official, and is theirs by virtue only of the open vision and the humble and the contrite heart.

We shall witness, moreover, that the sources of all authority spiritual and ecclesiastical are to be sought in the fellowship of those who have the mind of the spirit, and are minded to do the will of God. So we shall constitute ourselves permanently a spiritual democracy, and from this firm base we will not be moved. Here is the heart of our principles of administration, here is the unassailable logic of our

ecclesiastical administration. We believe as yet that this authority is most conveniently and simply administered by the body of the people themselves. If, however, we choose to delegate it, we are free to do that; if we choose the more centralised direction of great common concerns, we are still the source of the authority by which we govern. I am persuaded that here are frontiers within which we may move more freely and more efficaciously than we have hitherto done, but here is none the less the whole realm of our faith, and from it we shall be neither driven nor led. We shall constantly testify the subordination of machinery to life, and we shall seek the largest feasible simplicity of organic conduct. But we shall as constantly hold the primacy of the spirit, and the subordination of that by which we work to that for which we work. If we should ever come to allow our ecclesiastical traditions to war with and defeat our deeper spiritual affirmations, we should be false to our fathers' faith and should undo that for which they ventured the mystery of unvoyaged seas. We shall subordinate as always our church concerns to the wider concerns of the kingdom of God, and shall seek to look beyond the lesser frontiers of our own life to the mystic ranges, wide and encompassing of the horizon of the crescent purposes of the Eternal.

The mission of the Congregational church in America is next the mission of the American churches generally. We shall do our part in bringing to a people as yet too largely undisciplined and fluid the great discipline of the spirit. We shall preach continuously to a materialistic civilization the primacy of the things of God. We shall preach simplicity to a complex civilization and righteousness to pride and self conceit. We shall do our part in constituting the new brotherhood of the people, and in establishing beneath our flag the brooding peace of God where Celt and Slav, Teuton and Latin, black and white, east and west, shall by the grace of God know a new incorporation in a fellowship which deepens down into divine brotherhood and lifts itself in regnant nationality.

Beyond all this, I am persuaded our church has a mission which springs out of its peculiar and intimate relation as a free church to a free state.

Every American of us has thrilled to the recital of the story of the long conflict between the English free and established church. We have noted the tense accent with which you approach this thing, and the dynamic response which it calls out. We have felt ourselves in the presence of warriors doing battle for a great principle. As I heard Mr. Silvester Horne the other night, I seemed to see in the shadowy spaces of this hall the banners of age-old spiritual battles, real as the banners which hallow St. Giles and marked by the tides of a strife as noble though immaterial. As I heard that story, I was at once proud and ashamed of my race; ashamed of a temper which deals so unfairly with free and vital considerations; proud of a temper which has striven so nobly for spiritual emancipation. I know now where you Englishmen have learnt to speak with sentences incisive as sword blades. You have been taught by war, and likely if we went for a generation to the same school, we should get something of the same power; but may I suggest in this presence that ours is the harder task. There is one thing more difficult than winning freedom and that is keeping it, justifying it, glorifying it. It is easier to storm the fire-swept heights behind which freedom hides, than through the generation of a seeming peace to walk triumphantly in her high continuous

and hallowed fellowship. Countless battlefields billowed with the graves of men testify how hard a thing freedom is to win. The greater fields of history, marked with the graves of free cities, free states, and free institutions, testify how hard a thing freedom is to keep. It is our mission, who are free born, to keep that which our fathers won for us, and in keeping it to justify their endeavour; for freedom is not a goal but a gate, not an end but a way, not a compensation but an obligation. It is idle to be free, if free men do not live more nobly than bond men. It is a crime to dethrone a king if you do not set up a nobler authority. It is folly to unfrock a bishop if you do not establish a diviner administration of the affairs of the church. It is an empty form to be a free church unless you are at the same time a truer and a more sacrificial church.

Now, here broadly is the mission of the American church. We are to demonstrate that in unity, catholicity, continuity, and devotion free churches may be and abide the veritable church of God. We are to prove that a church without a creed may be passionate in her devotion to truth, and that a ministry without formularies may nevertheless hold fast the king's highway. We are to demonstrate that churches bound together by no exterior constraint are nevertheless capable of a unity which cannot even be wounded. There are inner forces impalpable as the interstellar ether which nevertheless may bind, as does that, separate churches into an integrity where they sing together as the morning stars for joy that they are made. We shall shew that a church without a Liturgy may nevertheless worship God in reverent and adequate form, and fill the spaces of country churches without arch or altar with the brooding mystery of the sensible presence of God. Beyond all this, as essential parts of a democratic state, we shall strive continually to strengthen the spiritual bases of democracy. We shall teach men that the self-governing qualities are distinctly moral qualities, that patience, self-subordination, sacrifice, co-ordination, and moral vision are absolutely essential to a free citizenship. We shall uphold the sovereignty of God as the regnant power of republics and democracies, for it was to set up the sovereignty of God and not the sovereignty of the people that the race from whose spiritual loins we are drawn did that battle for freedom whose story is our glory, and whose spirit is our deathless inheritance. We shall preach a redemptive equality, not the equality which levels down but the equality which levels up. We shall make the best our goal, and shall never be content until an open way reaches from the feet of the man at the bottom to the radiant height of spiritual realisation, and until all the might of the republic is combined there to lift him. We shall find in the throne of God the point of ultimate social attachment, the cross shall become our guide, the incarnation our watchword, and a redemption inclusive as the thought of God, and mediating from level to level of human need shall be our method.

For this we shall live, and if need be for this we are ready to die, and for my part I believe that we shall live for a long time, and with increasing strength and power. We have no mind at present to commit denominational suicide at the bidding of those either within or without our fellowship. We believe that Protestantism is not a negation, but the most tremendous affirmation of the centuries. We believe that Puritanism is a permanent spiritual force, and that an essential democracy is the goal of God. In this three-fold reinforcement we are greatly confident. We have no mind to seek another ordination;

there are no episcopal hands which are capable of lending either sanctity or authority to our saints, our scholars and our ministers. The German Eagle will fly over Edinburgh Castle while the Channel Fleet keeps the Forth as soon as our Gordons and Gladens and Tuckers shall bow themselves for that which they do not need and which no one but the Father of spirit can give them. But if the day ever dawns when the great integrated church of the future shall ask the children of men to enter her shining gates and lay their separate and partial gifts upon her altar, we too will enter her courts bringing our affirmations and willing ourselves to perish if only they become the imperishable possession of our race, content to turn back like Dante's guide if only those whom we have led may press onwards into a larger and diviner light, dismissed with that empowerment which has been our contention and our glory, and which we crave for all the sons of men, "Thee over thyself I crown and mitre."

The Rev. W. Dower, of Port Elizabeth, South Africa, spoke on "The Mission of Congregationalism to Greater Britain."

ADDRESS BY REV. W. DOWER

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM TO GREATER BRITAIN

I am to assume that there is a Britain greater than Great Britain, and that Congregationalism has some specific mission to it.

For the purposes of this paper, I venture to divide this Empire into two parts.

First, those portions of the Empire suited only or chiefly for permanent occupation by their own aboriginal inhabitants, and not yet entrusted with self-governnent.

Second. Those portions of the Empire whose climatic conditions make them suitable for permanent occupation by the Anglo-Saxon races, and which now have the privilege of self-government.

What, then, is the specific Mission of Congregationalism to those parts chiefly occupied by aboriginal peoples? To that question there can be, I think, but one general answer, namely, to take our fair share along with other churches in bringing to them the blessings of the Christian Gospel. The statesman, the explorer, the merchant, the manufacturer, the mechanic, the capitalist may each have his own and his perfectly legitimate and commendable task in these lands. The Mission of the Churches and their agencies is to evangelize.

For the reason that the claims of Foreign Missions have been already presented to you by experts, I shall pass on to note some secondary phases of this our specific mission.

First. In all new Missionary work it would be well, other things being equal, to give preference to fields of labour within rather than without the recognised spheres of British influence.

Our Mission field presents at the present time some singular anomalies. We have American Missionaries Evangelizing the Zulus in the British Colony of Natal. We have French Protestants at work in British Basutoland. We have English Missionaries labouring under the

French flag in Madagascar. True, in each case the change of Government has followed the establishment of the particular Mission, making it very difficult, if not impossible, to withdraw or effect an exchange. If possible these anomalies ought, in future, to be avoided. The way has now been made easy. European nations have now defined their respective "spheres of influence" throughout the waste places of the earth. The term "sphere of influence" is a modern euphemism to tone down the rough edge of the old word "raiding," or the vulgarism of "jumping." The thing itself remains the same. We have done a fair share of it.

There is now no part of the uncivilised and habitable globe without its European master, and European flag. If we annex or undertake to protect or even put up a painted sign-board, proclaiming "*This is British Territory*," surely the souls within the protected or annexed zone have a *first* claim on our Christian sympathy rather than those within the German or French sphere. Is the "Influence" which is associated with the defined "sphere" to be merely a matter of "hands off" that we may have the first chance of enriching ourselves. Is the "influence" to be only that of diplomacy, government, trade, militarism and material manipulation? Then God help the poor wretches within the "spheres" of influence.

I maintain that, on every ground of justice, equity, patriotism, charity, wherever the British flag waves the people who enjoy its protection have a claim, *sui generis*, on the Christian churches of Great Britain. Indeed, I would urge the adoption of this wise, reasonable statesman-like policy all round among the Christian nations. It would avoid the risk of misunderstanding and politic complications. Surely it would be in accord with the old adage, Charity begins at home, and in harmony with the spirit of the Master's injunction, "Go home and show thy friends." It will at least prove to the people that if the raiders take from them the sources of material wealth, which they probably cannot use, we open to them the treasury of unsearchable riches. If we take their earthly inheritance let us at least show them how they may attain the heavenly inheritance.

Second. We have to be loyal to the Society which organises our Missionary efforts and administers our Missionary Funds. I mean, of course, the London Missionary Society.

It is not a strictly denominational society, and yet it is emphatically ours. Our denominational fathers founded it. The great bulk of its funds and nearly all its agencies come from our churches. Its splendid traditions, its stirring history, its roll of martyrs, its great names are all woven into the warp and woof of our Congregational life. Through it British Congregationalists have continued for over one hundred years to send the Gospel to the heathen. It is probably neither better nor worse in its methods of working or its measure of success, than kindred institutions, but we have accepted it as our agency, and it is our duty and our privilege to stand loyally by it, and especially in the time of stress and storm, and after the claims of home have been met. Let it be remembered that besides the London Missionary Society you have as a denomination no other agency to take its place. We are not likely now to form a purely denominational Missionary Society. Thus it becomes part of our allotted task, our Mission, our work given to us of God to generously maintain its efficiency so that through Greater Britain its Missionaries may be recognized as our Messengers of the Evangel to our fellow

subjects throughout the globe. Let, then, there be no thought of abandoning any post. But if any *must* be abandoned, rather let it be if possible where some non-British Government holds sway than amongst our fellow-subjects still awaiting Christian teaching. Let there be no carping criticism thrown at the management, no cheese-paring and embarrassing economy demanded. Let there be no absurd calculations as to the cost per head of each convert as when people reckon out the cost of pig iron or carcases of mutton; no miserable truckling with Alexander the coppersmith, when the Treasury is empty and God and man call for silver and gold for the work of the Lord.

Third. Our home Congregationalism has some part to play in seeing to it that our Colonial administration casts no needless obstacles in the way of Christian work amongst subject and inferior races.

Wherever the British flag is hoisted the drink shop follows. Strong drink makes the shortest cut to ruin pretty well all the world over, but this is specially the case amongst the inferior races. Legal restrictions are often amongst uncivilised peoples, like laws written in water. Now you Congregationalists here in Great Britain have no feeble voice in settling what is to be the national policy in such matters, and who are to administer it. It is your mission here in the motherland to see to it that there be no palliating, tolerating, much less defending or encouraging this accursed thing amongst the weaker races which occupy the Greater Britain beyond the seas.

Again. In new countries where stable British Government has been introduced land immediately becomes valuable, and, despite restrictions, becomes negotiable. Settlers with land hunger flow in and very soon the white settler becomes the *landowner* and the aboriginal the *land labourer*. How easily the simple and untutored native connects European Government and missionary effort with the loss of his paternal acres and the mental association of the two does not "commend the Gospel."

It not unfrequently, too, happens that civil servants are appointed to new countries where your missionaries are at work, whose habits of life and avowed sentiments on all things sacred, contradict the Christian teaching. Is there no possibility of altering this?

It has been the boast and glory of our fathers in the past to befriend the weak, and to stand for the protection of the helpless. There has been committed to our care millions of uncivilised peoples forming the Greater Britain. I venture to say that it is part of your Mission to see to it, through your Parliamentary representatives, that every possible precaution be used to obviate these and kindred evils more or less incident to colonial expansion.

We now proceed to consider the question what is the Mission of Congregationalism to the Greater Britain occupied by European peoples, and enjoying self government?

The circumstances, history, and population of each of the self-governing States differ so widely that what applies to one may not apply to others. I am, therefore, compelled to limit my remarks chiefly to that which is common and applicable to all.

Just as much as the less civilised portions of the Empire they need the Christian Gospel, and whatever else may be our Mission it is first of all our work to see to it that the opportunity of hearing the Gospel and uniting in worship be brought within the reach of every European settler in Greater Britain. Churches of our order have been established in nearly all the chief towns of the New States. But in all of these

States there are men and women living in lonely places far in the hinterland establishing homes, founding cities, introducing the germs of civilization, conquering the desert, replenishing the earth. They are of our kith and kin. They and their children are to be by-and-by the citizens of great thriving communities, which in population, industry, and commerce, if not in science and art, are in some King's reign to rival the mother country. Those of us who have had long experience of colonial life stand amazed at the facility with which even Christian professors cast off first the habits of godly living and then speedily relapse into a state of utter indifference to all the claims of religion. This not unfrequently takes place under the very shadow of a place of Christian worship, how much more frequently where there is not the humblest temple to be seen nor the voice of sacred song to be heard. There seems to be a strange and almost fatal spell in the very atmosphere of a new settlement, alluring all but the very strongest to indifference or impiety.

Even where there has been no moral failure but on the contrary where steady honest toil has been rewarded with more or less of business success, how often it occurs that the successful colonist has abandoned the godly ways of his early training and parental home. The Congregational Churches on the spot have a Mission to this lapsed multitude. I hold very strongly that this is emphatically their Mission, their first chief most urgent work. How to do it is less clear. How even to get at these men and women; how to get through the walls of indifference and hostility; how to get within earshot sometimes of them, these are the problems which consecrated wisdom has yet to solve.

But there is the task. It is clearly our Mission laid to our hands in the providence of God. The magnitude of the work and the inadequacy of our means and agencies oppress and appall us. And here let me say that this is *your* Mission as much as our Mission. Why, if not another soul should settle in Greater Britain we who are on the spot would still be at our wit's end how to provide for the spiritual needs of the existing European population, but when your children come in thousands to dig our gold and till our waste lands, surely you who sit at ease in your arm-chairs at home have also a Mission. *It is our common work to evangelize the Empire.*

Again the Constitutions of all these new Colonial States are essentially democratic, while at the same time loyal to the ancient monarchy. Now Congregationalism in its root principle is democracy fused with the regnant spirit of Christ. Naturally, then, we ought to be more than any other denomination the custodian and exponent of democratic ideals. I think I may venture on the assertion that this has been our recognised position and service during the early formative periods of our colonial history. We have been the friends of the people, we have stood for their rights irrespective of nationality or colour, French or Dutch, coloured or white. We have never been fascinated with the glamour of aristocracy, not even here in the homeland, much less in the new lands.

Titles and tinsel ribands and stars, dukes and dignities are at a discount with us—

> The path o' sense and pride o' worth
> Are higher ranks than a' that.

Nor have we favoured but rather fought bureaucracy in the early days, when *not* competency and qualification and merit but patronage

and blueness of blood were the passports to authority, emolument and office.

Happily all that has passed, and we have as a denomination taken no mean share in introducing the new régime.

Our Church policy with its equality of rights and privileges and its emphasis on personal responsibility makes our Churches more than perhaps all others the appropriate training school for the men and possibly the women who are to mould the life and control the destinies of these young democratic states.

We have to maintain, exhibit and hand on in Greater Britain the old Congregational conception of the Christian Church as a fellowship of believers under the direct guidance and control of the living Christ as its Head.

I am not sure that all our colonial churches have always been true to this lofty ideal. But I am sure of this that this has been no small part of their specific "Mission." Whenever they fail or have failed to maintain this testimony or tried to exemplify this ideal, I am doubtful if there is any really sufficient justification for their separate existence. This conception of the Church is by no means a popular one in Greater Britain. It is rightly said by many, "It is high, we cannot attain unto it." It certainly does not accord with the secularizing and materialistic spirit of the age. Perhaps this is an evidence of its divine originality.

But this lofty conception of the Church has been gradually winning its way into the working methods, as it has all along been lying quietly in the creeds of other denominations.

With the growth of Christian sentiment and the dominancy of Christian ideals in Colonial life we may one day come to see that our conception of the Church has become common in practice to all the Evangelical Churches. But meantime it is our work to exhibit in practice and maintain in our union and our unwritten creed the old lofty Puritan ideal.

Whatever may be the reason, our churches in the States of Greater Britain have in large measure got the ear and received the support of the men of vigorous intellect and independence of thought. The man in whom the sentiment of reverence is largely developed will probably be an Anglican. The man in whose composition legality—deference to authority, holds a chief place will probably be a Presbyterian. The man of big heart and ready play of the emotions will find his most congenial home in the Methodist Church. The man who thinks deeply has had his intellect disciplined by much reading and independent thought, will, other things being equal, become a Congregationalist.

In all probability this very natural and orderly arrangement will continue. Out of that fact there arise specific obligations. I cannot present these in better words than those uttered from the platform of this Council seventeen years ago. "There are organisations that go down and reach the lower classes and lift them up. God bless them! But that never has been the special province of the Congregational Church, and it is not likely to be in the future. Our province is to take men and women that are capable of thought, capable of intellectual as well as spiritual development and lift them up to a higher plane as human beings: make them more sensible of God and the things that God has put into the world so beautiful and so full of his love, lift them up to make them worthy of his work and able to do his work, instead of treating them as babies sucking milk, just keeping enough life in them to get them into Heaven before they die of inanition or marasmus that

is Congregationalism and that is its Mission," and let me add its special mission in Greater Britain. As a denomination we in Greater Britain have ever stood for civil and religious freedom.

"Our voice the loudest has been heard wherever freedom raised the cry of pain." You, here in Great Britain, are still in the fighting line. I am not aware that in Canada and the Australian States they have ever had any great fight of afflictions. The lines seem to have fallen to them in pleasant places. We in Cape Colony have had to contend for free speech, a free Press, free service, a free church, and a free Parliament. We have won all along the line. We have no State Church, no slave labour, no privileged priesthood, no educational tests, no colour line. Every position is open for the best man, irrespective of race, creed, or colour. But seventy years ago when we took the fetters off the slaves, and by the Cape Constitution made every man equal in the eye of the law, our fellow Dutch colonists did not like this equality of black and white. They moved out and moved on into the wilds and established for themselves inland States, the fundamental law of which was that colour in any shade disqualified for citizenship. Great Britain quarrelled with these States and conquered them in war. In these New States a Liberal Government has now granted constitutions which draw broad and dark the old colour line, and doom, so far as the British Government's word goes, thousands of intelligent men and women of colour to perpetual serfdom and helotism. It is, so far as I know, the first time that a free British Parliament has politically damned men because of colour. The Cape coloured man in the Transvaal says something like this:—"The Independents sent us the Gospel, set us free, enfranchised us: we were British born, and Cape voters. Some of us helped in the war. Others laid down their lives. We also have come to the Transvaal to gain a livelihood. We are your fellow-subjects loyal to the throne and the converts of your mission, why have you thus stigmatized and unmanned us. Why pour out blood and treasure like water to enfranchise every white Uitlander, and with a stroke of the pen politically enslave us. Are we not also men? Why raise heaven and earth over the serfdom of Chinamen who are foreigners and with the same breath doom us your children to hopeless helotism." Verily liberty has been wounded in the house of its friends.

Surely the genius and the genesis, the history and the cherished ideal of Congregationalism must assign to itself here, in this mother home of freedom as well as to us in South Africa, some duty or task, some "Mission" or mandate with respect to this unparalleled anachronism within the bounds of the Empire.

I know that some will say we are bound by the Vereeinging Treaty. *We are not*, for the class of men I refer to are not "natives" in the accepted terminology of South Africa. Others will say, "The Transvaal State is free to grant the franchise." I reply in parable for the sake of brevity. John Bull had a dog. He gave the dog a bone but said, "Let the cat have a share." How much and when will the cat get its portion. Never. Will the Dutch of the Transvaal give citizen rights to men of colour? Only when asses are growing horns.

Finally I have a suggestion to make, and I venture to do it in the name of the Greater Britain, to the lesser Britain "set here in the silvery sea." It is this, that the various Congregational Institutions of this country—the Unions and the Missionary Societies—should unite to annually appoint a representative minister, say for six months, "a

man of weecht" as the Scotch say, to visit the chief States of Greater Britain, taking them in rotation, one each year, preaching, counselling and advising, and commencing or closing the visit with attendance at our Annual Assemblies. We all long for such visitation. It would hearten and encourage all our churches and their ministers by displaying to all, if not our corporate oneness, our unity of sentiment and high purpose for the coming of the Kingdom of God. To South Africa with its perplexing, racial, industrial, political and missionary problems, this boiling, bubbling pot of crude hostilities, such a visitation would be of unspeakable benefit both to you and to us. Surely some such scheme as this ought to be part of the "Mission of British Congregationalism to Greater Britain."

The Rev. Alfred Rowland, B.A., LL.B., D.D., of London, next gave an address on "The Mission of Congregationalism in Britain."

ADDRESS BY REV. ALFRED ROWLAND, B.A., LL.B., D.D.

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN BRITAIN

Every section of the Christian church has the power of enriching the life of the nation by some characteristic contribution. It is, therefore, well sometimes to emphasize the distinguishing features of our own denomination, which constitute its special value in British history.

As Congregationalists we stand for the dignity and sanctity of the individual church. We maintain that it possesses, as a microcosm of the whole, inalienable duties and inviolable rights. We hold that it is the representative of Jesus Christ, who is incorporated in it by his Spirit, and works through it for the redemption of the world from misery and sin.

If this be true, it necessarily involves the spirituality of the constituent elements of each church. In so far as we fail to maintain this, its moral force is weakened and its authority lessened, for, as George Adam Smith has said, "God's causes are never destroyed by being blown upon, but by being sat upon," crushed by the inert mass of unspiritual elements.

It is our acceptance of this principle of spirituality which leads to our repudiation of state churchism. Our existence is a perpetual and unmistakable protest against the control of the affairs of the church by men of the world, for in our judgment this infringes on the crown rights of Emanuel; it transforms the true leader of the state into its slave, it links the church with the court, rather than with the commonwealth, and tempts its clergy to resemble the priests in Jerusalem, who stood for property, rather than the prophets who stood for righteousness.

At the same time our churches must never dissociate themselves from the life of the nation. It is our duty continually to pray for the land we live in, to make our own care the welfare of the nation, and to influence its policy in the direction of righteousness and peace—for the current which does not run into the broad stream of national life is very apt to degenerate into a miasmic puddle.

Let us bear in mind the distinction between the church and the

kingdom, on which the late Dr. Berry so eloquently insisted, lest we lose sight of the truth that the "Church" is God's instrument for the establishment of the "Kingdom," for making actual the ideal which John saw in vision, the new Jerusalem descending out of heaven from God. In order to do this every church should seek to become a model of the Christian state, a replica of the kingdom, whose members should consist of the brave and the gentle, the pure and the strong, the rich and the poor, federated in a true brotherhood, sharing each other's cares, standing for each other's rights, breathing a pure moral atmosphere, and all dominated by the spirit of Jesus Christ. If only men saw in all churches such model communities, such Christ-ruled democracies, they would naturally gravitate towards them as the nuclei of the national life of the future.

And something of this exemplification is necessary. Our ideals must be embodied in order to be appreciated. Our doctrines will only affect the life of the nation when they are exemplified in religious communities, which are manifestly ruled by them. For a fellowship of living souls is the ideal republic, and its actual existence will do more than preaching towards the establishment of the kingdom of God in our midst. The living word is mightier than the written word. Conduct is more influential than creed. A visible community is a better witness than a visionary ideal. And an ideal church, audible and visible to all men, would, by its very existence, do much to conquer indifference and unbelief.

One of the most valuable contributions to our national life then would be made by raising every church nearer to our ideal, a fellowship of souls, a brotherhood of men, a true democracy, ruling itself in the spirit of Christ, free from worldly fetters, but made free in order to do the Master's will and not its own.

But besides this witness-bearing our churches can do much, and have done much, by direct effort towards the purifying of our national life. "The Nonconformist conscience" has passed into a proverb, and we have been among its chief and most hated exponents. We are by no means ashamed of it, but find occasion to glorify God on this behalf, for there have been few evils among us against which we have not protested and fought, and little has been done for the enfranchisement and ennoblement of the people in which we have not had some share. Instead of being a drag on the wheels of true progress, as a state church is apt to be, we have often been the driving power in moral and national movements. Ignorance, for example, has found in us a resolute foe, and apart from what has been done through the splendid work of our Sunday schools, it must not be forgotten, as it sometimes is, that we were among the pioneers of national education, for "British Schools" preceded "National Schools."

Not ignorance alone have we fought against, but cruelty to children, wrongs perpetrated on native races, brutal tyrannies, like those of the Sultan, the Czar, and King Leopold, slavery in any form among whites or blacks, strong drink with its myriad victims, war with its waste and horrors, all find in us opponents who cannot be bribed to silence. Indeed, if all Congregational churches could be eliminated from our national life, vested interests, feudal tyrannies, and all the forces of re-action would sing together for joy over a great deliverance. If the main duty of the church is to transform the world into the kingdom of God, we may fairly claim that Congregationalism has always exerted, and will still exert, its influence steadily towards that end.

It is true that we are not largely represented among the ruling classes, but we are among the moral forces of the nation, and we have no reason to be ashamed of our past record. Only twice have we had an opportunity to exercise direct control over national destinies, once when Oliver Cromwell was Protector and John Milton was his secretary, and again when the Pilgrim Fathers founded a "New England" across the seas, where they based a state on religious principles, making the education of the people their first charge, and, unlike their Puritan neighbours, giving to all the liberty they claimed for themselves. "New England," founded by Congregationalists, is as fine an example of what Free Church principles can do for a state, as Scotland has proved under the influence of the Presbyterians.

But let us consider our special mission in Britain, with more attention to detail.

1

We have our responsibility for broadening the liberty of the people, both in the church and outside it.

Within its borders we believe in frank and full discussion, rather than in authoritative dicta, pronounced either by ecclesiastical or by theological authority. We hold and teach that the secret of spiritual insight lies in absolute sincerity; and that however diverse may be the views of Christian teachers, God will ultimately bring harmony out of seeming discords. The practical result of this has occasionally been seen in teaching from some of our pulpits which has startled and horrified many devout souls. But this we have not attempted to silence by exclusion from any union, or by ejection from any building. It has been quietly met by the counter assertion of what others of us believe, in the assurance of the old adage, "*magna est veritas et prevalebit.*" This surely is what the inspired prophet Jeremiah meant when speaking in Jehovah's name, he said, "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell his dream; but he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully; for what is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord." Freedom from tests and creeds is a principle which, with all its risks, we accept and trust, and our witness-bearing to this is yet to have effect in the complete emancipation of thought and speech in national life.

For example, the Press of this country, an important part of which, of late years has been controlled and dominated by conscienceless syndicates, needs emancipation, which we are qualified to hasten. At one time we could accept the leading articles in our great newspapers as expressing the honest and independent views of qualified men who believed in what they wrote; but now the editorial staff is sometimes practically bought and sold with the plant and the goodwill. Each man must then write to order, even though it be the order of an alien in birth and in habits; and the whole issue is controlled by a syndicate which sometimes puts property in the place of righteousness; or which, for the advancement of a financial ring, may rouse a nation to war, even when there is no just reason for quarrel. A democracy so led (or so misled) may prove more hostile to the welfare of humanity than the visible tyranny of an autocrat.

That is an example of what yet remains to be done for national emancipation. But to this we may add the deliverance of publicans from the thrall of brewers, the rescue of national wealth from the exaggerated claims of those whose interests lie in the promotion of war;

and the proclamation of liberty to oppressed nationalities, to political serfs and to persecuted thinkers.

II

Our churches also have a prominent part to play in the development of manhood, with its capacity and responsibility.

In churches of our order, more than in some churches, members who are wise enough to use their privileges may become conscious of their dignity and duty, because they have special opportunities for the exercise of their choice and their gifts. In the church meeting everyone has a vote in the decision of all important matters, such as the election of a minister and the choice of deacons, and when this right is exercised, as it should be, with a consciousness of the Lord's presence and a desire to know his will, it is in itself a means of grace. Or if, by the free votes of the brethren, a member is elected to some office, and he fills it worthily, he is ennobled by the sense of responsibility, and rendered more efficient for larger service on behalf of the municipality or the nation. At the present moment there are members of Parliament and ministers of the king who largely owe their independence of judgment, their capacity for administration and their manliness of character to the influence of churches in which these gifts were first developed. Though they may leave the old associations, they do not lose the stamp which was given them when character was plastic.

The importance of this, which may be enjoyed in every one of our churches, in so far as it conforms to our ideal, can hardly be exaggerated. The democracy is coming, nay, has already come, and it will require for its stability, integrity and self-control on the part of the people, even more than if we were under a despotism, for a bad tyrant can at least keep order, but a bad democracy, unable to rule itself, means national chaos. Nowhere is it more evident, than in democratic government, that the security of the state rests on the virtue of its private citizens, and in the development of this our churches have a prominent part still to play.

III

We have also the power to do much in the promotion of unity.

This should be striven for among the nations, for our national severances have often proved provocative of war. Our Lord and Saviour, the Redeemer of the race, came to inaugurate an era of peace and goodwill, which might set the angels singing. And how would he do this? Not so much by our preaching as by the witness-bearing of our churches to this fact, that men with different views, and even different interests, when ruled by the Spirit of the Master, which is the spirit of self-forgetfulness and consideration for others, may constitute a true brotherhood, resting on the basis of the eternal Fatherhood.

Sad to say we are far from realizing this among Christian churches, but in every individual church we may surely exemplify it; nor will it be ineffective if men of the world see such brotherhoods established in the midst of the civic community. But we must be willing to take the lead in establishing unity among the Christian communities, thus hastening the fulfilment of our Lord's prayer, that all his followers may be one. Already something of this spirit does prevail among us.

I do not hesitate to say that interdenominational and undenominational movements are sustained more often by members of our churches than of any others. But I believe that much more may be done in this direction. Ministers might be educated together in the same theological colleges for different sections of the church, except for a very small part of their curriculum; and in this a good example has been set by our Cheshunt College in Cambridge and our Mansfield College in Oxford. A common hymnology is also possible to those who already praise God very often in the same familiar words; for songs of praise are above high-water mark of the sea of controversy, like samphire on our cliffs. And above all, in the presence of heathenism we ought to appear as "one army of the living God;" indeed we may rejoice that already this is beginning to be seen in China and India, and in this movement we have taken no unworthy part.

In our own land, too, what advantages would be gained if only we did not waste so much strength in protest, and dissipate it by the needless multiplication of struggling communities; if we could only stand together for the education of the people by striving, not as some do, for denominational advantages, but of equal rights of citizenship for all. How the drink traffic would stagger if that foe of sobriety and purity felt the tremendous impetus of a united attack. For just as at Naseby only men of religious faith could break the ranks of those of aristocratic birth, so in the Naseby which is coming the power of plutocracy will go down before the ironsides trained in Christian churches.

There is much just now to discourage those who are seeking the establishment of the kingdom of God, but there is no need for pessimism. We are far from realizing our ideals. Brotherliness appears more often in phrase than in fact, indeed, there is a wide difference between "brethren" in the church and "brothers" outside it. Sabbath observance and family worship are becoming increasingly rare; meetings for prayer are less frequent and well attended than of yore; and these and similar facts call for heart searching and repentance. But, on the other hand, we see on every side new forms of Christian activity; we rejoice over a gradual purification of public life from once tolerated evils, and we hopefully look forward to a new earth peopled by ennobled humanity, living in the enjoyment of peace, and rejoicing in the evangel of love.

The Rev. Ambrose Shepherd, D.D., of Glasgow, followed on the same topic. He spoke without notes, and after a few preliminary observations, said :—

Address by Dr. Ambrose Shepherd

THE MISSION OF CONGREGATIONALISM IN BRITAIN

Many of you may differ from some things I purpose to say. This, I imagine, is very likely. But with all deference to my audience I think it is quite time we took some of the usual talk on these occasions about our principles, as principles, for granted, and begun to debate with the seriousness which the situation demands, their modern working out in practice. Dr. Dale is reported to have said once that "his love for

Congregationalism was such that he was willing to die for it if need were." I am inclined to think, that the problem with many of us is how, with some degree of encouragement and comfort, to more effectively live for it. It would surprise and gladden me to know that, at present, Congregationalism in Britain is doing much more than marking time. We have a past of which we may be justly proud; the future lies before us, as it does before any other form of organised Christianity; but the anxiety in the meanwhile, with the great average of our churches, is how to hold our own.

There is no polity growing out of a principle that has done more for Britain than Congregationalism has; there is no polity which has less to show for it, in a denominational sense. Is it not true that the social and political feature for which the Victorian age will be memorable, is the vast extension given to democratic institutions? And what are these but the principles for which we stand as a religious community translated into the secular sphere? There is no competent and impartial student of the religious forces in the England of the great nineteenth century who will not admit that our principles have incarnated themselves in our institutions beyond all proportion to the numerical strength of our churches. The triumphs of our democracy, which have in them elements of hope, are largely the outward and visible forms of those religious truths for which we have stood through strait and stress these two or three hundred years.

The real greatness of a nation is ultimately determined by its interpretation of religion; and our characteristic strength has been won in strain of conflict with a sacerdotal conception of Christianity. To-day, as in the long past, the great divider in Christendom is sacramentarianism. This it is which blocks the way to all genuine Christian unity; which is traitor to the Crown-rights of our Redeemer, and from it we ask, and to it we will give, no quarter. We do not only protest against its heresy; we affirm as the central norm of our church polity, the fundamental word of the New Testament: "One is your Master even Christ, and all ye are brethren." "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." The Master does not say, "I will be in the midst of them"; He says, "There *am I*." Where Christ is, there is a church, and Christ is, wherever Christ-like men and women manifest a life derived from and kindred with that of their supreme Head. We say that the power of the Keys is spiritual power. Its authority with others is that which is given by force of Christ-like character. It is not priestcraft, but priesthood; and neither confined to, nor bound up with, an arbitrary order or succession of men. It is a priesthood of believers in which all are called to share, each to offer himself a living sacrifice to God; each to do what he or she can, to bring others nearer to Him whose we are, by whatever means may be best available, and most usable, to that supreme end.

So long as this truth, which I say again is fundamental to our existence, is intelligently understood and faithfully held, the means for giving it effect in the community are important; but that importance is relative and comparative. The truth is changeless, but the body by which we would clothe its spirit, is subject to the influences of time. The old individualistic conception of Congregationalism with its so-called Independency gone mad, is as doomed as it deserves to be—and that is saying a great deal. All attempts to keep it in existence, is like trying to galvanise a corpse into some transient caricature of life. Ours

is an age of organisation; and the inevitable of the future is more organisation, and not less. The rapid and sure direction is towards a State collectivism, which does not mean the elimination of individual effort and responsibility, but it does mean a collectivism which is the economic complement of human rights, and without which the political gains of the past and present are comparatively without value or meaning.

The same ideas are at work in religion. Think how, during the last quarter of a century, we have had to modify and enlarge our conception and teaching about Christian salvation. We still insist, as I trust we ever shall insist, upon the personal religious salvation of the soul from sin; but we refuse to call it salvation unless it is working for the ethical and social salvation of the community from wrong and suffering. And if we are to take any worthy part in the real movements of our age, we must hold our church life as a debt due to the world for which Christ died. We must come closer together, and stand together as a corporate spiritual body, pledged to reach through a great catholicity of means; the end we profess to have before us. We must organise our forces, even at the risk of becoming an organisation. We must do this; or even more than this. Congregationalism will become a euphuism for a few preaching centres, where sermons, whether or not they are preached for the salvation of souls, will have to be preached for the salvation of sermons.

No small part of the problem as it affects British Congregationalism is with the position and personnel of our ministry. It is no secret that there are hundreds of our ministers who are as weary of their charges, as it is to be feared their charges are weary of them. And if, in these days, the better endowed men are scarcely saved in this matter, where shall the average order appear? A denomination will make no headway with the rank and file of its ministry in a state of well-nigh chronic discouragement. We cannot always live, move, and have our being in the reflected glory of about a dozen men. A discouraged minister means a half-beaten minister; and as it is with him, so will it be with his church. Every man worth his room with us, should have some better assurance of backing. He should be lifted out of the dread of being classed as too old when he ought to be at his best. He should be delivered from the consciousness of being the victim of a cold isolation, which works through British Congregationalism like paralysis. I would be the last man to make it easier for indolence, incapacity, or a kind of protected mediocrity; but I do say this, that in an age like ours, with our system as at present working, good average men are too heavily handicapped. They do not have a fair chance; and, humanly speaking, nothing can secure it for them but the fullest organisation consistent with the reasonable autonomy of the individual church. My conviction is, that we shall have to move—and we had far better do it while as yet we have something to move—in the direction of one town, one city, one area, *one church*. Had I time, I should have no difficulty in giving my reasons for believing that this would go far to revolutionise Congregationalism, as a question of numbers, inspiration, and influence as a Christian church. But whether it be this, or something else, something must be done, and quickly, if we are not to quite miss the tide. I was present lately at a Ministers' Fraternal in England. The conversation turned upon our position as a denomination; and I was deeply pained to hear the note of hopelessness which ran through it from beginning to end. These men, among themselves, were at no

pains to disguise what they regarded as too obvious to be concealed. It was an unmistakable confession of—at any rate for the time—defeat. And I said to them, as I say to this Assembly: The democracy—what is called the "average ministry" of our churches, must awake and assert itself. What one man, what a few men, cannot do, these men multiplied would be irresistible in doing. One town, one city,—one church, would mean sacrifice on the part of our more gifted men. It would mean the surrender of some sentiment, of many traditions, methods and prejudices. But essential Congregationalism is surely worth it all; and unless we are to accept gradual annihilation, we must move forward by the old way of the Cross; we must enter through a new Kenosis into a more lively hope, and outlook, and power. Do you say to me, "What of the power of the Holy Spirit?" I answer: The Holy Spirit works through means. The water of Life is sure and abundant as ever, but *we* must see to the conduits. I know there is risk in saying openly what is being said and thought in secret; but I submit that they take a greater risk who would cripple the truth for which we stand, by refusing to see what are now defects and aberrations in our agencies for making it felt and known. No one has more faith in our principles than I have; no one more firmly believes that the future is with them, if by prayer and sacrifice we make it possible for the word of the Lord in these principles to have free course and be glorified.

DISSOLUTION OF THE COUNCIL

Remarks by the Chairman

The series of addresses on various subjects has now come to a very successful climax and end; but we are about to have our closing service. It will not be a long one and I hope none of our friends will feel compelled to leave in the course of it. I hope we shall be out by 9.25. Let us sing the first and last verses of the hymn "Sweet Saviour, bless us ere we go."

The Chairman then called upon the Rev. John Brown, B.A., D.D., of London, to deliver the closing address.

Closing Address by Dr. John Brown

Mr. Chairman, Brothers and Sisters in Christ,—We have reached the conclusion of a very memorable series of gatherings, and I have been asked to speak the few final words which shall close our proceedings. After such pleasant days of brotherly intercourse as we have spent together, it is with pensive feeling we come to utter the word of farewell. An English poetess, in some lines which Wordsworth once said he could have wished that he himself had written, told us how much more welcome to her was the greeting than the parting:

'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
. . . . . .
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time;
Say not good-night, but in some brighter clime
Bid me good-morning.

Still, reluctant as we are to break up this goodly company, things are so ordered in this world that sooner or later the parting follows the meeting, and the farewell the greeting; and *we* have now reached the point when we once more take up the pilgrim staff and go our several ways.

On your behalf I must say farewell to this beautiful city which has been our home for a while, and to the many kind friends who have so hospitably received us. Edinburgh is indeed one of the fair cities of the earth. You remember that when Dr. Johnson was bent on enjoyment he would say to his friend—"Sir, let us take a walk along Fleet Street." When I am in this city I like to say to my friend, "Sir, let us take a walk along Princes Street." For it is one of the great streets of the world ,taking rank with the High Street of Oxford, the Corso in Rome, the grand water-way of Venice, and the street which is called Straight in Damascus.

And while saying farewell to this city of fair exterior and hospitable reception, we have also to say farewell to one another. We have come hither, many of us, from islands and continents thousands of miles away, and have had Christian fellowship together, which will remain a pleasant memory while life shall last—a foretaste of that enjoyed by the solemn troops and sweet societies of the better land to which we go.

Great questions have been seriously laid before us by some of the best minds God has given to the Congregational Churches. Great problems have been started—problems of Biblical criticism, of philosophical speculation, theological doctrine, and social duty. I do not say we have solved them all. There are some problems we have still to leave as the Scotch preacher is said to have left some hard places he came to in his Bible. He would state them broadly and strongly and then say—"And now, brethren, having looked this difficulty fairly in the face let us pass on." Some problems never will be solved here, others die out without being solved. Yet they were not raised and debated in vain. They were intended to open the way to wider paths of truth. "Old factions," said Burke, "are volcanoes burnt out, but on the lava and ashes of these extinct volcanoes grow the peaceful olive, the cheering vine and the sustaining corn." If we have to alter our theories to fit the new light given to us, our unfailing consolation is that God himself is working and revealing himself through all these movements of mind among the nations. Our theories change but his facts abide. If we have losses we also have gains. Truth heals the wounds which truth herself has made. We have faith in the living God, and in the ultimate goal to which he is leading humanity. In dark and stormy times when men's hearts were failing them for fear, Martin Luther said to those about him, "Last night I looked out of my window and I saw a wondrous sign in the heavens. I saw the stars and the great majestic vault of God, but I could not see the pillars on which the great Master had made the whole to rest! Is not God always there?"

Looking back over the proceedings of the Council it may be said that every party of thought has had its turn. As the days went by, every one probably heard that which was congenial to his own predilections, possibly also something which was distasteful to him. This is, perhaps, as it should be; for it is by the conflict of opinion that higher or better stated forms of truth are arrived at. Bishop Kaye expressed regret that the Council of Nicæa went too far; Dean

Stanley, after his manner, consoled himself with the reflection that they went no farther. Perhaps these opposite states of mind may have been found among ourselves as the days of session have succeeded to each other. But all the time, and nevertheless, we have been getting nearer to the heights where the light dwelleth. So long as our hands are clean and our hearts are pure we have no need to tremble for the ark of God. We rely on the inherent power of truth and on the Almighty Spirit of God. So long as we do we may say with magnanimous Milton—"Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so truth be in the field, we do injuriously to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; who ever knew truth put to the worse in free and open encounter?"

The Council is ending, but ending only that its issues may begin. We shall all go to our several places stronger and more hopeful for having come together. We return but not as we came. We gathered that we might separate more Christlike and better able, because with clearer insight, to serve the great Lord who bought us with his blood. And we shall go away better men for having looked each other in the face.

It is a striking sight to me to stand here and look at you, and to think that in a few short weeks you will be scattered the wide world over, east and west, north and south; some to the lands beneath the southern cross, and the great African continent, others to the vast Canadian Dominion, and yet others to the great American Republic across the sea. It is a pleasure to me to think that I stand here beneath two great national banners twined together in friendly unison over my head—the British flag and the American Stars and Stripes. For I feel that the future of the world's freedom depends largely upon the union of the two great English-speaking peoples those two banners symbolise. Where will you find the home of freedom unless in the companionship of these two nations? We speak the same language, we are bound together not only by ties of blood but also by the bonds of a common literature and a common Christian faith. We are united by many sacred bonds, and it is not too much to say that the welfare of the nations of the earth depends upon the brotherliness of these two peoples. A war between England and America would be a putting back of the fingers on the dial-plate of time. These two flags must ever march together in the sacred cause of freedom. It would be the great and awful tragedy of humanity were they ever to meet and strive on the field of blood. That they never will, for our strife will be, and only be, for that great and sacred cause for which our fathers fought and suffered before us.

Dear friends, it is affecting to think that we shall never, all of us, meet together again in this world. Many who are here to-night will doubtless take part in the next great Congregational Council wherever it may meet; but some of us can scarcely look forward to any such reunion in after years. But I feel sure that our gathering here and now will have brought us nearer together in brotherly love and fellowship. As the hair whitens and we draw nearer to that "all-reconciling world where Luther and Zuinglius are well agreed," we realise more and more the divine significance and deep spiritual insight of the words—Love is of God. He that loveth is born of God and knoweth God. He that loveth his brother abideth in the light, and there is none occasion of stumbling in him.

Beloved, it is the last hour. I have not spoken unto you because

ye know not the truth, but because ye know it. We know that we are of God: and we know that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding, that we know him that is true and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ. Abide in him that when he is manifested ye may have boldness and not be ashamed before him at his coming. This is the true God and Eternal Life.

Let us in the spirit of praise join together in thanksgiving to him who has been in our midst, and who has given us joyous fellowship one with another. Let us now rise and sing the old familiar strain:

Praise God from whom all blessings flow,
Praise him all creatures here below!
Praise him above, ye heavenly host!
Praise Father, Son, and Holy Ghost!

The Doxology was then sung and Dr. Brown brought the Third International Congregational Council to a close by pronouncing the Benediction.

Friday, July 10th, was spent in excursions to Melrose, Abbotsford, and Dryburgh; and to Ayr for visit to the Burns Cottage and Monument.

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